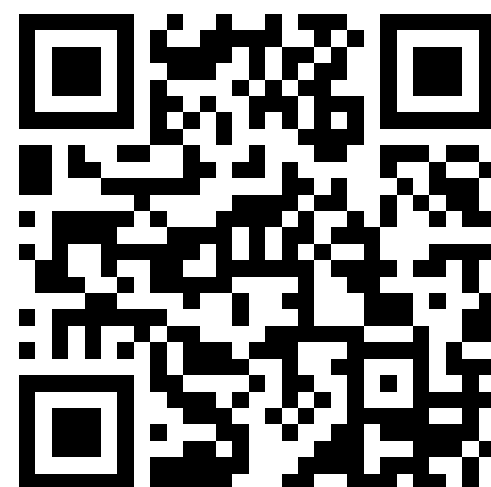

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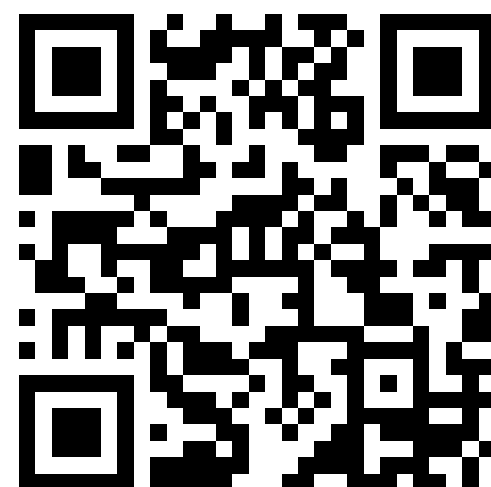
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THE BUKE OF JOHN MAUNDEUILL

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"He that will trowe it, trowe it; and he that will noght, lefe."
p. 108.

THE BUKE OF JOHN MAUNDEUILL
BEING
THE TRAVELS OF
SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE, KNIGHT
1322-1356

A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED ENGLISH VERSION
FROM THE UNIQUE COPY (EGERTON MS. 1982) IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

EDITED
TOGETHER WITH THE FRENCH TEXT, NOTES, AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY
GEORGE F. WARNER, M.A., F.S.A.
ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY-EIGHT MINIATURES
REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE FROM THE ADDITIONAL MS. 24,189

PRINTED FOR
The Roxburghe Club

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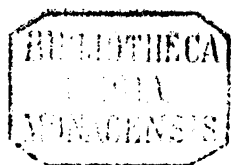
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87

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The Roxburghe Club.

MDCCCLXXXIX.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume has grown to its actual bulk from a small beginning. It originated in a desire on the part of the Roxburghe Club to possess facsimiles of some fine 15th century miniatures illustrating the earlier chapters (and unfortunately the earlier chapters only) of Sir John Mandeville's famous work. These miniatures, of which I shall have more to say hereafter, are contained in the Additional MS. 24,189 of the British Museum. They are unaccompanied by any text, and it was at first intended to issue the plates in like manner, or with such extracts only from one or other of the numerous manuscripts or printed editions of Mandeville as might serve to elucidate them. Subsequently, however, it was proposed instead to utilise the opportunity to print in full a hitherto unpublished English version of the Travels, differing widely from that commonly known and, like the latter, preserved in a unique manuscript in the Museum. To this suggestion the Club readily agreed, and the carrying of it into effect was entrusted to me. As an old reader of Mandeville, I was well aware that the task was no light one. In all the editions or reprints of the current version since it first appeared in 1725 very little more indeed has been done than to print the bare text, and that even not in the most satisfactory manner. But the duty of an editor of Mandeville, as I understand it, extends far beyond this. As must be patent to every one, the work bristles with difficulties of every kind from beginning to end, and it can less afford to dispense with annotation than almost any other that ever was written. My object therefore has been not only to give the exact text of the unpublished version, but to afford the means of estimating the book and its author at their proper value. With whatever success, I have in this particular spared no pains, and the notes I have appended will serve almost equally well for the other English version as for this. But the size of the volume has been still more sensibly swelled from another cause, for I have thought fit to print the French text of Mandeville *pari passu* with the English. The reasons for this will appear presently, and the consequent gain to the edition in interest and value by thus making it bilingual will hardly be contested. For the latitude allowed me by the Club in this as in other respects I must express my acknowledgment, and I trust the result of my labours will in a measure compensate for the delay in completing them.

Before I attempt to discuss the subject-matter of the so-called "Voiage and Travaile" and the author's personality, there are two preliminary questions to be disposed of, namely the language in which the work was originally composed and the relationship one to another of the several forms of the English text. As is well known, manuscript copies of Mandeville exist in English, French, and Latin, besides texts having no claims to be original in various other languages, the number of which is a striking testimony to the author's wide popularity.¹ Down to a recent date the priority was generally assigned to the Latin text. This opinion was grounded not upon a consideration of the text itself, which, in England at least, was hardly known, but upon a passage at the end of the prologue in Cotton MS. Titus C. xvi. This is the only copy known of the current English version and is referred to in the present volume as C. The exact wording of the passage is as follows: "And 3ee schull vndirstonde þat I haue put this boke out of latyn in to frensch

¹ There are versions in Italian and Spanish, Dutch and Walloon, German, Bohemian, Danish and Irish; and the number of manuscripts altogether is said to be at least three hundred. See Dr. Albert Bovenschen's "Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville," etc., in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. xxiii., 1888, p. 194. This paper and a continuation of it referred to later on are of the utmost importance to the literature of the subject. It is with some reason that Sir H. Yule complains (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., 1875, vol. i. p. 114) of the greater popularity of the "lying wonders" of Mandeville compared with the "veracious and more sober marvels" of Polo, of whose Travels no more than seventy-seven manuscripts are known. The proportion in the Museum is twenty-nine of Mandeville to seven of the Venetian traveller; and, as Sir H. Yule observes, at least twenty-five editions of the former appeared in the 15th cent., as against five of the latter.

and translated it aȝen out of frensch in to Englyssch, þat euery man of my nacon may vnderstonde it. But lordes and knyghtes and othere noble and worthi men þat conne not latyn but lityll, and han ben bezonde the see knowen and vnderstonden ȝif I seye trouthe or non. And ȝif I erre in devisynge for forȝetynge or ell, þat þei mowe redresse it and amende it; ffor thinges passed out of longe tyme from a mannes mynde or from his syght turnen sone in to forȝetynge, because þat mynde of man ne may not ben comprehended ne withholden for the freeltee of mankynde." There is nothing whatever corresponding to this in Egerton MS. 1982, from which the text (E.) here printed is taken, nor, I believe, in any other English manuscript; and the Latin manuscripts are equally reticent as to the existence of any other version than their own. With the French text it is otherwise. This does contain a passage which is obviously the source from which the statement above is derived; but, when properly read, it flatly contradicts it. The passage will be found below on p. 3, but I repeat it here in the orthography of the earliest dated MS., as quoted by Dr. J. Vogels,¹ a German scholar to whose labours every student of Mandeville is greatly indebted: "Sachies que ie eusse cest livret mis en latin pour plus briefment deviser. Mais pource que plusieurs entendent mieulx rommant que latin, ie l'ay mis en rommant, par quoy que chascun lentende. Et que les seigneurs et les chevaliers et les autres nobles hommes qui ne scevent point de latin ou pou, qui ont este oultre mer, sachent et entendent se ie dy voir ou non, et se ie erre en divisant pour non souvenance ou autrement, que ilz le puissent adrecier et amender; car choses de lonc temps passees par la [longue] veue tournent en oubli, et memoire d'omme ne puet mie tout retenir ne comprendre." The meaning of these words is clear: "Know that I *should have* put this book into Latin to be more concise; but, seeing that many understand Romance (*i.e.* French) better than Latin, I have put it into Romance, to the end that every one may understand it, and that the lords and knights and other noble gentlemen, knowing no Latin or little, who have been beyond sea may know and understand whether I speak truth or not, and that, if I err in narrating by forgetfulness or otherwise, they may be able to set it right and amend it," etc. The first who drew attention to this passage as a direct claim on the part of the French text to be the original appears to have been M. D'Avezac, in his very valuable introduction to the "Historia Mongalorum" of John de Plano Carpini.² It was again brought into evidence independently by Mr. E. B. Nicholson, now Bodley's librarian at Oxford, in a letter to the *Academy* of 11 Nov. 1876 (vol. x. p. 477); and it is prominently put forward also in the article on Mandeville which he contributed, jointly with Col. (now Sir Henry) Yule, to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. xv., 1883, p. 473. Probability, to begin with, is all in its favour, even if we assume that Mandeville, whoever he was, wrote primarily for Englishmen. Common as Latin was as a literary medium in the Middle Ages, it was after all the language of the scholar and the clerk; while the whole tenor of the composition shows that it was addressed not so much to the "lered" as to the "lewd," and more especially to the

¹ *Die ungedruckten Lateinischen Versionen Mandeville's*, printed as a "Beilage zum Programm des Gymnasiums zu Crefeld," 1886, p. 8. Dr. Vogels wrongly speaks of the manuscript as *Libri* xxiv; and the same error appears in the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, as above, p. 475. He should have said *Barrois* xxiv. At the time he wrote both the *Libri* and *Barrois* collections (originally formed by the collectors whose names they bore) were in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham; but, thanks to the energy and perseverance of M. Léopold Delisle, the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Mandeville, with other manuscripts from the same collections proved to have been abstracted from French libraries, is now at Paris, where it is numbered Nouv. Acq. Franç. 4515 (L. Delisle, *Cat. des MSS. des fonds Libri et Barrois*, 1888, p. 251). It begins, "Ci commence le livre Jehan de Mandeville, chevalier, lequel parle de l'estat de la terre sainte et des merveilles que il y a veues," and has a colophon to the effect that it was written "par Raoulet d'Orliens, l'an de grace mil ccclxxi, le xviii^e jour de septembre," for Gervaise Crestien, first physician to Charles V. of France. M. Delisle shows that Nouv. Acq. Franç. 4516 (*Barrois* clxxxv.) was copied by the same scribe and originally formed part of the same volume. It contains a copy in French of a well-known treatise on the plague by "Maistre Jehan de Bourgoigne, autrement dit à la Barbe, professeur en médecine et cytoien du Liège." According to the colophon this was compiled in 1365, "à Liège, en laquelle ville il a fait moult d'autres nobles traictiez de la science, non oys autrefois." The significance of the juxtaposition of the two works in one volume will appear later on. On the last page is the note: "Ce livre est à nous, Charles le V^e de notre nom, roy de France, et le nous donna metre Gervese Cretien, notre premier fisicien, l'an m.ccc.lxxi. Charles." This note applies of course to the whole volume in its original state. From an entry inserted in Gilles Malet's catalogue of the Louvre library, drawn up in 1373, the book appears to have been withdrawn by the king for some reason on 20 Nov. 1392 (Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS.*, 1881, vol. iii. p. 154); but it returned intact to the royal library in the 17th cent., and remained there till it was stolen, and the two works separated, in modern times.

² *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1839, p. 428.

Introduction.

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classes with leisure and means to go beyond sea, whether as pilgrims to the Holy Places or from the mere love of travel which, as Mandeville himself remarks (p. 81, and note), already characterised the English race. And, not to speak of the wider audience thus gained across the channel, these were just the classes who would best be reached through the French tongue; for, as we know from a remarkable passage in Higden's *Polychronicon*, amplified by his translator Trevisa,¹ a knowledge of French was regarded in England as a mark of gentility as late as the middle of the 14th cent., soon after which the book professes to have been written. But the real test of priority must depend on a comparison of the rival texts. In Latin there are, as Dr. Vogels has shown in the pamphlet already mentioned, no less than five distinct and independent versions. Of one of these, which he terms the vulgate, he enumerates twelve extant manuscripts. Three only of the number are in this country,² while none are earlier than the 15th century. About the other versions there is this peculiarity, that all the eight manuscripts are in English libraries with one exception, and even this, now at Leiden, has a colophon that it was written by Richard Bleddeclewe, a monk of Abingdon Abbey, in 1390. The remaining seven manuscripts, like those of the vulgate text, are all of the 15th century. Of the whole five versions the vulgate alone has appeared in print.³ This, however, is not only the most important in other respects, but it is the one that contains the very remarkable statement as to the author's having written the work at Liège in 1355 (a year before the date in the French and English texts), at the instigation of the physician John "ad Barbam," whom he had formerly known at Cairo. This passage I shall have to notice further on, and I will only observe here that its absence from the French text is an argument for the latter not being derived from the Latin, for it is barely possible that a translator, more especially if identical with the author, would have omitted so interesting a personal reference without apparent motive. However that may be, as early as 1840 Dr. Carl Schönborn⁴ deduced from internal evidence that this particular Latin text could not have emanated from Mandeville himself, but is an abridged and faulty translation by another hand. Now that we know more of

¹ Though the passage ought to be well known, an extract from it will bear repeating: "Chyldern in scole aȝenes þe usage and manere of al oper nacions buȝ compelled for to leve here ounne longage 7 for to construe here lessons 7 here pinges a Freynsch 7 habbeȝ supthe þe Normans come furst in to Engeland. Also gentilmen children buȝ ytaugt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buȝ yrokke in here cradel 7 conneȝ speke 7 pleye wiȝ a child hys brouch; and uplondysch men wol lykne hamysyf to gentil men 7 fondeȝ wiȝ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch for to be more ytold of. [*Here Trevisa's matter begins.*] Þys manere was moche y-used to fore the furste moreyn 7 ys seȝthe somdel ychaunged, for John Cornwal, a mayster of gramere, chayngede þe lore in gramer scole 7 construccio of Freynsch in to Englysch; 7 Richard Pencrych lurnede þat manere techyng of hym 7 oper men of Pencrych; so þat now þe ȝer of oure Lord a þousond þre hondred fourc score 7 fyve, of þe secunde kyng Richard after þe conquest nync, in al þe gramer scoles of Engeland childern leueȝ Frensch 7 construeȝ 7 lurneȝ an Englysch 7 habbeȝ þerby avauntage in on syde 7 desavauntage yn anoper. Here avauntage ys þat a lurneȝ here gramer yn lasse tyme þan childern were ywoned to do; disavauntage ys þat now childern of gramer scole conneȝ no more Frensch þan can here lift heele, 7 þat ys harm for ham 7 a scholle passe þe se 7 travayle in strange londes, 7 in meny caas also. Also gentil men habbeȝ now moche yleft for to teche here childern Frensch." With Dr. R. Morris (*Specimens of Early English*, 1867, p. 338), I quote from Cotton MS. Tiberius D. vii. (f. 50b) in preference to the text adopted in the Rolls edition of Higden's *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington, vol. ii., 1869, p. 158. Higden's work actually closes in 1348 (*ibid.*, vol. viii., ed. J. R. Lumby, p. xxvii.), being the year of the "furste moreyn," or plague, to which Trevisa refers. The latter finished his translation in 1387.

² Two of these, viz. Brit. Mus., Harley 3589, and Bodleian, Laud 721, were written abroad. The latter, written by Johann von Oistrich, of Eberbach in Bavaria, in 1454, has the colophon "Explicit itinerarius a terra Anglie in partes Iherosolimitanas et in ultteriores transmarinas. Editus primo in lingua Gallicana a domino Johanne de Mandevilla, milite, suo auctore, anno incarnationis Domini m.ccc.lviii. [?lv. in] civitate Leodiensi, et paulo post in eadem civitate translatus in dictam formam Latinam." The Harley MS. has much the same as a title, but ending, "... et [sc. a] milite suo auct. anno inc. dom. m^occc^o quinquagesimo quinto in civ. Leod.; et non paulo post transtulit in hanc form. Lat." The third MS., Bodl. Fairfax 23, is, as Mr. F. Madan, the sub-librarian, kindly informs me, in an English hand.

³ The earliest edition is said to be that of which there is a copy in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (no. 6700). It has no date, place, or printer's name, but it was probably printed about 1480. It is a small quarto, in double columns, and bears the title "Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis." The "Incipit" is identical with that in the Laud MS. quoted above, except that the name "Dom. Joh. de Mandevilla" is omitted and the date is properly given as 1355. This is the volume from which I generally quote. The Museum possesses four other editions of the same text, all without date, the latest of which is assigned to the year 1500. Among them (Grenv. 6728. 3) is an edition supposed to have been printed by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp about 1484, included in one volume with Marco Polo and Ludolph von Suchem or Sudheim. A curious feature in it is that frequent references are made to parallel passages in the Travels of Odoric of Pordenone (see below), notably in the description of the Valley Perilous.

⁴ *Bibliographische Untersuchungen über die Reise-Beschreibung des Sir John Maundeville*, Breslau, 1840.

the author and his method, further arguments may be adduced on either side. It must be confessed that there are some features which at first sight rather suggest an opposite conclusion, namely that the Latin is the earlier form and the French an expansion. Generally speaking, there is in the former a more orderly arrangement of matter and greater sobriety of tone, and some of the romantic tales, with other passages most likely to have been interpolated, are wanting. This is the case for example with the stories of the Dragon-Lady of Cos (p. 12), the Gorgon-Head of Satalia (p. 14), the miraculous supply of olive-oil to the monks of Mount Sinai (p. 31), the origin of roses (p. 35), and the bringing down of a plank of the Ark from Mount Ararat (p. 74); while in the legend of the Castle of the Sparrow-hawk (p. 73) only two successful watchers of the bird are mentioned, a king and a shepherd. I may point also to the singular fact that, whereas in repeating Odoric of Pordenone's account of giant tortoises in the Indian Seas the French text transforms them into snails (p. 96), the Latin retains Odoric's own term "testudines." But, besides the suggestively French aspect of many of the corrupted proper names, the evidence of abridgement in the Latin text is in parts very strong. Perhaps the most striking instances are in the list of the Sultans of Egypt (p. 19),¹ and in the account of the family of the Great Kaan (p. 121),² as well as, more generally, in the chapter on the religion and customs of the Saracens (p. 66). As moreover in these and similar cases the details peculiar to the French text are indisputably derived from the same sources as the matter common to both, the inference that the fuller text is the earlier is almost irresistible; and, even on the contrary hypothesis, it must still have proceeded from Mandeville's own pen, unless we are to suppose that the knowledge of the manner in which his Travels were compiled, and of the particular authorities he used, was not confined to himself. But there is an additional reason for regarding the Latin vulgate version as a later and modified form of the original French. This is the extraordinary part played in it by the mythical Carlovingian hero Ogier le Danois, who is constantly introduced as having centuries before travelled in the far East along the same route followed by the author. The references to him certainly present every appearance of being interpolated, and they suggest a possible origin of the Latin text which I shall have to discuss when I come to the question of Mandeville's identity. It may be, of course, that they were a later importation into the Latin text after it issued from the hands of the author or translator; but to decide this requires a more intimate knowledge of the widely scattered manuscripts than we at present possess, no critical edition having yet been published. Meanwhile I am disposed on the whole matter to agree with Dr. Schönborn's view, which appears also to be fully accepted by Dr. Vogels.³ Thanks to the latter scholar, the case as regards the other four Latin versions is clear enough; for he has effectually shown that the errors and corruptions observable in each of them point unmistakably to a French original. I will merely therefore express my accord with his conclusions and pass on to the two texts, French and English, with which I am more particularly concerned.

As regards the French text, I must, in the first place, disclaim any intention of giving a rigidly critical edition based on an examination of all the manuscripts. This is a task upon which Dr. Vogels has for some years been engaged. It is, I am happy to learn, nearing its completion, and it certainly could not be in better hands. But, even if the ground had not been thus pre-occupied, with the limited time at my disposal I could hardly have ventured upon it; and as it is, I have confined myself entirely to the materials ready at hand in the British Museum. The collection of Mandeville manuscripts there preserved is, however, a rich one,⁴ and it has furnished me, not only with the unique manuscripts of the two complete English versions, but with a choice of

¹ Compare with the Grenville volume, ch. vii., "Decimus Mellechasseraph . . . Exinde, *omissis succedentium nominibus xvi*, dicebatur vel dicitur Melechmandabron. Sub isto ego per aliquod tempus stipendiarius fui in guerris suis cum Bedoyens, qui ei tunc temporis rebellabant."

² "Tempore autem meo erat nomen imperatoris Chiant Can et primogenitus eius Consuo Can, preter quem et alios filios habuit duodecim, *de quorum singulis nominibus scribendis non est cura*" (*ibid.*, ch. xxxvii).

³ "Das sei aber schon jetzt bemerkt, dass in dieser lat. vulgata keinesfalls das Originalwerk zu sehen ist" (*op. cit.*, p. 4).

⁴ The full tale of copies is ten French, nine English, six Latin, three German, and one Irish.

ten copies of the French text. Although the earliest dated copy (p. vi.), which is said to be also the best, is unfortunately not among them, these are more than sufficient; for, the printing of the English text being the main object, the French is in fact merely subsidiary, and it is included less for its own sake than as the readiest means of demonstrating the closeness of the connexion between the two. At the same time, as it is undoubtedly the earlier, I will here speak of it first, premising that, unlike the Latin and English texts, the manuscripts are all substantially of a single type, due allowance being of course made for the errors and vagaries of successive copyists. If an exception can be made, it would be Harley MS. 3940, the variations of which are so marked as almost to constitute it a class by itself. This is, however, a very poor 15th cent. copy; and the proper names are more than ordinarily disfigured and unrecognisable. The manuscripts I have used are Harley 4383 (H.), Sloane 1464 (S.), Royal 20 B. x. (R.) and Grenville xxxix. (G.), the first-named supplying the actual text. Both this MS. (small folio) and S. (octavo) may date from the end of the 14th cent., but H. appears, if anything, to be the earlier of the two and it is more carefully written. Unfortunately the latter part of it is lost, and it ends in the middle of ch. xxii. (p. 103). From this point therefore I have had recourse for the text to R., being chiefly influenced by its very close agreement with H., so far as the latter extends. It would seem indeed that they must have been copied from the same archetype, for in two places they both exhibit a blank space for the same omitted word (p. 27, n. 6, p. 39, n. 10). R. is a small folio, neatly written and dating tolerably early in the 15th cent.; and the handwriting and orthography show that the scribe was an Englishman. The same is unmistakably the case also with regard to the two earlier copies, H. and S. The Grenville MS., on the contrary, a small folio, with double columns, of the 15th cent., is plainly of French origin¹; and in appearance it is somewhat the best of the four. It differs also from the others in not being divided into regular chapters, though the paragraphs are generally headed by a brief descriptive rubric. The diction is on the whole less rude, but the names are very corrupt, and the scribe seems to have been peculiarly prone to omit passages from homœoteleuton. Some of the omissions, however, are countenanced by S., and the readings of the two manuscripts in other respects often coincide. For some reasons I was at first inclined to use G. for the text; but, failing the Paris MS., I finally determined to give the preference to a manuscript written in this country. Published specimens of French as current in England at the end of the 14th century are not too common; and the particular text given is very closely followed by one at least (C.) of the English versions. Had I been fortunate enough to find a manuscript with a French text equally close to the English version which I have printed, I should of course have adopted it. I have, however, in the footnotes given various readings from both G. and S., not indeed noting every minute variation, but only such as in any way affect the sense. The fourth copy (R.) I have only referred to occasionally, until it takes the place of H. in the text.²

To return to the passage before quoted from the English version in Cotton MS. Titus C. xvi., it will be observed that not only, with regard to the Latin, does it represent the author as having done what, if we credit the French text, he expressly declares he had refrained from doing, but it also adds the words "and translated it a3en out of frensch in to Englyssch." The perversion in the first case may be simply due to a misunderstanding

¹ From the L surmounted by a crown on the back of the 18th cent. binding it has been inferred that it once belonged to the Royal Library of France.

² The earliest known edition of the French text was printed at Lyons, in folio, with the date 8 Feb. 1480. Another, without name of printer or place, is dated 4 Apr. in the same year, and is said to be preserved in a single copy only in the Grenville Library (no. 6775). It is a folio, in double columns, black letter, and begins: "Ce liure est eppelle Mandeuille et fut fait et compose par monsieur ichan de mandeuille cheualier natif dangleterre de la uille de saint alein [*i.e.* St. Albans]. Et parle de la terre de promission cest assauoir de ierusalem et de plusieurs autres isles de mer et les diuerses et estranges choses qui sont es dites isles." It ends, "Cy finist ce tresplaisant liure nome Mande ville parlant moult autentiquement du pays et terre doultre mer et fut fait lan Mil cccclxxx le iiii iour dauril." Tobler (*Bibl. Geogr. Palaest.*, 1867, p. 37) mentions other editions of 1487, 1517, 1542, etc.; and a modernised and much abridged version was included by Bergeron in his collection of *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*, etc., 1735, vol. i. Till now no French edition has been published in England.

of "je eusse," as if it were "I had" instead of "I should have." The added words, on the contrary, assuming them to be the translator's own, and not interpolated by an officious scribe, must have been intended to mislead. They involve in fact two distinct assertions, that the English text was translated from the French and, further, that the translation was made by the author himself. Of the truth of the former there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any one who reads the two texts carefully together, but precisely the same internal evidence makes it impossible to believe that the author had a hand in the translation. Nor is this the case only with the Cotton version. It is the same also with that in our Egerton MS. and with a still earlier form in which we possess the English text. Both these by the way are no less open to the charge of fraud than C., for, by suppressing the passage in the French text altogether, they convey the impression that the English is the one and only form of the work. The history of the English versions is a curious one. It has been already pointed out by Mr. Nicholson¹ that, with the exception of the Cotton and Egerton volumes, all the known English manuscripts omit a long passage, which extends from p. 36, l. 7, of Halliwell's edition (1866) of C., "And there are," to p. 62, l. 25, "abbeye often tyme," answering to the text of E. as here printed, p. 18, l. 21, "for the Sowdan," to p. 32, l. 16, "synges oft tyme." This is certainly the case with all the seven manuscripts of this class in the Museum. The fact is remarkable, and shows that they must have had a common archetype which was deficient between these two points. Proofs from internal evidence that this mutilated archetype was in French are abundant, but it is enough to adduce the few words immediately preceding the gap. They are substantially the same in all the Museum manuscripts, but I quote them from Harley 3954 (f. 11), "and also he haldyth Calaphes,² qwyche is a gret þing to þe Sowdan, þat is to say among hem *Roys ils*. And þis vale is ful cold," etc. On reference to the French text here (p. 18, l. 42) it will be seen that the corresponding passage runs, "Et ovesqe ceo il est Califfes, qest mult grande chose en lour langage, et est tant a dire come *roi*. // y soleit auoir v. soudans," etc. Evidently, in the French copy used by the translator the two words in italics came at the bottom of the page, the next beginning on the other side of the gap. With so marked a want of sequence, he must have been extraordinarily obtuse, and subsequent copyists no less so, not to have perceived that leaves were missing. Such, however, seems to have been the case, and, failing thus to connect "il" with the words actually following, he was apparently led to believe that "roi il" or "roys ils" was an alternative Arabic title of the Caliph. Apart from the fact that he must have been aware of the gap, it is inconceivable that the actual author would have perpetrated this glaring absurdity. All the manuscripts of this defective English text are of the 15th cent., and the date of the translation is open to doubt. What evidence there is suggests that it was not made much, if at all, before 1400. The earliest notice of Mandeville's work in England with which I am acquainted is in the Chronicle of Meaux Abbey, in Yorkshire, written by Abbot Thomas de Burton between 1388 and 1396. Under the date 1356³ the chronicler says that Sir John Mandeville, returning home after thirty-six (properly thirty-four) years of travel, wrote his book in that year and dedicated it to King Edward. He plainly got his facts from the book itself, and, as he speaks of the dedicatory letter, which is only found at the end of the French manuscripts (though not in all or the best of them), we may infer that he knew it in that form. There is a more explicit statement in a eulogy of the monastery of St. Albans, printed as an Appendix to the Annals of John Amundesham and,

¹ *Academy*, vol. x., p. 477 and *Encycl. Britann.*, vol. xv., p. 475, as above.

² Properly "*is* Caliph." The French original perhaps had "*il y a*," which would account for the blunder.

³ "Eodem anno [1356] Johannes de Mandavilla, miles Anglicus, in villa Sancti Albani oriundus, postquam in 36 annis per universum fere orbem pertransisset, per Turkeciam, Armeniam majorem et minorem, Tartariam, Persidem, Siriam, Arabiam, Egyptum superiorem et inferiorem, Libiam, Caldæam, Ethiopiam, Indiam majorem et minorem, et alias diversas insulas prope Indiam adjacentes, ubi diversæ gentes diversorum rituum et formarum conversantur, scripsit de omnibus mirabilibus orbis quæ in ipsa peregrinatione 36 annorum cognoverat volumen unum, et ipsum dicto Edwardo regi Angliæ destinavit" (*Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, Rolls Series, vol. iii., 1868, p. 158).

according to the editor, probably composed by the chronicler Thomas Walsingham.¹ In it is included a list of celebrities who, without being monks (*minime cucullati*), had added lustre to St. Albans in various ways. Mandeville figures prominently among them, and he is expressly said to have composed his work in French, no mention being made of any other version. The last person named in the list died in 1381, but the hand is later, and Walsingham himself lived until after 1422. These passages, however, are by no means conclusive against the existence of an English version at the time they were written; and we know (p. vii.) that a Latin version was copied, if not actually made, at Abingdon, not far from St. Albans, in 1390. Still, they may both be taken to show that down to the close of the century French was the language in which the work was commonly known in this country. The first distinct mention of three texts, presumably French, English, and the vulgate Latin, is probably that made by a foreign chronicler, Radulphus de Rivo, dean of Tongres, who, in noticing the death of the Liège claimant to the authorship, states that he wrote his travels in three languages.² De Rivo died in 1403, so that, unless the words "*tribus linguis*" are a subsequent interpolation in his chronicle, we must suppose that an English translation of some kind was made long enough before that date to have become known on the continent. Be that as it may, it could not have been long after 1400 that the defective text, as we now have it, fell into the hands of those who had the means of comparing it with a complete French manuscript (perhaps indeed more than one), and took the opportunity of revising it and supplying the omitted matter. The result was the two independent versions represented by C. and E., the latter of which until now has remained in obscurity. That they were both grounded on the defective text³ (which I will call D.), and were not entirely fresh translations, is, I think, certain. Sometimes one comes nearer to it and sometimes the other, or again all three are in substantial agreement; while, on the other hand, in the part where the D. text is not available there is a more marked divergence in the wording of the other two. I subjoin a passage taken almost at random from C. and from the D. text as contained in Harley 3954, which may be compared with the text of E. below (p. 102):—

Cotton, Titus C. xvi. f. 87.

In þat abbeye is a gret gardyn and a fair, where ben many trees of dyerse manere of frutes. And in this gardyn is a lytill hill, full of delectable trees. In þat hill and in þat gardyn ben many dyerse bestes, as of apes, marmozettes, babewynes and many oþer dyerse bestes. And euery day whan the couent of this abbeye hath eten, the awmener let bere the releef to the gardyn. And he smyteth on the gardyn zate with a clyket of syluer þat he holdeth in his hond, and anon all the bestes of þe hill and of dyerse places of the gardyn comen out, a iij mil or a iiij mil, and

Harl. 3954, f. 44b.

And in þat abeye is a gret gardeyn and þer in be many maner of tres and dyuers frutys. In þat gardeyn be many dyuers bestis, as apys, marmesettis, and oþyr. And qwan þe couent hath etyn, a monk takyth þe relef and do ber it in to þe gardeyn. And he smytyth onys wyth a cleket off syluer qwyche he holdyth in hys hond, and anon comyn þis bestis, abowtyn iij. mil or iiij. mil. And he ȝeuyth hem to etyn of a fayr vessel of syluer. And qwan þei han etyn, he smytyth þe cleket and þei gon aȝen þer þei com fro. And þe monk seyth þat þo bestis þat ben fayre be

¹ "Dominus Johannes de Mandevile, miles, pervagator pæne totius orbis, et in multis bellis contra nostræ fidei adversarios lacessitus, sed minime fatigatus, librum composuit Gallice de hiis quæcumque vidit, hic in villa de Sancto Albano materno utero fusus est" (*Annales Monasterii S. Albani a Job. Amundesham, monacho, ut videtur, conscripti*, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, vol. ii., 1871, p. 306). The same MS. Cotton, Claudius E. iv., contains an inventory of jewels, etc., also probably made by Walsingham. It includes (f. 352), "Item unus annulus aureus, in cuius castone habetur sapphirus bonus et pretiosus magnæ quantitatis, firmatus cum tenaculis de auro; ex dono Domini Johannis Maundevile, militis" (*ibid.*, p. 331).

² In his "*Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*," printed by Jo. Chapeavillus, *Qui gesta pontificum Leodiensium scripserunt auctores præcipui*, Liège, 1612-1616, vol. iii. p. 17. The whole passage will be found quoted below. This reference to De Rivo I obtained from Foullon's *Historia Leodiensis*, Liège, 1735, vol. i. p. 346.

³ Down to 1725 this was the only published English text, but the editions differ not a little. The earliest with a date is that of Wynkyn de Worde, 1499, 4to. It is very rare, and I have not seen it, nor the same printer's edition of 1503. Possibly Pynson's undated edition, of which there is a unique copy in the Grenville Library (no. 6713), is as early or even earlier. This is a 4to, in black letter, with no title or woodcuts. It ends "Here endeth the boke of John Maundvyle knyght of wayes to Jerusalem and of marueyls of ynde and of other countrees. Emprinted by Rychard Pynson." What the woodcuts were in W. de Worde's two editions, I cannot say. Those in T. East's edition of 1568 and T. Stanby's of 1618 are virtually the same as those which have been repeated down to our own day. East's edition has recently been reprinted by Mr. John Ashton, 1887. His reason for choosing it was the somewhat extraordinary one that he found the Cotton version unreadable! It is a poor text, and, I must add, very insufficiently edited. None of the MSS. appear to have been consulted, and no notice is even taken of the gap, to which Mr. Nicholson long before directed attention.

þei comen in gyse of pore men. And men 3euen hem the releef in faire vesselles of syluer, clene ouer gylt. And whan þei han eten, the monk smyteth eftsones on the gardyn 3ate with the clyket, and þan anon all the bestes retornen a3en to here places þat þei come fro. And þei seyn þat theise bestes ben soules of worthi men þat resemblen in lykness of þo bestes þat ben faire, and þerfore [þei 3euen] hem mete for the loue of God. And the oper bestes þat ben foule þei seyn ben soules of pore men and of rude comouns. And þus þei beleueu, and no man may putte hem out of þis opynyoun. Þeise bestes aboueseyd þei let taken whan þei ben 3onge, and norisschen hem so with almess, als manye as þei may fynde. And I asked hem 3if it had not ben better to haue 3ouen þat releef to pore men rather þan to þo bestes. And þei answerde me and seyde þat þei hadde no pore man amonges hem in þat contree, and, þough it had ben so þat pore men had ben among hem, 3it were it gretter almess to 3euen it to þo soules þat don þere here penance.

sowlys of lordys and of ryche men, and oper bestis be sowlys of commounerys, þat ben dede. And I askyd hym if it were not ben bettere to gef þat relef to powre men. And he seyde þat þer is no powre man in al þat lond, and, þow þer were, 3et it were more almes to 3yuyn it to þe sowlys þat suffryn þere here penaunce and may go no ferthere to getyn here mete, as men þat han werwyth and may trauayl for here sustenance.

The two complete MSS. C. and E. require more particular description.¹ In date there is nothing to choose between them, for both appear to have been written somewhere about 1410-20. C. is a small quarto measuring 8½ by 6 inches, with 132 leaves. The text is written in a neat, well-formed hand, varying somewhat in parts (more especially at f. 119), but not enough to make it certain that more than one scribe was employed. The ornamentation is very simple. There is a large initial in gold, on a red and blue ground, at the beginning, and the other initials are in blue, filled in and flourished with lines in red. The text is divided into chapters by rubricated titles, without numeration. From an *ex-dono* note on a fly-leaf, the volume appears to have come to the Cotton Library from the well-known Sir Edward Walker (*ob.* 1676). As he is styled Knight and Garter King of Arms, the gift must have been made after Feb. 1645, and to Sir Thomas Cotton (*ob.* 1662), whose father Sir Robert, founder of the library, died in 1631. E. is at present of exactly the same measurement as C., but the leaves (129 in number) have been more closely sheared in binding. The hand is a little firmer and bolder, and is manifestly the same throughout. The ornamentation is still more severe, the large initial at the beginning, otherwise closely resembling that in C., not being gilded (though apparently intended to be) and the smaller red and blue initials being perfectly plain, without flourishes. The text is not divided into chapters, but the names of places, etc., are frequently noted in the margin, some of them being in Latin. As these marginal notes are very irregular and sometimes misplaced, I have not thought it worth while to reproduce them, more particularly as for convenience I have adopted the division of chapters and the headings common to the French text and C. There is an inscription on a fly-leaf, which I reproduce just as it stands:—"On a leaf of paper pasted on the inside of the ancient cover of this MSS. (*sic*), and too friable and decayed to be separated from it and preserved, there was written—'Thys fayre Boke I have fro the abbey at Saint Albons in thys yeare of Our Lord M.CCCCLXXXX the sixt daye of Apryll. Willyam Caxton—Richard Tottyl, 1579—Lond.' This Book was given to me by the Rev^d Hugh Tuthill, a descendant of the above named Richard Tottyl, who was a celebrated Printer—E. Hill, M.D., March 22^d, 1803." One would much like to believe that the volume had passed through Caxton's hands; but in the absence of the precious leaf, I can only say with Mandeville (speaking of his visit to Cathay), "He þat will trowe it, trowe it; and he þat will no3t, lefe" (p. 108). Dr. Edward Hill (from whose grand-daughter the manuscript was purchased for the Museum in 1865) was, however, a man of high repute and, at the date of his note, Regius Professor of Physic at Trinity College, Dublin. The person from whom he received the volume was, I suppose, the Hugh Tuthill who proceeded M.A. at Dublin in 1777, four years after he himself became M.D. So far as is known, neither Caxton nor Tottel (whose publications date from

¹ Properly speaking E. is the *only* complete English version, for the Cotton MS. has lost three leaves after f. 53 (see below, p. 61, n. 3).

1553 to 1597) printed an edition of Mandeville; but, supposing the former to have obtained the volume in 1490 for that purpose, the design may have been frustrated by his death in the following year.

Comparing the text of the two MSS., it must be admitted that C. adheres more literally to the French Mandeville, or rather, I should say, to that form of it which is here printed. That the latter represents the real original accurately, and without interpolation, in all points I am by no means prepared to assert, but it probably does so fairly well. The true nature of the relation between the French and English texts comes out clearly in the mistranslations, a few specimens of which I will here notice. Perhaps the most glaring in C. is that quoted on p. 53, n. 3. In the account of Samaria the French has "et siet entre *montaignes*." This is rightly rendered in E. "and it standez amang hilles"; but C. actually reads "and it sytt betwene þe hille of *Aygnas*," the reason being, I suspect, that the word "mont-aignes" was so divided at the end of a line. Again, a few sentences lower down by misreading "C. ordres" for "Cordeliers" it turns Cordelier nuns into "nunnes of *an hundred orders*." Another class of mistake is represented in it by "cytee of Dandrenople" ("Bradrenople," E., which is worse) for "cite d'Andrenople" (p. 4), "the Farde of Mescyne" for "le far (*i.e.* Faro) de Messine" (p. 28), "Haylla" ("Hayla," E.) for "*Hay la* quelle" (p. 52), and "cytee of Deluze" for "cite de Luze" (p. 53). Of the Danube both C. and E. say that "it gothe (gase, E.) into Almayne." The French, rightly enough, has "naist" ("oritur," Lat. vulg.), which was misread "uaist," and so "vait," "va" (p. 4, n. 7). This corruption, however, seems to have begun in some of the French manuscripts. So also by a confusion of "chemins" and "cheminées" ("caminos infernales," Lat. vulg.) we have the volcanic Lipari islands called in C. "the *weyes* of helle" and in E. "þe *entreez* and þe *zates* of helle," instead of the more appropriate "chimneys." One of the most extraordinary blunders in the current version was long ago pointed out by Maetznér,¹ viz. "þe cercle of *swannes* of heuene," as the rendering of "le cercle des *signes* du ciel" (p. 43). This is an obvious misreading or mishearing of "cignes" for "signes." E. avoids it, as it also does the transformation in C. of Alexander's famous Iron Gate into "the *zate* of hell." In the latter case it retains the French phrase "Porte de fer" instead of translating it (pp. 126, 127). C. follows a similar course in reading "whiche þei clepen *Dieu*" ("and þat þai say es *Godd*," E., p. 97), apparently regarding "Dieu" as a native term in the island of "Melk." There are other instances in which E. shows to equal advantage. Thus, it does not confound lemons (limons, p. 84) with snails (limaçons), or larks (alowes, p. 134) with geese (owes); and it is uniform and correct in its rendering of "feutre" (*i.e.* felt), about which C. is in hopeless perplexity (n. to p. 121, ch. xxvi.). On the other hand, besides the blunders which it has in common with C., it has others of its own. One at least is as bad as any of those in the rival version. In describing the balm shrubs near Cairo the French text reads (p. 26), "Et coupe homme les braunches dun *cailou agu*," *i.e.*, as in C., "with a *scharp flyntston*" ("de lapide acuto vel osse fracto," Lat. vulg.). But the translator of E. was evidently at a loss for the meaning. He made one word therefore out of "cailou agu" and supposed it to be a foreign expression, rendering, "Thai cutte away þe deed braunches with ane instrument made þerfore . . . and þat instrument es called *gaylounagon*." The account of the Egyptian sultans on p. 19 furnishes another example. The French text (which is followed by C.) there speaks of "ly Comainz," answering to the "Cumani" of Hayton, from whom the passage is copied (n. to p. 19, l. 1). E., however, turns them into the "comoun pople" and the "comouns." There is a queer misconception in the statement (p. 30) that travellers in the Arabian Desert cannot get on without "men þat can speke *Latyne*." The French word is "latiniers" or "latimiers" ("latymeres," C.), and it is used of course in its more general sense of "interpreters." Again, the translator reads "midi" for "Mede" (p. 79), and makes one of the three Indies, and that the temperate one, extend toward the *south* instead of to *Media*. There is another very singular reading which I must not omit to mention, though it hardly comes under the head of mistranslations. This is the statement that Lot's wife

¹ *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Berlin, vol. i., pt. 2, p. 196. The extract there given (pp. 155-221) from Halliwell's edition, pp. 1-5, 34-113, is accompanied by useful notes.

was changed into "a salt *catte*" (p. 51). There is nothing in the French text to countenance this, and I cannot explain it (but see n. on p. 186, col. 1). Corruptions in proper names are of course abundant in both manuscripts, and indeed hardly less so in the French text; but, with the notes at hand for reference, there is no need to particularise. What I chiefly wish to show is (1) that the two English versions are equally derived from the French; (2) that, save in so far as they are both based on the defective D. text, they are independent one of the other; and (3) that neither can possibly have proceeded from Mandeville in person; and, without multiplying proofs, enough has, I think, been said to place these conclusions beyond reasonable doubt. There are, however, important linguistic differences between the two which require some notice. Roughly speaking, the Cotton version is in the Midland, and the Egerton version in the Northern, dialect. Thus, to take the common test of the plural present indicative, the latter habitually uses the inflexion *es*, instead of *en*; the present participle terminates in *and*; the infinitive drops the final *en*; and the past participle retains it. It exhibits moreover some forms of words generally regarded as northern, such as *thai* (*thei*, C.), *thaire* (*hire*, C.), *thaim* (*hem*, C.); *swilk*, *whilk*, *ilk*; *kirke*, *lowgh*; *brether*, *childer*; *thusgates*, *whatkyn*, *umqwhyle*, *warne* (= unless); *at* and *til* for *to*, *fra* for *from*; *bese* (= is), *buse* (= it behoves). For many more words of philological interest, though not all distinctly northern in character, I must refer to the Glossary at the end of this Introduction. At the same time, there is no rigid adherence to particular dialectal forms. For example, *sal*, *suld* and *schal*, *schuld* are used indiscriminately; and so, still more remarkably, with the common expression "that is *at* say" and "that is *to* say," and others akin to it. Nor is this only due, as might be supposed, to the translator's partial use of the (Midland) D. text, for it is equally observable in that portion of the work in which the latter is deficient (*e.g.* pp. 19-21). The locality therefore from which the version hails is not easily determined. It could hardly have been from St. Albans, as Dr. Hill's note rather suggests, and still less from Canterbury, as might be inferred from the interpolated passage in glorification of St. Thomas the Martyr (p. 149). On the other hand, with its admixture of forms, the manuscript cannot be regarded as purely northern; but for my own part I believe it to have been written very little, if at all, south of the Humber. In any case, on philological as on other grounds it deserves to rank on an equality with the Cotton version, though I am not sanguine enough to suppose that it will oust the latter from its established position of popularity as the standard English text.¹ As it has been shown that Mandeville himself was responsible for neither, nor even for the earlier defective text, his personal claim to be regarded as the Father of English Prose is completely destroyed. And this is not all; the honour cannot even be shared among his anonymous translators. The result of their labours was almost certainly preceded by the English Bible and other prose works of Wycliffe (*ob.* 1384), if not by John Trevisa's translation of Higden, which was completed in 1387. If therefore the title in question can fairly be given to any writer so late as the second half of the 14th century, Wycliffe is the more rightful claimant.

Thus much having been said as to the form in which it has come down to us, I will now speak of the work itself. In so doing I am still indebted to the admirable article on Mandeville in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to which I have before referred (p. vi). Of the joint authors, Sir H. Yule treated this branch of the subject,² and his practised hand is everywhere visible in the succinct but comprehensive analysis in which he has disposed

¹ The Cotton version was first edited anonymously in 1725 under the title *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, kt., which treateth of the way to Hierusalem; and of marvayles of Inde, with other ilands and countrys. Now publish'd entire from an original MS. in the Cotton Library*, London, 8vo. This volume, which, besides the text, included a short preface, some various readings of proper-names, and a glossary, was reprinted in 1727. It was again reprinted in 1839, with an insufficient Introduction and a very few notes by J. O. Halliwell. This is the shape in which the version is generally known, chiefly, however, through the reprints, one of which appeared in 1866 and another in 1883; but the text, which was not very well edited in the first instance, has from 1725 until now never been revised by collation with the MS. The version being so easily accessible in one or other of Halliwell's editions, I have only given various readings from it when of importance for the sense; but in such cases I have taken them from the Cotton MS. direct. The best-known modernised edition is that in T. Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, in Bohn's "Antiquarian Library," 1847; reproduced in Cassell's "National Library," ed. H. Morley, 1886.

² See Mr. Nicholson's letter in the *Academy* for 12 Apr. 1884, vol. xxv., p. 261.

Introduction.

XV

once for all of Mandeville's pretensions to be regarded, at least to any extent, as an authentic and veracious traveller. But he principally confined himself to indicating those four or five authorities on whom Mandeville mainly relied in his collection of materials, without determining the precise origin of the large amount of subsidiary and extraneous matter. Following on the same lines, I have endeavoured to complete and press home the indictment by filling in the details and tracing every passage, so far as possible, to its actual source in some earlier writer. And here I must add that, when half way through the notes, I had the advantage of receiving through the courtesy of Dr. Vogels a copy of Dr. Albert Bovenschen's *Quellen für die Reisebeschreibung des Johann von Mandeville* (Berlin, 1888)¹. For its close investigation of sources this is by far the most important contribution to the growing mass of Mandeville literature that has yet appeared. Dr. Bovenschen's design is much the same as my own, though he has the credit of priority in publication; and, having been over the same ground, I willingly testify to the accuracy and thoroughness with which he has carried it out. At the same time, if I may say so without appearing hypercritical, he has been more careful to mark general agreement with an author than occasional and more minute divergences.

Although there is no direct statement to that effect,² Mandeville's Travels are made up of two parts. The first, which extends to the end of ch. xv. (p. 72), treats of the Holy Land and the routes to it, together with Egypt and Sinai; and, from the prominence of the Holy Land and its associations in the prologue, it may be suspected that the author's original plan was to write a sort of guide-book for pilgrims within these limits, the remoter travels being added when he had warmed to his task. It is at any rate certain that, if any of his matter was drawn from personal knowledge and observation, it is contained within the first fifteen chapters only. Sir H. Yule inclines to believe that Mandeville really had travelled as far as Palestine and Egypt; and there is a certain amount of evidence in support of this view. There would of course have been nothing very extraordinary in his having done so. Accounts of mediæval pilgrimages to Jerusalem abound, and very interesting and instructive some of them are³; and, for one who wrote down his experiences, scores no doubt went and returned without leaving a record. But Mandeville's Travels differ from works of this class in not being an account of a particular journey along a single specified route. He describes several alternative ways, more or less direct, of getting to Jerusalem, without saying by which he had travelled himself, though he does inform us that he had *not* gone by way of Tartary (p. 64). In the prologue he states that, since he crossed the sea from England on Michaelmas Day 1322,⁴ he had made the journey to Jerusalem many times (p. 3). Yet the description which immediately follows of the route through Hungary to Constantinople contains nothing whatever of a personal nature. On the contrary, it is apparently taken wholly from the history of the First Crusade by Albert of Aix, written about 250 years earlier (n. to p. 4, l. 2); and he again has recourse to the same work (adding a few gratuitous blunders of his own) when later on (p. 63) he describes the continuation of the land-route across Asia Minor. But, once arrived at Constantinople, he betrays his method still more clearly. From this point onwards

¹ Printed also in the *Zeitschrift* as above (p. v. n. 1), p. 206. As might be expected, we have each succeeded in tracing passages where the other has failed. Thus Dr. Bovenschen (p. 15) found an earlier form of Mandeville's curious story of the discovery of the tomb of Hermes Trismegistus at Constantinople (p. 9) in the "*Historia Damiatina*" of Oliver "Scholasticus," Bishop of Paderborn (ob. 1227): "Ignotus nobis per nomen proprium propheta ejusdem virginis nomen expressit. Nam in longaevis Thraciae muris homo quidam fodiens invenit lapideam archam, quam cum expurgasset et aperuisset, invenit mortuum iacentem et literas conglutinatas archae continentes haec, 'Christus nascetur de Maria virgine, et in eum credo. Sub Constantino et Hirena imperatoribus, o Sol, iterum me videbis'" (Eccard, *Corpus histor. medii aevi*, 1723, vol. ii. col. 1447). On the other hand, he has missed the source of some passages by not referring to the works of Albert of Aix and Brunetto Latini, or to the French Itineraries of the Holy Land.

² In the French and English texts there are merely a few introductory words to ch. xvi.; but in the vulgate Latin in Harley 3589 (f. 102) there is the rubric "Explicit prima pars. Incipit secunda." The printed edition (Grenv. 6700) expands this into "Incipit sec. pars et ultima tractatus huius que tractat de diuersis insulis et de mirabilibus dispositionibus hominum in illis habitantium." This text being divided into 50 chapters, the second part begins at ch. xxiv.

³ The fullest list of them will be found in Tobler's valuable *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestina*, 1867. See also Röhrich's *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, Gotha, 1889.

⁴ Our text (p. 3) and other English MSS. read 1332, but the French and Latin texts, and the English version in C., are no doubt correct.

he makes the same use of William of Boldensele as he does in the Second Part of his Travels of Odoric of Pordenone. Boldensele was a German of noble family, who visited the Holy Places in 1332-3. Sailing from Constantinople and landing at Sûr or Tyre, he followed the coast of Palestine to Gaza, and so, crossing the desert of Et-Tih, made his way to Cairo. Having obtained the Sultan's special passport (n. to p. 41, l. 8), he next proceeded to Mount Sinai and thence northward to Jerusalem, returning home by way of Damascus and Beyrout. His Itinerary was written in 1336, at the instance of Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord, and it is in every respect one of the best of its class.¹ To use Sir H. Yule's words: "A cursory comparison of this [Itinerary] with Mandeville leaves no doubt of the fact that the latter has followed its thread, using its suggestions and on many subjects its expressions, though digressing and expanding on every side, and too often eliminating the singular good sense of the German traveller." In illustration of this last charge he quotes the account of the Pyramids (p. 27). Mandeville plainly copies from Boldensele; but, after a covert allusion to him in the sentence "*Sum men saise pat pai er graues of sum grete men in alde tymes*," he proceeds to argue the contrary theory that they are the Barns of Joseph. The extent of his appropriations may be seen in the notes, where I have followed him step by step. In extenuation it is only fair to remember that in the Middle Ages, when one writer copied another freely and without the least acknowledgment, such wholesale plagiarism was not regarded in the same light as it would be now; nor does it after all prove that he had not been over the same ground. But, although he speaks as if he had more than once been at Constantinople (p. 6, l. 27), he adds very little to Boldensele's description. The latter indeed does not notice the Crown of Thorns and Spear-head (p. 6), or the tombs of St. Anne and St. Luke (p. 8), or the Hippodrome (p. 9); but of these additions the last alone is of any significance. It is in connexion with the relics that Mandeville makes the first of his many digressions by introducing the legend of the Holy Cross (p. 6). This, however, has no bearing on his credibility, any more than such tales as those of the Dragon-lady (p. 12) and the Gorgon-head (p. 14), which he may equally well have picked up anywhere else than on the spot. Indeed, as regards the latter, we know that it was current in Europe long before (note, p. 164). It is clear indeed that from the first he had recourse to other authorities to supplement the German traveller. Thus, his list of the Greek islands (p. 8) is, I believe, from Brunetto Latini,² and the story of the philosophers on Mount Athos (p. 9) is adapted from Peter Comestor,³ both being writers to whom he recurs occasionally throughout the volume. Similarly, his account of the Greek Church (p. 9) appears to be partially founded upon Jacques de Vitry,⁴ though he has added matter of his own or from some source which I have not identified. He has

¹ First printed by H. Canisius, *Thesaurus Monumentorum*, etc., 1604, v., pt. 2, p. 95 (ed. Basnage, 1725, iv., p. 337). It was re-edited, in an article entitled "Die Edelherren von Boldensele oder Boldensen," by Dr. C. L. Grotefend in the *Zeitschrift des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen* for 1852, p. 236. The references I have given are to a separate reprint of this article under the same title, Hanover, 1855. From the preface it appears that Boldensele's real name was Otto von Nyenhusen or Neuhaus and that he was a Dominican friar at Minden. About 1330 he discarded his habit and styled himself Willhelm von Boldensele, the surname being that of his mother's family. He then went to Rome (Avignon?) to obtain absolution, and was probably sent on a pilgrimage as a penance. He styles himself "miles in coelesti Hierusalem," but it would seem that he was an earthly knight as well, as he speaks of dubbing two others such in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Grotefend supposes that he had entered the order of St. John (p. 21); but Dr. Röhrich with more reason styles him a knight of the Holy Sepulchre (*Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 102).

² *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini publié pour la première fois . . . par P. Chabaille*, Paris, 1863. Brunetto (1230-1294) had the honour of being tutor to Dante and was for some time Clerk to the Council of the Florentine Republic. He was exiled with other leaders of the Guelph party in 1260 and wrote his *Tresor* in France between that date and his return home and resumption of office somewhere about 1267. The work is one of the encyclopædic class for which the 13th century was remarkable, dealing with natural and moral philosophy, geography, natural history, rhetoric, and political economy.

³ Petrus Comestor, or Pierre le Mangeur, so-called, it is said, as a "helluo librorum," was dean of Troyes in 1147, Chancellor of Paris in 1164, and died in 1179. His *Historia Scholastica* was written between 1169 and 1176, and consists of a paraphrase of Bible History, supplemented from Josephus and other profane authors, from church-legends, etc. It was printed at Reutlingen as early as 1473. I have used Migne's reprint (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. cxcviii, col. 1053) of the Madrid edition of 1699.

⁴ Bishop of Acre in 1216 and Cardinal Bishop of Frascati in 1228; died in 1240. The work by which he is best known was first edited by F. Moschus under the title *Jacobi de Vitriaco . . . libri duo, quorum prior Orientalis, sive Hierosolymitanæ, alter Occidentalis, Historiæ nomine inscribitur*, Douay, 1597. Bk. i. was also included by Bongars in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover, 1611, vol. i. p. 1047; but instead of Bk. ii., which he considered outside the scope of his work, Bongars gave a third book entitled "*Historiæ Orientalis liber tertius*" (p. 1125). This book, which includes

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certainly drawn largely from De Vitry's work elsewhere; and, if I am not mistaken (n. to p. 14, l. 23), we owe to his careless reading of it the otherwise unaccountable application of the term "papion" (baboon) to the hunting leopard or cheetah used in Cyprus. The description of the same island is otherwise noteworthy for what is said of the manner in which the inhabitants took their meals. So far as I can make out, this passage, whether founded on fact or not, is peculiar to Mandeville.

As soon as Tyre is reached (p. 15) a new class of authorities is laid under contribution in the 12th century Latin Itineraries of Palestine. Leaving these, however, for the present until the use of them becomes more systematic, we may follow the author down the coast to Egypt, remarking that he still keeps close to Boldensele, although in marking the route (n. to p. 17, l. 9) he significantly confounds the relative positions of the places passed. In many respects the account of Egypt is one of the most important sections of the work. It is remarkable for the strong assertion it contains of the author's lengthy stay there in the service of the Sultan himself: "The maner of his courte schold I wele ynogh ken; for I dwelled a lang tyme with the Sowdan and was sowdiour with him in his weres agayne the Bedoynes. And he wald hafe married me richely with a grete prince doghter and giffen me many grete lordschepes, so that I wald hafe forsaken my byleue and turned to thaires; but I wald not" (p. 18). This is emphasised further on (p. 69) by the very curious conversation which he reports as having taken place between the Sultan and himself on the corruption of Christendom. We might expect therefore that here, if anywhere, his information would be full, precise, and independent. But, except in a limited degree, this is not the case. It is true that he gives us the terms "Acchelek" or "Atthelek" for the Desert of Et-Tih (p. 17) and Calahelic for the citadel (el-Kalah) of Cairo (p. 18), together with Enochbalse, Abebissam and Guybalse (or Oxbalse) for the three kinds of balm (p. 26). Until they can be proved to be borrowed, these names must be scored to his credit; but the last three, which are corrupted past recognition, may as likely as not have been derived from some medical treatise, though I have searched for them without success. Of the rest of the matter, the larger proportion of what is not from Boldensele may plausibly be traced to J. de Vitry, Hayton the Armenian,¹ and William of Tripoli,² or even to Pliny and Solinus and their mediæval copyists.³ There is one important exception in his account of the descent of the Egyptian Sultanate. In the main this is undoubtedly copied from Hayton; but while the latter, writing in 1307, breaks off in the reign of Melik-en-Násir, Mandeville not only carries on the summary to En-Násir's death in 1341, but gives the names of his two immediate successors, as he calls them, Melechmader and Melechmadabron, adding that the latter was reigning Sultan when he himself left Egypt (p. 20). The difficulty is that his additions do not quite square with the facts. Of the eight sons of En-Násir who followed him in quick suc-

a great part of Oliver's "Historia Damiatina" referred to above (p. xv., n. 1), is no doubt spurious (Bovenschen, *Quellen*, etc., p. 19, n. 1). Mandeville's extracts are made from Bk. i., which I have used in the edition of Bongars.

¹ Hayton, or Hethoum, prince of Gohrigos (see n. to p. 73, l. 17), was a collateral member of the royal house of Little Armenia. In 1305 he professed himself a Premonstratensian monk in Cyprus, and later he was appointed by Clement V. to administer a house of the order at Poitiers. He there dictated to N. Falcon in 1307 his "Fleur des Histoires d'Orient," and he is supposed to have died in or about 1308. The work deals with the geography of Asia, the history of Egypt and of the Tartars, and the means for a successful Crusade by using the aid of the latter against the Sultans. Originally written down in French, it was immediately turned by Falcon into Latin; but, about the middle of the century, it was again translated back into French by Jean Le Long of Ypres. All three versions are extant (*Hist. Littéraire*, xxv., 1869, p. 481; *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xxxv., 1874, p. 93). Mandeville probably copied from the Latin. Under the title *Liber Historiarum partium Orientis sive Passagium Terræ Sanctæ*, this version was edited by M. Molther, Hagenau, 1529; and under the title "Haithoni Armeni . . . de Tartaris Liber," by Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, etc., Basle, 1532, pp. 419-481. My references are to the latter work.

² A Dominican Friar, attached to the convent at Acre and author of a "Tractatus de Statu Saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudo-propheta et eorum lege et fide." An extract from this valuable work was included by Duchesne in his *Scriptores rerum Francorum*, vol. v. pp. 432-5, but it has only recently been printed entire by Dr. Hans Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883, pp. 575-598. Dr. Prutz assigns it to the year 1273 (as I have repeated in the note to p. 18, l. 16); but as it was dedicated to Thealdus, archdeacon of Liège, who became Pope Gregory x. on 1 Sept. 1271, it must have been written before that date. William of Tripoli is mentioned by Marco Polo as having been sent on a mission by Gregory x. to the Great Kaan, but he got frightened and turned back (Yule, *M. Polo*, 2nd ed., 1875, vol. i. p. 22).

³ Many of the citations from Pliny and Solinus were no doubt obtained through the medium of Vincent de Beauvais (see below, p. xxiii.).

cession, the above names can only represent, if any, Melik-'Imád-ed-deen (1345) and Melik-el-Mudhaffar (1346-7), and these came respectively fourth and sixth. Still the fact that he mentions them at all must be allowed some weight, especially when combined with his account of the Sultan's manner of wooing and of granting audience, etc. (p. 20), for which I can adduce no earlier authority. Sir H. Yule sees evidence of personal knowledge also in the description of the Bedawin (p. 33). Probably, however, he did not take into account the influence of De Vitry in supplementing Boldensele. Although Mandeville again alludes to his fighting for the Sultan against these nomads, he practically adds nothing to the two authorities just named, except the statement that the Bedawin cook their meat and fish by the rays of the sun. To find them, of all people, represented as living on fish is in itself rather strange; and, since writing the note on p. 174, it has occurred to me that he has simply adapted what Vincent de Beauvais says of the Ichthyophagi,¹ such an interpolation, merely suggested by the mention by Vincent of the Red Sea, being thoroughly after his manner. Further than this, if he actually knew the Bedawin, he would hardly, one would think, have described them as living solely by the chace when they are notoriously a pastoral people, or as wearing a white head-cloth when other accounts agree that it is generally black, though sometimes, as De Vitry describes it, red.

Next to the notice of Egypt comes the pilgrimage to Mount Sinai and the Great Monastery of St. Katharine (p. 29). In speaking of the route, as before in the case of the Pyramids (p. 27), it is curious to find Mandeville reflecting upon Boldensele, as it were, though still without mentioning his name. The latter writes that he rode from Cairo to Sinai in ten days, and prides himself on having done so, contrary to the usual custom, on horseback. Mandeville, on the other hand, denies that horses could make the journey and allows twelve days, adding a half-contemptuous comment on the greater haste of some travellers. In general his account of Sinai, besides adding the two stories of the miraculous supply of oil and of the mode of electing an abbot, exhibits in details minute variations from Boldensele, which in the aggregate tend in some slight degree to support his claim (p. 31) to have visited the monastery in person. Unfortunately, as soon as he treads the soil of the Holy Land proper, the evidence of his originality again becomes rather weakened than otherwise. The literature of the subject was in fact more extensive, and he appears to have fully availed himself of it, one effect of which is that it is futile to quote him as an independent authority on the condition of the Holy Places at the time he wrote. This has nevertheless been done even in the elaborate *Survey* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, to which I have made frequent references. Whatever in the narrative comes from Boldensele is contemporary and may be relied upon, though the credit of it should be given where it is due. But Mandeville's deviations are increasingly frequent, and they mainly represent the state of things not in the second quarter of the 14th century, but during the Christian domination, before the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. At the same time it is by no means certain which of the 12th century Itineraries he particularly follows. There are four Latin works of the kind with which he has much in common and which largely agree with one another, not merely in substance but in actual wording. The earliest (*circ.* 1150) is the anonymous tract "De situ urbis Jerusalem et de locis sanctis intra ipsam urbem sive circumjacentibus" printed by the Marquis de Vogüé in his *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, 1860, pp. 412-433; the others bear the names of Eugesippus² (*circ.* 1155), John of Würzburg³ (*circ.* 1165), and Theoderic⁴ (*circ.* 1172). As Dr. Tobler, the editor

¹ "Porro Ichthyophagi, gens errans in litore Maris Rubri, super petras solis calore ferventes assant pisces et hoc solo alimento vicitant (*Spec. Hist.*, i., cap. 86, p. 32). Vincent quotes St Jerome "adversus Jovinianum," ii. cap. 7 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. xxiii., col. 295).

² "Tractatus de distanciis locorum Terræ Sanctæ, quem compilavit Eugesippus"; first printed by Leo Allatius, Σύμμικτα, ed. B. Nihusius, 1653, p. 104. I have used the reprint in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, cxxxiii., col. 991. The same work was also printed by Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ed. Mansi, 1761, vol. i., p. 434, under the name of Fretellus, the latter having prefixed a prologue to it and treated it as his own. Tobler, however, supports the claim of Eugesippus to priority (*Bibl. Geogr. Palaest.*, p. 16). See also his edition of Theoderic (p. 151), as below.

³ "Joh. Wirzburgensis Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ"; first printed by Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 1721, but quoted here from T. Tobler's *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 108.

⁴ *Theodericus de Locis Sanctis*, ed. T. Tobler, St. Gallen, 1865. The editor apparently regards this tract as the most important of the four.

of the last two, points out, these writers do not appear to have copied one another, but to have all used the same earlier authority for the topography of Jerusalem and Palestine. This lost or as yet unidentified work, dating probably in the first half of the same century, he styles (and Dr. Bovenschen after him) the Old Compendium. It is quite possible that Mandeville used it directly, and not through the medium of any of the above mentioned tracts; and he may even have derived from it some of his topographical details which cannot be referred either to them or to Boldensele. But, directly or otherwise, when he digresses from Boldensele, it is this so-called Compendium, as represented by the extant Itineraries, that he generally follows. Nor are there wanting signs that he was acquainted with other authorities of a similar kind. One of the most popular and trustworthy pilgrim-writers of the middle ages was Burchard of Mount Sion. His knowledge of Palestine was acquired in and about 1283, and was embodied in a work which in the latest edition¹ bears the title "Burchardi de Monte Sion Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ." Had the work itself come into Mandeville's hands, we may be sure he would have borrowed from it freely, as others appear to have done. The fact therefore that he only rarely approximates to it makes it probable that, if he drew from it at all, it was by means of extracts such as those included by Marino Sanudo in his *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* (n. to p. 1, l. 1). There is stronger evidence, as in his account of Abraham's oak at Mamre (p. 35), that he made some use of another authority still nearer his own time. This is a summary description of the Holy Land, in sixty-six short chapters, written, according to Dr. Tobler, about 1320-30, and, like Burchard's, printed by Laurent (pp. 146-158). The colophon in the MS. from which he took it² makes out that the author was Odoricus de Foro Julii, none other, that is, than the same Odoric of Friuli or Pordenone whose undoubtedly genuine travels further East, Mandeville so largely appropriates later on. It is very questionable, however, whether this "Liber de Terra Sancta" is rightly attributed to Odoric, or is merely a compilation arrogating to itself the credit of his name (Yule, *Cathay*, p. 17). It resembles the works of Eugesippus and others in not being so much a record of an actual journey as a general hand-book for the Holy Land. The same is the case also with the French Itineraries, which have recently been collected into a single volume by the Société de l'Orient Latin.³ Like the analogous Latin tracts, they frequently repeat the same matter one after another; but there are two at least to which Mandeville almost certainly had direct access, namely the "Pelerinages por aler en Iherusalem" (*circ.* 1231) and that of the so-called anonymous Continuator of William of Tyre (1261). For purposes of illustration I have also referred in the notes to various other records of travel in and about the Holy Land. Besides those of the early pilgrims such as Antoninus Martyr (*circ.* 570) and Arculf (*circ.* 670)⁴, several more are by writers anterior to, or contemporary with, Mandeville. These include Sæwulf (1102), Thietmar (1217), Symon Simeonis (1321-2) and Ludolph of Sudheim (1336); but there is no reason to believe that he actually copied from any of them. It is not so certain that his own work was not known to some of those who came after him, such as D'Anglure (1395-6), and more especially Poloner (1422). On the other hand the nature of this branch of his subject enabled him, as occasion offered, to make more frequent extracts from such authorities as Peter Comestor and the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. These

¹ J. C. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 19-94. The other three pilgrims whose works are included in the same volume are Ricold of Monte Croce (*circ.* 1294), Odoric of Friuli (*circ.* 1320-30), and Willibrand of Oldenburg (1212), to all of whom I have had occasion to refer. Burchard's work was printed very early, in a volume entitled *Rudimentum Noviciorum*, Lübeck, 1475; and Laurent enumerates no less than twenty editions down to 1746. He is called Brocard, Borcard, etc., as well as Burchard. Tobler styles him Count Burkhard von Barby, his better known surname of Mount Sion being derived from the religious house of which he was a member (*Bibl. Geogr. Pal.*, p. 27).

² "Istud scripsit frater Odoricus de Foro Julii, cum remeasset de partibus infidelium ad suam provinciam, anno domini M^occc^oxxx^o, temporibus domini Iohannis pape xxii."

³ *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux xi^e, xii^e, et xiii^e siècles*, publiés par Henri Michelant et Gaston Raynaud, Geneva, 1882.

⁴ For these pilgrims I have used Tobler's *Itinera et Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, Geneva, 1877. The editions quoted of the other writers mentioned may be ascertained by reference to their respective names in the Index.

extracts, however, are naturally more often of a personal than topographical character. But, when the most has been said, there still remains a number of small details in which Mandeville either differs from or supplements his ordinary written sources of information, although of course he may have possessed others which are unknown to us or which I have simply overlooked. In his account of Bethlehem¹ for instance he gives the number of the columns in the Church of the Nativity as 44, and the number of the steps down to the Grotto as 16; and similarly he is, I believe, the only writer who describes the infirmary of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem as supported by 124 pillars of stone (p. 40). It is indeed in matters of distance², dimension, and numeration that he shows perhaps the most independence; but, as it is precisely in such cases that corruptions in manuscripts are most common, the fact only becomes of special importance when he actually initiates particulars not given at all by his predecessors. His times and distances often vary from Boldensele's even where he otherwise follows him most exactly, and it is difficult to determine whether the variation is deliberate (as it certainly is in some cases) or from the cause I have just indicated. The marvel is that if, as he states, he had visited Jerusalem many times, he has contributed so little to our knowledge of it beyond what he picked up from written authorities. Thus, admitting his honesty, we are reduced to the conclusion that he was either singularly unobservant or his memory extremely defective: for, while his dependence on others is obvious and persistent, his variations and additions are comparatively rare and, as often as not, insignificant. As for his own statements he protests perhaps rather too much. Thus his assertion as to the jealously guarded Dome of the Rock within the Harám or Temple enclosure, "Neuerpeles I come in þare, and in oþer placez where I wald, for I had lettres of þe Sowdan with his grete seele" (p. 41), fails of its intended effect when we find that his account of the "speciale grace" done to him by the Sultan is merely a repetition of what Boldensele records of the "singularis gratia" granted to himself (p. 180, n. to p. 41, l. 8). Yet even here the contrast he proceeds to draw between the Sultan's letters-patent and his signet looks as if it were grounded on actual knowledge; and his description of the Mosque itself, though otherwise agreeing with that of others before him, adds the dimensions of the building and the height of the "stage" in the centre. What he means by this central stage is not quite clear. If it is the marble casing of the Holy Rock, this was no longer there in his day, having been removed by Saladin in 1187, and the rock again exposed. The same uncertainty prevails with regard to the Holy Sepulchre and other sites and buildings in and around Jerusalem, and indeed throughout Palestine generally. He gives us, in short, enough apparently independent matter to make it not improbable that to some extent (and more particularly with regard to Jerusalem itself) he did write as an eye-witness, but at the same time by no means enough to make it anything like certain. With such aid as may be got from the notes, the reader must be left to draw his own conclusions. There are, however, a few points to which I may here direct attention. As good an example as any of the manner in which he occasionally deserts his authorities is afforded by the dimensions he assigns to

¹ Since writing the note on the "Felde Floridus" near Bethlehem (p. 35, l. 2), I have met with a legend closely analogous to that told by Mandeville of the origin of roses. It occurs in a French poem on the Virgin interpolated in a copy of the metrical Bible-history of Herman of Valenciennes (12th cent.) entitled "Genesis" (*Hist. Littéraire*, xviii, 1825, p. 833; Leroux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Legendes*, 1836, p. 24). It appears that 1,000 years after the Fall, God transported the Tree of Life to the garden of St. Abraham, whose daughter became pregnant by inhaling the perfume. She was thereupon accused of unchastity and put to the ordeal of fire, with much the same result as Mandeville describes:

" Onques n'i ot un sol tison
 Qui fust enpris de vif charbon
 Qui ne fust rose de rosier
 Ou flors de lis et d'aiglantier."

The further developement of the story does not concern us, but it is even more extraordinary, for by a series of astounding miracles the lady had the Virgin for a great-grand-daughter.

² I repeat here the caution that in reading the English text the distances must generally be doubled, "myle" being used to translate the French "lieue" (see n. to p. 11, l. 13).

the "Tabernacle" within the Holy Sepulchre (p. 38), in opposition to those given by Boldensele. Again, of the two Greek inscriptions quoted on p. 39, he may have obtained the first (see note) from Peter Comestor, but not the other; though possibly he got them both direct from Comestor's own authority, whatever it was. On the same page we have a characteristic specimen of his reasoning, by which he reconciles the age of Our Lord at the Crucifixion with a supposed prophecy in Psalm xciv., 10, by the convenient assumption that a month in a year of ten months is of the same length as in a year of twelve. His blunders in other directions are gross enough, though they might easily be paralleled in other mediæval authors. Only to mention one or two: he transfers the fiery furnace of the Three Children from Babylon of Chaldæa to Babylon of Egypt (p. 18), makes Bathsheba the eponym of Beersheba (p. 33), and confounds Josaphat, king of Judah, with Josaphat, otherwise Buddha, of the Barlaam and Josaphat legend (p. 47, n. 2) in the *Legenda Aurea*. This last absurdity is not in our English version, but only in the French text and C. The way in which he works up materials from various sources comes out well in his descriptions of the Dead Sea (p. 50), of the Jordan (p. 51), and of Damascus (p. 60). In connexion with the Dead Sea he employs the term *alkatran* (Fr. text and C.) for bitumen, and Sir H. Yule, (*Encycl. Brit.*) remarks upon this as one of the indications of his acquaintance with Arabic (*katrán*). Its significance, however, is limited to the prefix of the article *al-*, the word being otherwise used in all the four 12th century Latin Itineraries grounded on the so-called Old Compendium. The case is therefore somewhat analogous to his use (according to some manuscripts) of the term *Markaritot* (Syriac, *Mar*=saint) in place of the simple *Karitot* as given in the same authorities (p. 38). Sir H. Yule was also struck by the knowledge he displays of the Mahometan formula of faith and of the three alternative titles of the Korán (pp. 66, 71). This, however, is easily accounted for, since he undoubtedly obtained it, with most of what he says of the religion and customs of the Saracens and of the life of Mahomet, from the work of William of Tripoli already mentioned. If it were only certain that he was personally responsible for the alphabet stated to be Arabic on p. 71, his utter ignorance of the language would be established beyond dispute. As I have said in the note (p. 194), the real source of this alphabet is the *Cosmographia* of Æthicus, and though it may, if anything, be Slavonic, it is certainly not Arabic. But there is some reason to suspect that all the alphabets included in the work (except perhaps the Greek, p. 11) are interpolations; for in the Paris MS. of 1371 they are not inserted in the body of the text, but are written at the end.¹ The Greek (p. 11) and Hebrew (p. 54) are tolerably correct as regards the names of the letters, but the so-called Egyptian (p. 54) and the Persian or Chaldee (p. 76) are not recognisable at all; and it was only with difficulty that I have been able to trace them to a possible source (n. to p. 76, l. 1). The remarks which follow the spurious Arabic alphabet on the English letters þ and ȝ are of special interest; for, if they emanate from the author himself, they have an important bearing on the vexed question of his nationality.

When we pass on to the second part of the Travels, the author's want of good faith is still more glaringly manifest. "By far the greater part," as Sir H. Yule truly says, "of these more distant travels, extending in fact from Trebizond to Ormus, India, the Indian Archipelago, and China, and back again to western Asia, has been appropriated from the narrative of Friar Odoric (written in 1330). These passages, as served up by Mandeville, are almost always indeed swollen with interpolated particulars, usually of an extravagant kind, whilst in no few cases the writer has failed to understand the passages which he adopts from Odoric and professes to give as his own experiences" (*Encycl. Brit.*, xv., p. 473). Sir H. Yule has himself edited Odoric, with a translation, in a collection of mediæval notices of China,² which is only less remarkable for learning

¹ They are headed as follows (f. 96):—"Ci sensuit la.b.c. des griex que fu oubliee a mectre en son lieu pour ce que nous navions l'exemplaire"—"Ci apres sensuit la.b.c. de ceuls degypte"—"Ci sensuit la.b.c. a ceuls de caldee"—"Ci apres sensuivent les lettres des hebricus" (*Cat. of MSS. at Ashburnham Place*, pt. ii., Barrois MS. xxiv.) See also Delisle's *Cat. des MS. des fonds Libri et Barrois*, p. 252.

² *Cathay and the Way Thither*, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1866. The earliest edition, *Odorichus de Rebus Incognitis*, was published at Pesaro, 1513.

and research than his masterly edition of Marco Polo.¹ Both these works have been of the greatest assistance to me, as the notes will attest; and as to the former, it is indispensable to any serious reader of Mandeville. Odoric was a native of Pordenone in the district of Friuli, in north Italy, and is said to have been born in 1286. His editor, however, is inclined to date his birth about a dozen years earlier. Becoming a Franciscan, he set out on his wanderings eastward some time between 1316 and 1318, and did not return home till shortly before the spring of 1330. He then retired to the Franciscan house attached to St. Anthony's, Padua, and there dictated his story to Friar William of Solagna in May, 1330. He afterwards started for Avignon to make a formal report to the pope, but, falling ill on the way, returned as far as Udine, where he died on 14 Jan. 1331. Credited with miracles and popularly regarded as a saint from the day of his burial, he was at length formally admitted to the minor honours of a "Beatus" in 1755. With regard to his travels, he went from Constantinople to Trebizond, and thence to Erzerum, Tabriz and Soltania, probably spending some time in these parts. "From Soltania he passed to Kashan and Yezd, and thence turning by Persepolis he followed a somewhat devious route, probably by Shiraz and perhaps a part of Kurdistan, to Baghdad. From Baghdad he wandered to the Persian Gulf, and at Hormuz embarked for Tana in Salsette. Here, or from Surat, where Jordanus had deposited them, he gathered the bones of the four brethren who had suffered there in 1321, and carried them with him on his voyage eastward. He went on to Malabar, touching at Pandarani, Cranganor, and Kulam, and proceeded thence to Ceylon and the shrine of St. Thomas at Mailapoor, the modern Madras. From this he sailed tediously to Sumatra, visiting various parts of the coast of that island, Java, probably southern or eastern Borneo, Champa, and Canton. Hence he travelled to the great ports of Fokien, and from Fucheu across the mountains to Hangcheufu and Nanking. Embarking on the Great Canal at Yangcheufu, he proceeded by it to Cambalec or Peking and there remained for three years, attached, it may be presumed, to one of the churches founded by Archbishop John of Montecorvino, now in extreme old age. Turning westward at length through Tenduc (the Ortu country of our maps) and Shensi to Tibet and its capital Lhasa, we there lose all indication of his further route, and can only conjecture on very slight hints, added to general probabilities, that his homeward journey led him by Kabul, Khorasan, and the south of the Caspian, to Tabriz, and thence to Venice by the way he had followed thirteen or fourteen years before, when outward bound" (*Cathay*, p. 6).

Such is an outline of the travels which Mandeville coolly and deliberately makes out to be his own, omitting only, as alien from his scheme, the episode of the four martyred friars. It is true that his language is generally impersonal, but, as will be seen, he keeps his own individuality sufficiently in evidence at various stages in the route. Odoric, on the contrary, he never mentions, and the only allusion to him, when he introduces the two Friars Minor of Lombardy into his account of the famous Valley Perilous (p. 139), is made for a special purpose. The resemblance between the matter of the two writers, as Sir H. Yule points out (*Encycl. Brit.*), attracted attention at an early period, and was accounted for by supposing that they travelled together.² Mandeville in fact himself suggests this explanation in the passage to which I have just alluded. The theory might perhaps have been tenable, if the agreement were merely substantial, or if the character of his additions were other than it is. But it is perfectly clear that he had Odoric's actual written narrative before him, and where he supplements it, his materials, instead of being such as might naturally be expected

¹ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2nd edition, London, 1875.

² Thus a copy of the "*Liber de Terra Sancta*" (above, p. xix.) at Wolfenbüttel has for a title "*Itinerarius fidelis fratris Oderici socii militis Mandavil per Indiam, licet hic prius et alter posterius peregrinationem suam descripsit*" (Tobler, *Bibl. Geogr. Paläst.*, p. 34). The Friar is doubly wronged here by the assertion that Mandeville's work was written first. As I have before remarked (p. vii. note 3), one of the early editions of the Latin Mandeville contains frequent references to Odoric.

from a fellow-traveller and eye-witness, are vamped up from the most heterogeneous written sources. A brief analysis, leaving details to be supplied from the notes, will suffice for demonstration. Going back for a moment to the first Part, we find ch. xv. (and last) almost entirely occupied by the long extract from William of Tripoli, the author's colloquy with the Sultan, and the so-called Saracen or Arabic alphabet, upon all of which I have already lightly touched. There are, however, two special features in the chapter preceding which must not be entirely passed over. Besides affording in the renewed extracts from Albert of Aix as to the route across Asia Minor (p. 63) a peculiarly striking instance of unintelligent copying, it introduces us in the brief notice of Tartary (p. 64) to a new authority altogether. It is something that Mandeville admits he was never in Tartary himself¹, though he claims to have been in Russia (*i. e.* Galicia), Livonia, Cracow, and other countries bordering upon it. But, as usual, he does not give the least hint as to where he obtained his information. With the exception mentioned in the note to p. 64, l. 20 (and that I have certainly met with somewhere else), it comes as a matter of fact from John de Plano Carpini. What I have already said of this writer (p. 192) need not be repeated, and I will only add that he is one of the three to whom the latter half of Mandeville's work owes all it possesses of genuine interest and value. Odoric's share is of course the largest and most important, and he is seconded by Hayton the Armenian. The latter's contribution, besides minor details, includes the history of the rise of the Mongols (p. 110), and an account of the countries of Asia generally, from the Euxine to Cathay (p. 125). The extracts from Carpini are therefore, so to speak, the complement of it, dealing solely, both here and in more detail later on, with Mongol manners and customs, and the nature of the country. But at the very outset we get a warning of the necessity for comparing every passage in Mandeville with its original. Whether he intends "Batho" to be a personal name or a title is uncertain. It undoubtedly represents, however, Batu, whom Carpini found ruling Khan of the Kipchaks in 1245-47; and the fact that Mandeville transfers to his own time other members of the imperial family equally named by Carpini (n. to p. 121, l. 17) shows that he would not have scrupled to speak of this Batu as still living. The question whether he had Carpini's work before him entire, as he certainly had Odoric's and Hayton's, is not of much importance, the lengthy extracts in Vincent de Beauvais being enough for his purpose. The latter's vast compilation², or rather the two divisions of it entitled the "Speculum Historiale" and "Speculum Naturale," was, in fact, a mine in which he dug most assiduously; and, whatever the case with Carpini, he no doubt owed to it a few passages from another narrative of a papal mission to the Tartars. This was written by the Dominican Simon de St. Quentin, who was sent to the Tartar general in Persia about the same time that Carpini went to Tartary itself, and it is only preserved, as it seems, in Vincent's extracts. But the materials furnished by the 13th century encyclopædist are more often of a different character. Those portions of his work utilised by our author are largely drawn from Pliny, Solinus, Jerome, and Isidore of Seville, the spurious histories of Alexander the Great, and the early Bestiaries; and it was probably quite as much from Vincent's quotations as from such authorities direct that Mandeville derived his crude and contradictory notions of geography, his fabulous monsters, human and otherwise, and the whole farrago of ill-digested fiction and exaggeration with which he has varied his excerpts from records of actual travel in the 13th and 14th centuries.

After a few introductory sentences on the geography of Asia and Africa, ch. xvi. begins (p. 73) with the passages from Odoric, which are thence continued to the end of ch. xxiii. From the first, however, there are

¹ It will be observed nevertheless that in the prologue (p. 3) Tartary is included among the countries through which he had travelled.

² First printed in seven (or ten) folio volumes under the title *Speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*, Argentinae, 1473. I have used the Douay edition of 1624, entitled *Bibliotheca Mundi*, etc., where each of the four "Specula" is comprised in a single huge folio. The author was a Dominican (*ob.* 1264?), and compiled his work about 1250. Its encyclopædic nature is expressed by the titles of its several parts, one of which, however, the "Speculum Morale" is spurious (*Hist. Littéraire*, xviii., 1835, p. 449).

frequent interruptions and digressions, only a few of which I can here notice. One of the earliest and most characteristic is the legend of the Castle of the Sparrow-hawk (p. 7), which, although the basis of it exists in the well-known fairy tale of Melusine, takes in Mandeville's hands a form which I believe to be peculiar to himself. His fondness for another class of legend comes out in his story of the monk who brought down a plank of Noah's ark from the top of Mount Ararat (p. 74), as it also does later in that of the judgments declared by the hand of St. Thomas at Mailapûr in Madras (p. 85). It is more puzzling that he interpolates the alternative names Chardabago (Pers. *châr bâgh?*) and Vapa for Odoric's city of Gest or Yezd (p. 75). Though I can offer no explanation, I no more believe he heard these names on the spot, than that of Tarmegutte, of which he speaks at the end of his account of the Amazons (p. 78). This name I have succeeded in tracing to a passage in Brunetto Latini, which I have quoted in the note (p. 196) as an instructive example of Mandeville's method. After some confused particulars of Ethiopia and India, with notices of "folk of diuerse schappes'," comes a highly curious account of the diamond and its varieties (p. 97), which is the more interesting from the fact that, as will appear further on, the author is reputed to have himself written a treatise on precious stones. The passage includes a reference to the mariner's compass, as "*þe adamand þat drawez þe nedill til him, by þe whilk schippe men er gouerned in þe see,*" but this may have come from one of his standard authorities, Jacques de Vitry (see note, p. 197, col. 2). Some minor details in which the notice of Hormuz (p. 81) differs from Odoric's are referred to in a note. The friar's mention of the ships there in use made without iron gives a chance, of which Mandeville was not slow to avail himself, for a reference to the rocks of loadstone of which we have all read in the Arabian Nights. This was a marvel after his own heart, and he returns to it on p. 133, with an assertion that he had himself seen an island of the kind when he was "ane tyme in þat see." He expands Odoric's account of the pepper forest at Quilon (p. 83) in less questionable fashion, but still with no signs of personal knowledge. Even his names for the three kinds of pepper, *sorbotin*, *fulful*, and *bano* or *bauo* (Fr. text) do not count for much. *Fulful* indeed is a common Arabic term, and the other two names, though not recognisable, are presumably from the same language; but they were all probably obtained from some medical or other scientific work, equally with his terms for the red earth of Hebron ("cambil," Arab. *canbil*, p. 34), for balm (above, p. xvii), and for the diamond ("hamese," Arab. *almās*).

Immediately following is perhaps the best known of all Mandeville's interpolations in Odoric's narrative, namely the story of the so-called Fount of Youth. Acting on a hint in his authority of its neighbourhood to the pepper country, he fixes the site of the Fount at Polombe or Quilon. He obviously got his knowledge of it from the spurious Letter of Prester John, which made its way over Europe in the latter half of the 12th century and of which he avails himself abundantly when he comes to speak of Prester John himself. Notwithstanding the closeness with which he follows its language, he does not hesitate to declare that he had himself drunk of the Fount and still felt the good effects of it. But to give him his due, he hardly goes so far as Sir H. Yule (*Encycl. Brit.*) implies, for he does not profess that his three draughts ensured him against all future maladies, such as the arthritic gout of which he speaks in the Epilogue. We have further personal references in the long and quasi-scientific digression in ch. xx. (p. 90). He there speaks of having taken astronomical observations in Brabant, in Germany "towards Bohemia," and in Libya; and indeed, if I understand him rightly, he makes out that his travels extended from 62° 10' north latitude to 33° 16' south. But the whole passage has gained him more credit than he fairly deserves¹, when it is compared with its probable sources; for it contains nothing to show he was in

¹ It had the honour of being selected by Dr. Johnson (from the 1725 ed. of C.) for quotation in the preface to his *Dictionary* (ed. Latham, 1866, i., p. xxxiv).

advance of his time in his knowledge of the roundness of the earth or of the existence of antipodes, and the measurement of the earth, which he gives with such parade as a calculation of his own, is really as old as Eratosthenes, and he possibly copied it from Vincent de Beauvais. The story, however, which he says he heard in his youth, of a man who actually did sail right round the world is extremely curious, and I regret that I have not been able to trace it to a more respectable authority. In ch. xxi. (p. 93) he follows Odoric to Sumatra, Java, and the doubtfully identified Panten or Paten. In the account of the last-named there are two points that merit notice. To Odoric's description of the bamboo (p. 95) he adds the remark, "and þai call þaim þare *Thaby*"; and a better instance of the means by which he has contrived to get a reputation for a knowledge of native names it is impossible to conceive. As will be seen in the note (p. 201), he took the sentence from Brunetto Latini and (owing, no doubt, to the ambiguity of the French *que*) perverted it in the taking. From Brunetto it can be traced back to Pliny (vi. 53) and Solinus (15. 4, 50. 2), who apply the term *Tabi* to a sea in the far East beyond the *Anthropophagi*, and not to any reeds lining its shores. The term "warke," which Mandeville gives as the native name for the elephant, is susceptible of an equally easy explanation, even if it is not (as it most probably is) merely a corruption for "vache" (n. to p. 95, l. 14). But, besides bamboos, Odoric speaks also of rattans; and of these Mandeville adds that he had seen with his own eyes monstrous specimens upon the sea-shore. Believe him or not, the fact remains that the identical terms he employs are to be found in the spurious letter of Alexander to Aristotle on the marvels of India, with which, directly or indirectly, he elsewhere shows that he was well acquainted. The account of "Calanok" (p. 95) is chiefly remarkable for his substitution of this name, the matter being still practically the same, for Odoric's "Zampa," or Champa, *i.e.* South Cochin-China. But, further than this, Mandeville proceeds to speak of three islands, Caffilos, Melk, and Tracota, with a fourth unnamed, which the genuine traveller does not mention at all. There are signs in fact that he was getting impatient of the latter's control. That he changes his turtles into snails is comparatively of little importance, for this appears to have been done in the French translation of Odoric's own work. But, unless he is himself the victim of interpolation, he adds to them both other species of snails and monster "worms." These were obviously supplied by Vincent de Beauvais and the pseudo-Alexander; and to the former also appears to be really due the whole of what Mandeville reports of the strange and revolting customs obtaining in the four islands above mentioned. The only difference is that Vincent and his authorities attribute them to a variety of ancient peoples dwelling anywhere but in the Indian archipelago. Nothing, to take one example, can be less open to dispute than the absolute identity of the inhabitants of "Tracota," as depicted by Mandeville, with the Ethiopian "Trogodytæ" or Troglodytes of Solinus. At the same time, it is not likely that such names as Caffilos, Melk, and Tracota are pure inventions of the author. He must, one would think, have read or heard of them in some form or other, and, as may be seen in the note, they can even be identified with a show of plausibility. But his knowledge of the islands, however obtained—and "Melk" at least may be merely the "Malichu insula" of Pliny (vi. 175)—could not have extended beyond the bare names, or he would not have been driven back on the resources of his reading for races with which to people them. He acted much in the same way in ch. xxii. (p. 100), when Odoric for once left him in the lurch by declining to specify all the marvellous things he had seen in the East, lest they should be thought incredible. Such a reason was not likely to weigh much with our author; and, not to be thus balked, he promptly supplied the omission by enumerating every strange and misshapen race of mankind of which his study of Pliny and later writers had made him cognisant. With the entry into Manzi, or Southern China, he returns to Odoric and more sober fact, though with his usual tendency to conscious or unconscious variation. There is a notable instance on p. 102, where for the cormorant, which Odoric properly describes as trained by the Chinese to provide them with fish, he substitutes "a beste þat es called loyres," otherwise an otter. Even this apparently wanton change was perhaps suggested to him

by a passage in Vincent de Beauvais. Odoric's very curious account of the garden of transmigrated souls at Cansay he appropriates entire, but he tacks on to it a conversation which he alleges that he himself had with the so-called monk who acted as showman. Similarly all the interesting details given by his predecessor of Cambalech or Peking, of the Great Kaan himself, and of his palace and court, are reproduced with but little alteration, and that in no case for the better. Such additions too as there are can generally be accounted for without much trouble. The description of the automatic golden peacocks, for example, gives occasion, not only for a statement on Mandeville's part of his own abortive efforts to discover the mechanism, but to some remarks on the artistic skill of the Chinese and their contempt for all other nations. These remarks (p. 107), apparently prompted by personal knowledge, are simply copied from Hayton; while the "grete vyne of fyne gold" (*ibid.*), the jewelled grapes of which flashed from the walls of the Great Kaan's hall, had long before done similar duty in the palace of King Porus, as recorded by the equally veracious pseudo-Alexander. Yet, notwithstanding that he does not add a single authentic detail and shows (as in the case of the guardians of the Kaan's threshold, p. 108) that he did not always understand Odoric's references to well-known Mongol superstitions and customs,¹ he has the assurance to conclude ch. xxiii. (p. 108) with the audacious paragraph, "And 3e schall vnderstand þat my felawes and I ware dwelland sodeours with þe Grete Caan xvi. (*al.* xv.) monethes agaynes þe Kyng of Mancy, for þai ware at were when we ware þare," etc.

Ch. xxiv. (p. 109) begins with a few sentences which are only of interest for the author's casual remark that he had been in India; but the rest of it, excepting a short passage at the end upon the Great Kaan's style and seal, which is mostly from Carpini, is taken up with Hayton's highly interesting account of Jenghiz and the Mongol empire of which he was the founder. For the picturesqueness of its style this chapter will compare with any in the volume. It is, however, merely an interlude, so to speak, in Odoric's narrative, of which we have a further instalment, still dealing with the court of the Great Kaan, in ch. xxv. (p. 114). It presents abundant matter for comment, but I can barely call attention here to the curious notice of Chinese currency (p. 117). This is one of the subjects upon which Mandeville has been generally quoted as an independent authority; but the passage contains nothing original except the mention of money made of leather, and upon this I have dwelt at some length in the note (p. 207). Carpini enjoys his turn in the following chapter (p. 121), for which he is almost entirely responsible, the rare exceptions being from Hayton and from Vincent's extracts from Simon de St. Quentin. I have already (p. xxiii.) remarked upon Mandeville's strange anachronism with regard to Carpini's contemporary Batu Khan. In that case there is just the chance that he was merely guilty of the venial error of regarding "Batu" as a generic Tartar term for "prince." No such excuse, however, can be pleaded for what appears to be a piece of deliberate mendacity in these later excerpts from the same author. "þat tyme þat I was þare," he says, (meaning, of course, not in Tartary, but in Cathay), "þe emperour name was Thyak (*al.* Thiant, Thiaut)"; and he then gives the names of this emperor's thirteen sons and of his three wives. This was just the kind of apparently minute knowledge best calculated to impose upon his readers. One can therefore hardly help admiring his audacity in appropriating these names, Thiaut and all, as belonging to contemporaries of his own, from the list of the sons and grandsons of Jenghiz given by Carpini a full century earlier. In the two short chapters xxvii. (p. 125) and xxviii. (p. 127) he summarises Hayton's account of Asiatic geography. He does not, however, profess to have visited the countries described, and when speaking of the Land of Darkness in Hamsen and of the singular legend attached to it, he even abstains with unwonted self-restraint from repeating Hayton's statement that he had been an eye-

¹ There is an earlier instance on p. 85, in what he says of the people of Hindostan *eating* the ox (see note, p. 199); but this may be an interpolation.

witness of the marvel. The most he can therefore be reproached with here, apart from trivial discrepancies, is his neglect to acknowledge Hayton's assistance. The famous Vegetable-Lamb story in ch. xxix. (p. 130) once more takes us back to Odoric of Pordenone. As his wont is in such cases, Mandeville goes rather beyond his authority; but the direct assertion with which he is credited in the current English version, "Of þat frute I have eten," is not warranted by the French text, nor is it found in the English version here printed, although his presence in the country is of course implied by the remarks which he says he addressed to the inhabitants on the subject of its marvellous product. For a discussion of the myth itself and of the kindred one of the Barnacle-Goose, which is also mentioned, I must refer to the notes (p. 212). The remaining contents of the same chapter are a medley of disconnected matter, in which Gog-Magog and Antichrist play the most prominent part, and to which J. de Vitry and V. de Beauvais, the Alexandrine romances¹ and Brunetto Latini, if not our own Richard Rolle of Hampole, have all contributed. With regard to Brunetto, I may notice here in passing that Mandeville's treatment of him throughout is most capricious. Compared with its bulk, the extracts from his *Tresor* are infrequent, but, whenever they occur, they are so closely reproduced that their origin is unmistakable. Ch. xxx. (p. 133) is mainly devoted to the famous Prester John, but at the beginning we get amongst other matter another mention of the mythical loadstone rocks and a second description of Hormuz. The latter (together with a notice of Cambay, its parrots, etc.) is taken from Hayton, Mandeville being apparently quite unaware that he is speaking of the same place he has once already described after Odoric. It was Odoric who seems to have suggested to him the name of Prester John, although they have treated the subject from diametrically opposite points of view. Odoric, as became an honest, if credulous, traveller, was content to identify the Prester John of legend with the actual Khan of the Keraites, and to express the opinion that not a hundredth part of what was told of him was true. Anything so prosaic and matter of fact was not to our author's taste. Not deigning therefore to refer to Odoric's story, he adopted instead the wildest extravagances of the apocryphal Letter of Prester John, which (p. xxiv) had already supplied him with the delightful fiction of the Fount of Youth, representing them all, without a hint of doubt, as sober truth. Naturally enough, he seems to have found some difficulty in defining the limits of the Prester's kingdom; at one time it is apparently in the furthest corner of north-eastern Asia, at another far away in the west, and again in or near India, covering ground therefore of which he had already otherwise disposed. One of its marvels of which he makes most is the "grete see of gravell and sande," yet producing savoury fish. Like the current version in the matter of the Vegetable-Lamb, our English text here in its turn puts words in Mandeville's mouth which are not his own, adding, "I Iohn Maundeuill ete of þam, and þarfore trowez it, for sikerly it es soth." Nor was the translator (or copyist) even satisfied with this, for he plainly considered the case was one that required hard swearing. At the end of the story therefore (p. 137) he makes the author solemnly affirm its truth and declare that he and his fellows had dwelt a long time with Prester John himself at his own court! There is a more substantial basis of historical fact in the story, with which the chapter concludes, of the Old Man of the Mountain, or chief of the Assassins. Mandeville obtained this also from Odoric, although he has transformed his "Millescorte," which appears to represent Malasgird in Armenia, into an island and has introduced a few other variations, together with the puzzling name "Catolonabes" for the hero. Odoric's description of the devil-haunted Valley Perilous appealed still more powerfully to his imagination, and it is with fuller details and augmented horrors that we find it reproduced in the chapter following (p. 138). As I have said before (p. xxii), Mandeville has insinuated into it his solitary reference to Odoric himself, in the sentence "And þare was in oure company *two frere meneours* of

¹ Much new and valuable information on the curious subject of the Pseudo-Callisthenes and kindred works will be found in Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge's *History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, etc., Cambridge, 1889.

Lumbardy þat said þai wald ga thurgh þat valay if we wald go with þam; and so, thurgh comforth of þaire wordes and þe excitacioun of þaim, we schrafe vs clene and herd messe and comound vs and went in to þe valay, xiiii. felawes sammen." It is a little remarkable that he talks here of *two* friars; for, though Odoric always speaks in the first person singular, he is said to have really had a companion, for at least a part of his travels, in Friar James, an Irishman (*Cathay*, p. 7). One would like to know more of this Irish Franciscan; but, for all that appears from the reference given by Sir H. Yule, the companionship may equally well have begun after Odoric's return, or have even been limited to his last interrupted journey to Avignon. In any case, with the accumulated evidence of the entirely fictitious character of Mandeville's more distant travels, it is impossible to believe on grounds so extremely slight that he was for once here speaking the truth. But, if anyone is still disposed to believe in the author's honesty, he will do well to study the concluding paragraphs of this same chapter (p. 140). Particulars are there given of various islands, all presumably in the Indian seas, and some, by his own account, actually visited by him. Yet, not to speak of his giants thirty feet high and such-like obvious fables, the more precise and matter-of-fact his language, the more manifest it becomes that he is merely repeating another page out of his ethnographical common-place book; for, carefully suppressing names alone, he has peopled these imaginary islands with the Augylæ of northern Africa, with the Bithyæ of Scythia (in his account of whom, by reading "gemmas" for "geminas," he perpetrates an amusing blunder), and with the Thracians, as he found them described by Vincent de Beauvais after Pliny and Solinus. The account of the island the inhabitants of which abstained from eating hares, hens, and geese, and dwelt together in small polyandrous communities of ten or twelve, has a still more remarkable origin. It has been pointedly alluded to (*Encycl. Brit.*) as possibly derived from communication with other travellers; but, as a matter of fact, it turns out to be an exact reproduction (through the medium of Vincent de Beauvais) of what Cæsar reported of Britain! It is with a curious appropriateness therefore that Mandeville has fixed this island next to another in which a system of boycotting was in force: "He schall noȝt be slaen with mannez hand, bot þai schall forbede þat na man be so hardy to make him company, ne speke with him, ne com to him, ne giffe him mete ne drink; and so for euen pure nede and hunger and thrist and sorow þat he schall hafe in his hert he schall dye" (p. 141). But this again comes from Pliny and Solinus, who describe it as the mode of punishing a peccant king both in Thrace and in Taprobane or Ceylon. The whole of ch. xxxii. (p. 144) is of a romantic character, dealing chiefly with the pseudo-Alexandrine accounts of the Brahmans and Gymnosophists, with the Astomi and Ichthyophagi, and with the oracular Trees of the Sun and Moon consulted by Alexander. These last, Mandeville assures us, he and his fellows would fain have visited, but for the reports of savage beasts that barred the way. In ch. xxxiii. (p. 148) the author gives an account of the island of "Taprobane," generally recognised as Ceylon, and already noticed therefore, under the name of "Silha," (p. 98), in his extracts from Odoric. The particulars of it here he has obtained solely from Pliny, but he cleverly contrives to make it appear that the ships the latter mentions are those of his own day. After briefly noticing two other islands, which, in spite of their grossly corrupted names, can be easily identified with Pliny's Chryse and Argyre, he goes back to Taprobane for the convenience of localising there the well-known story of the mines of gold guarded by monster ants, his version of which he takes from Vincent de Beauvais. Proceeding thence "even east," he takes his readers to uninhabited wastes and the Land of Darkness, extending, as he says, right up to the Terrestrial Paradise. Of this last he is good enough to say "I have noȝt bene þare" (p. 150); but he has, nevertheless, much to tell of it that is curious enough, more particularly with regard to vain attempts of "many grete lordes" to reach it by ascending one or other of the four rivers issuing from it. His final extracts from Odoric are reserved for ch. xxxiv. and last (p. 152). They relate to the province of Shensi, or Singan-fu, and to Tibet, through which the good friar passed on his way back from China. Mandeville, it may be noted, makes islands of both, as indeed he does of almost every country he names, not excluding

Cathay; and it is in an island also that he fixes the palace of the rich lord of the truly "mervailous lyf," whom Odoric came across on the mainland of Manzi.

The paragraphs which form the epilogue of the whole work (p. 155) are of no little interest. The difference in them between the wording of the two English texts is remarkable; but, although the current version certainly keeps closer to our French text and has the merit of giving the correct dates 1322 and 1356 instead of 1332 and 1366, the language of the Egerton MS. is on the whole of greater simplicity and force, with no further sacrifice of matter than the detail (which, however, can ill be spared) that the special bodily ailment which drove the author home was arthritic gout. Like the earlier, but defective, English text, both these complete versions include the passage wherein the author narrates that on his way homewards he visited Rome and submitted his book of travels for approval and confirmation to the Pope; although, besides verbal differences, its position in the two manuscripts is not quite the same. This passage occurs in none of the French manuscripts, and it is no doubt an interpolation. As for any pretensions to truth, apart from the fact that by Mandeville's own account the book was not written until after he reached home, it is a fatal objection that from 1309 to 1377 the seat of the papacy was not at Rome but at Avignon. But the passage is useful in its way, as tending to confirm the comparatively late date assigned on other grounds to the English translation (p. x); for this could hardly have been made until after the return of Gregory XI. to Rome in 1377, or indeed until sufficient time had subsequently elapsed for a careless interpolator to be thus unwittingly drawn into a trap. Although the French Mandeville is free from this anachronism, some of the copies have at the end an addition of their own in the form of a short dedicatory letter in Latin purporting to be addressed by Mandeville to King Edward III. Strange to say, this occurs, I believe, in none of the English manuscripts, where one would most naturally look for it; but five out of the nine complete French copies in the Museum have it. These, however, are none of the best; and of the four manuscripts which I have used (of which H. is imperfect) it is contained only in R.¹ As I have already pointed out (p. x), it is alluded to in the Meaux Abbey chronicle before the end of the 14th century; but there is no reason whatever for regarding it as authentic. After the disingenuous manner in which, as I have shown, the work was compiled, the few pious and touching words with which it finally concludes sound incongruous, not to say revolting. But it would be a hasty assumption that the writer merely added conscious hypocrisy to his other sins. With the evidence before us of fraud and mendacity, appearances are against him, and it is easy to explain his expressions of humble faith as intended to keep up to the end the character of devout pilgrim and simple-minded traveller which he assumes all along. But it may fairly be doubted whether this view is correct. In the Middle Ages especially, the queerest inconsistencies everywhere confront us, and as likely as not his words were the outcome of genuine religious feeling, united though it was with a blunted moral sense which saw nothing reprehensible in an elaborate literary imposture. The choice between these alternatives is in short a nice one and needs a far deeper insight into the man's character than we can ever hope to obtain, whether the vexed question of his identity should ever be settled or not. To this question I will now address myself, with the advantage that recent discoveries have materially increased the probability of its ultimate solution.

¹ "La copie de la lettre maunde ouesqe cest escript a tres noble prince monseigneur Edward de Wyndesore, Roy Dengleterre et de Fraunce, par monsieur Johan de Maundeuille, autour suisdit: 'Principi excellentissimo, pre cunctis mortalibus precipue venerando, domino Edwardo, divina providentia Francorum et Anglorum regi serenissimo, Hiberniæ domino, Aquitanniæ duci, mari ac ejus insulis occidentalibus dominanti, Christianorum eufamie et ornatui, universorumque arma gerentium tutori, ac probitatis et strenuitatis exemplo, principi quoque invicto, mirabilis Alexandri sequaci, ac universo orbi tremendo, cum reverentia, non qua decet, cum ad talem et tantam reverentiam minus sufficientes extiterint, sed qua parvitas et possibilitas mittentis ac offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.'" The same MS. (Roy. 20 B. x) has another interpolated Latin letter, after the account of the Egyptian sultans (f. 10 b). It professes to be addressed to the Pope by an otherwise unknown Balthazardy, son of Sultan Melik-en-Násir, but is certainly spurious. It is found also in the French MS., B.M., Sloane 560, and in the two Latin MSS., Leiden, Vulcanii 96 (A.D. 1390) and B.M., Egerton 672, and has been printed by Dr. Vogels (*Die ungedr. Lat. Vers. Mand.*, p. 15).

If we are to believe the author's own account of himself, his name was John Mandeville; he was, "although unworthy," a knight, and he was born in England at the town of St. Albans; further, he crossed the sea in 1322 and wrote his book, as a solace for his bodily infirmities, after his return home in 1356. How he professes to have been occupied in the thirty-four years interval between these dates we have already seen. Down to quite recently, the truth of the above brief autobiographical particulars was generally taken for granted, and so long as the Travels were regarded as a record of actual experiences, with a few romantic tales and popular fictions thrown in, there was no ostensible reason for questioning it. But now that their real nature is made manifest, the case is altered; for we have to credit the author with the learning of a clerk and a range of reading more naturally associated with the studious seclusion of a monastic library. To have read and assimilated, however clumsily, Boldensele and Odoric, Carpini and Hayton, Vincent de Beauvais and Brunetto Latini, Albert of Aix and Jacques de Vitry, the *Historia Scholastica* and the *Legenda Aurea*, the Palestine Itineraries, Latin and French, and all the other works with which the writer shows himself more or less intimately acquainted, is an achievement not easily to be believed of a simple knight and soldier of fortune in the 14th century; and the wholesale plagiarism of the book thus necessarily involves its alleged authorship in grave suspicion. The name of Mandeville was of course well known in England from the time of the Conquest, when, according to Domesday, Geoffrey de Magnavilla received lands in ten different counties, that of Hertford included.¹ From the reign of Stephen to 1227 it was borne by Geoffrey's descendants as Earls of Essex, one of whom by the way, William de Mandeville, 3rd Earl, himself visited the Holy Land, in company with Philip, Count of Flanders, in 1177-78. This is recorded by several of the chroniclers,² and I mention it as having possibly suggested to the real author a name for his hero. In the 14th century the title and lands of the principal stock had long passed through an heiress to the Bohuns. The name, however, was by no means extinct, and one branch was established at Black Notley, in Essex, at no great distance from St. Albans. But the records supply no Sir John de Mandeville of this Notley family later than the 13th century. In 1302 the estate was held by his son, Sir Thomas; the latter was succeeded by Sir Walter, and he again by another Sir Thomas, who was still living in 1372.³ Notwithstanding, if our author was indeed a Mandeville, this was the particular branch of the family to which he may with most reason be supposed to have belonged, as a grandson perhaps of the Sir John above named. Without the knightly prefix, the name John de Mandeville is of no rare occurrence in public and other records throughout the century, though never, so far as I know, in special connexion with Hertfordshire, still less with St. Albans. Most of the entries in which it is found have to do with the Mandevilles of Marshwood in Dorset, who were of common descent with the Earls of Essex, and were themselves summoned as barons by John and Henry III. down to 1265. A John de Mandeville of Marshwood, holding land also in Wilts, Oxon, Somerset, and Devon, died in 1275, leaving a son and heir, John, aged seventeen.⁴ The latter was no doubt the John de Mandeville who was summoned for service in Gascony in 1294, and in Scotland at various dates between 1298 and 1309; who obtained a pardon, as an adherent of the Earl of Lancaster, for his share in the death of Piers Gaveston in 1313; and who was certified as one of the Lords of Buckhorn Weston, co. Dorset, in 1316.⁵ A John de Mandeville who was pressed for a foot soldier for Gascony in 1325, but deserted after getting his pay,⁶ must have been a younger man and of inferior rank; and so too another foot soldier (but possibly the same)

¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*, 1675, i., p. 200.

² Rad. de Diceto, ed. Stubbs, 1876, i., p. 421; Rog. de Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, 1869, ii., p. 132; Matt. Paris, ed. Luard, ii., 1874, p. 300.

³ Morant, *History and Antiquities of Essex*, 1768, ii., p. 123.

⁴ Roberts, *Calendarium Genealogicum*, 1865, i., p. 240.

⁵ *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii., div. iii., 1834, p. 1138; Hutchins, *Hist. of Dorset*, ed. 1864, p. 261; Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, 1888, p. 163. He was also presumably the Sir John de Maundevile of Wilts who is mentioned below (p. xxxii. n. 1).

⁶ *Parl. Writs*, as above.

who was serving in Scotland in 1334.¹ Again, the name appears in 1337 as that of a tenant of lands in Bratton and Hesthorp, co. Wilts, holding under Queen Philippa as of the castle of Devizes.² In 1338 we find a John de Mandeville owing service in the manor of Maundlempston, co. Lowth, in Ireland³; while in 1357 another, as son and heir of Isabel, widow of Robert de Mandeville, did fealty for lands in Pitchcombe, co. Gloucester⁴. This last seems to be the same as the then John of Marshwood, who occurs in 1360 as holding lands in Painswick, co. Gloucester, in addition to Buckhorn Weston, co. Dorset, Coker, co. Somerset, etc.⁵ Later still, in 1386-7 we have a John Maundevyle, *junior*, witnessing charters dated at Waltham in Essex, which is within twenty miles of St. Albans.⁶ But there is nothing in the circumstances of any of these bearers of the name (and, no doubt, with further search, the list might be extended) to make it at all likely that the author of the Travels was included among them; while, on the contrary, there is the strongest evidence that he must be sought on the other side of the channel.

The notice of Sir John Mandeville given by Bishop Bale in his Catalogue of British Writers, first published in 1548,⁷ is chiefly based on his own account of himself, but it ends with the matter-of-fact statement that he died at Liège on 17 Nov. 1372, and was buried there in the church of the Guillelmites, or Guillemins. Where Bale got his information he does not say, but I believe he was the first to put it into print. He is confirmed by a Netherland chronicler, Jacob Meyer (1491-1552), who⁸ writes under the year 1372, "Ioannes ab Mandevilla, Anglus, professione medicus, magnus ille orbis peragratior Leodii defunctus est mense Novembri, habetque sepulturam ibidem in conventu Guilielmitarum." The statement that Mandeville was a physician had been already made by Bale, who, however, speaks of him as a knight as well. Similarly Lodovico Guicciardini (1523-1589) in his description of the Low Countries, first published in 1567,⁹ styling Mandeville "Inghilese, cavaliere, e dottore in medicina molto chiaro," states that on his return from travel he chose Liège as a residence for its salubrity, and dying there in 1372 was buried honourably in the Guillelmite church, "dove ancor hoggi si vede la sua sepoltura con belli epitaffi e con alcune sue cose che quei fratri come reliquie d'huomo degnissimo monstrano a viandanti." Abraham Ortelius in his Itinerary, 1584,¹⁰ gives a more particular account: "Est in hac quoque regione [Leodii] Guillelmitarum coenobium,¹¹ in quo epitaphium hoc Ioannis a Mandeville excepimus: 'Hic iacet vir nobilis Dominus Ioannes de Mandeville alias dictus ad Barbam Miles Dominus de Campdi natvs de Anglia medicine professor devotissimus orator et bonorum largissimvs pvyperibvs erogator qvi toto qvasi orbe lvstrato Leodii diem vite sve clausit extremvm Anno Domini

¹ H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London*, 1868, p. 189.

² *Rotul. Originalium Abbreviatio*, ii., p. 107.

³ *Calend. Rotul. Patentium*, p. 142.

⁴ *Rotul. Originalium Abbreviatio*, ii., p. 240; *Inquisitiones post mortem*, ii., p. 196; Atkyns, *Glostershire*, 1712, p. 602.

⁵ *Inquis. p. mortem*, ii., p. 219.

⁶ Brit. Mus., Harley Charters, 78 H. 48, 79 A. 30.

⁷ *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*, Ipswich, 1548, f. 149 b. Bale's contemporary, John Leland (*ob.* 1552), has a laudatory notice of Mandeville, or, as he calls him, Magnovillanus, in his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (ed. A. Hall, Oxford, 1709, p. 366), exalting him above Marco Polo, Columbus, and Cortez, and styling him a second Mithridates for his knowledge of foreign languages. He says that in his childhood he had heard much about him and his place of burial from one Jordan; but he omits to state where the tomb was supposed to be. He adds, however, that he had recently seen at Canterbury among the offerings dedicated to St. Thomas a hollow orb of crystal with an undecayed apple enclosed in it, which the guardian assured him was a gift of John Mandeville. This relic was no doubt as genuine as the ring preserved at St. Albans (above, p. xi. n. 1). The whole passage is quoted from Leland in Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, p. 505.

⁸ *Commentarii sive Annales rerum Flandricarum*, Antwerp, 1561, p. 165.

⁹ *Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi*, Antwerp, 1567, p. 281.

¹⁰ *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliae Belgicae partes Abrahami Ortelii et Joannis Viciani*, Antwerp, 1584, p. 16.

¹¹ The house was founded in 1280 by Griseal de Bierset, a canon of St. Lambert, as a hospice for seven infirm priests; but in 1287 the Bishop changed its object and installed the Guillemins, (*Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois*, vii., 1865, p. 288). The latter had their name from St. William, a hermit of Maleval, near Siena (*ob.* 1157), in whose honour the order was instituted (Hélyot, *Dict. des ordres Religieux*, in Migne's *Encycl. Théologique*, xxi., 1849, col. 432).

M^oCCC^oLXXI^o mensis Novembris die xvii.' " It will be observed that Ortelius here quotes the year (erroneously, as will be seen) as 1371 and not 1372. He goes on to say that the epitaph was on a stone whereon was also engraved (coelata) the figure of an armed man, with forked beard, trampling on a lion, with a hand extended over his head in benediction, and the words in the Liège *patois* " Vos ki paseis sor mi pour lamour deix proies por mi." The expression " pass *over* me " suggests that the stone was on the floor of the church, and the whole description reads like that of a brass. This is the more probable from what follows; for the writer adds that the shield, when he saw it, was blank, but he was told it once contained a brass plate on which were engraved the arms, *azure*, a lion *argent*, with a crescent at his breast *gules*, within a bordure engrailed or indented (denticulatus) *or*. From the conclusion of this most interesting passage we learn moreover what the relics were of which Guicciardini speaks in general terms, namely the knives (cultri), horse-trappings and spurs which, as the custodians affirmed, Mandeville had used during his travels. The description of the above shield of arms would be of more importance if we could be sure that Ortelius was rightly informed as to the charges and tinctures. They do not in any way represent the arms of Mandeville, Earls of Essex (quarterly, *or* and *gules*), or of other branches of the family; but, excepting the crescent, which might be no more than the conventional mark of difference for a second son, they are given in Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorial* (1874, p. 119) as the arms of Lamont, and of Tyrell or Tyrrell, of co. Somerset, co. Hertford, and co. Hereford. Thus, in the well-known armorial roll in Cotton MS. Caligula A. xviii., which was drawn up *circ.* 1308-1314, we find (f. 18) entered under Herefordshire, " Sire Roger Tyrel de azure a vn lion de argent od la bordure endente de or." ¹ The next writer to whom I will refer is again an Englishman, John Pits or Pitseus, whose work *De illustribus Angliæ scriptoribus* was published at Paris in 1619. His account of Mandeville (p. 511) is mainly an elaboration of Bale's, but he adds to it a copy of the epitaph (including the French portion), which he obtained, as he says, word for word from Sir Edmund Leukner, ² an English priest, who lived and died at Liège. It is almost exactly ³ the same as it is quoted by Ortelius, but Pits follows Bale and Guicciardini in making the date 1372. Another professedly independent witness is John Weever, in 1631. ⁴ It appears that St. Albans, not content with the undisputed fame of having given birth to Mandeville, claimed also by this time to be the place of his burial. This was just such a legend as was likely to grow up, but there is nothing whatever to countenance it in any early authority. " And that you may beleue the report of the inhabitants to bee true," writes Weever, " they haue lately pensild a rare piece of poetry or an epitaph for him vpon a pillar, neere to which they suppose his body to haue beene buried, which I think not much amisse to set downe." The sixteen lines which follow are mere doggrel and I will not repeat them, only remarking that they peak of the tomb as having once stood there. ⁵ Weever dismisses the story by adding, " but I am sure that within these few yeares I saw his tombe in the citie of Leege, within the church of the religious house of the Guilliammits, with this inscription vpon it and the verses following hanging by on a table." Except that, probably by a misprint, he makes the day of the month the 16th, instead of the 17th, Nov., his copy of the

¹ See also *Parliamentary Writs*, i., 1827, p. 419. The same Roll gives the arms of Sir Thomas de Maundevile, of Essex (above, p. xxx.), as *argent*, on a chief indented *gules* three martlets *or*; and those of Sir John de Maundevile, of Wilts, as quarterly, *vair* and *gules*.

² Probably a member of the Catholic family of Lewknor, of West Dean, Sussex, and attached to the Jesuit College at Liège. Sir Lewis Lewknor, M.P. for Midhurst and Master of the Ceremonies to James I., had both an uncle and a brother Edmond (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, iii., 1850, p. 97).

³ The exceptions are: Mandeuil; in Anglia; bonorum suorum; vitæ suæ diem.

⁴ *Ancient Funerall Monuments Composed by the Travels and Studie of John Weeuer*, London, 1631, p. 567.

⁵ In still later times they were replaced by a Latin couplet:

" Siste gradum properans. Requiescit Mandevil urna
Hic humili. Ncrunt et monumenta mori,"

followed by eight English lines, beginning:

" Lo! In this inn of travellers doth lie
One rich in nothing but a memory," etc.

See Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*, 1815, i. p. 59. These lines are still to be seen on the second pillar north of the west door.

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epitaph is identical with that of Ortelius, and may have been taken from it, the more so as he employs much the same terms in speaking of the relics. The eight Latin elegiac lines which follow are, however, peculiar to himself. Their composition is superior to that of the rival English verses at St. Albans, but they are probably little, if at all, earlier. As a summary of the popular estimate of Mandeville they are perhaps worth reproducing:—

“Hoc iacet in tumulo cui totus patria vivo
Orbis erat, totum quem peragrasse ferunt.
Anglus equesque fuit; nunc ille Britannus Ulysses
Dicatur, Graio clarus Ulysse magis.

Moribus, ingenio, candore, et sanguine clarus,
Et vere cultor religionis erat.
Nomen si quæras, est Mandevil; Indus Arabsque
Sat notum dicet finibus esse suis.”

From the references I have already given, the existence in the 16th and 17th centuries of a tomb at Liège purporting to be that of Mandeville the traveller may be taken as established beyond question. It is mentioned again by the Rev. Charles Ellis, as an eye-witness, in a letter dated in 1699¹; and so late as the end of the following century the Abbé Pierre Lambinet² claims to have seen it and copied the epitaph. He gives the latter in a complete form, following Ortelius, except that he adds “suorum” and makes the date 1372. E. Kints, who in his *Délices du Pays de Liège* (1738, i., p. 185) gives an account of the Guillemin church, unfortunately does not describe or engrave its monuments, and I have not succeeded in finding any representation elsewhere of the one in question. Its fate in the Revolution was a sad one. On 1 Jan. 1798 the buildings were all sold,³ and, the church being demolished, tomb and epitaph perished with it; and, by the irony of fortune, the burial-place of one who for centuries had enjoyed the fame of having been the greatest of mediæval travellers is now covered by a modern railway-station.

But it is of more importance to trace back, if possible, this alleged connexion of Mandeville with Liège to his own times, and this we are fortunately able to do. In 1462 Jacob Püterich von Reichertshausen addressed to the archduchess Mechtild of Austria a long epistle in German verse, styled the “Ehrenbrief,” in which he describes the poems and romances of chivalry contained in his library.⁴ Having mentioned the tomb of the great German poet Wolfram von Eschenbach, he remarks parenthetically that, when he was once coming out of Brabant, he was told by a Guillelmit monk that in a cloister before Liège lay buried “Hanns von Mandovilla,” whereupon he went twelve miles out of his way to visit the tomb. He then describes how “ein sarchstain auf im lage,” and how it bore in letters of brass the inscription: “Hic jacet nobilis Dominus Joannes de *Montevilla*, miles, alias dictus ad Barbam, Dominus de *Compredi*, natus de Anglia, medicinae professor et devotissimus orator, et bonorum *suorum* largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui *totum orbem peragravit in stratu*. Leodii diem vitae suae clausit extremum, Anno Dom. MCCCLXXII, mensis *Februarii vii*.” The words in Italics mark the variations from Ortelius (above, p. xxxi.), the only two to be preferred being “suorum” and the date 1372.⁵ Püterich moreover speaks of the shield of arms, but I cannot make much of the description, and Dr. Bovenschen gives no help.⁶ It appears, however, that there was a lion (leben=lewen, löwen) and a star, the latter, I

¹ *Philosophical Transactions*, xxiii., 1703, p. 1418.

² “J’ai vu la pierre sépulcrale qui couvre ses cendres, sur la quelle j’ai copié l’épitaque. . . . Autour de la tombe, sur la quelle Mandeville est sculpté, on lit en idiome liégeois,” etc. (*Recherches . . . sur l’origine de l’imprimerie*, Brussels, 1799, p. 302.)

³ “Adjugés le 12 nivose an vi. a la citoyenne épouse J. J. Fabry, pour 46,000 francs.” (*Bull. de l’Inst. Arch. Liégeois*, xvi., 1882, p. 509.)

⁴ Printed by Raymundus Duellius, *Excerptorum Genealogico-Historicorum libri duo*, Leipzig, 1725, p. 281. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Bovenschen. See also Moriz Haupt’s *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, Leipzig, vi., 1848, p. 56.

⁵ The spelling of the name “Montevilla” is given also, as an alternative to “Mandeville,” by Pits (above, p. xxxii.), and it appears in some of the Latin manuscripts.

⁶ The stanza runs as follows (ed. Haupt):—

“Sein Schilt mit ainem leben
der Stern gezwifacht was,
sein gil mit weitem gewen,
dem Helm ob ein Mörkhacz sas;
dargegen ain sy zugen den khaczen khnebel,
samb thun zu Hof die Pueben
vil dickh das Spüll das ainer felst auf den gebt.”

presume, answering to the crescent or "lunula" of Ortelius ; and the helm was surmounted by an ape (mörkhacz). If this ape represents the "manus benedicens" of Ortelius, the eyes of the one or the other must have been egregiously deceived. There is another notice of Mandeville of about the same date by Cornelis Zantfliet, a Benedictine of St. Jacques at Liège, Dean of Stavelot, and author of a Chronicle from 1230 to 1461. Under the year 1372 he writes¹: "Eodem anno apud Leodium obiit quidam nobilis miles, de villa S. Albani in Anglia generatus, vocabulo Johannes de Mandeville, aliter Cum barba, vir strenuus in armis, multorum idiomatum peritus et in arte medicinæ peroptime tritus," etc. But the evidence can be carried still further back. I have before had occasion to mention the chronicler Radulphus de Rivo (p. xi.) The passage from this writer's *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium* to which I there alluded is as follows: "Hoc anno [1367] Ioannes Mandeuius, natione Anglus, vir ingenio et arte medendi eminens, qui toto fere terrarum orbe peragrato tribus linguis peregrinationem suam doctissime conscripsit, in alium orbem nullis finibus clausum longaque hoc quietiorem et beatiorem migravit 17 Nouembris. Sepultus in ecclesia Wilhelmitarum non procul a moenibus ciuitatis Leodiensis." At first sight the date 1367 presents a marked variation from other authorities ; but the difficulty is easily removed by supposing that De Rivo misread a v for an x in MCCCCLXXII, and he may therefore be claimed as an additional witness, if any were wanted, in support of the latter date as against 1371.² His notice of Mandeville is an important one, for he was his younger contemporary and latterly at least a near neighbour to Liège. He is said to have been born at Breda and to have studied at Rome about 1378, and he subsequently became Dean of Tongres, some ten miles north-west of Liège. His chronicle is brought down to 1389, and he died 3 Nov. 1403.³

Apart, however, from the information as to the date of his death and place of burial, none of the authorities hitherto quoted adds much more to Mandeville's own account of himself than that he was a physician and was also called John with the Beard. The evidence I will now adduce brings us within appreciable distance of his actual identity. In the *Bibliophile Belge* for 1866 (p. 236) Dr. Stanislas Bormans printed a 15th century catalogue of the library of the collegiate church of St. Paul at Liège. It includes (no. 240) an "Itinerarium Joh. de Mandevilla, militis, apud Guilhelmitanos Leodienses sepulti," and in a note to this entry he quoted the passage below from the Liège chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse. Not only, however, did he himself fail to recognise its full importance, but it remained unnoticed until 1884,⁴ when Mr. E. B. Nicholson, whose attention was directed to it by Dr. Vogels, enlarged upon it in a letter to the *Academy* (vol. xxv., 1884, p. 261). Meanwhile his own and Sir H. Yule's joint article on Mandeville had appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (above, p. vi), and in the course of it, taking the hint from an unspecified French MS. in which the physician who figures in the Latin vulgate (p. vii) is called "Jehan de Bourgoigne, dit a la Barbe," he had suggested in the form of a query that this Jean de Bourgogne might himself have written Mandeville's Travels under an assumed name. The conjecture was a happy one, receiving the strongest support from the evidence already made available, though Mr. Nicholson was unaware of it, by Dr. Bormans. The latter's extract from Jean d'Outremeuse runs in these terms:—

"L'an M.CCC.LXXII mourut à Liège, le 12 Novembre, un homme fort distingué par sa naissance, content de s'y faire connoître sous le nom de Jean de Bourgogne dit à la Barbe. Il s'ouvrit néanmoins au lit de la mort à Jean d'Outremeuse, son compère et institué son exécuteur testamentaire. De vrai, il se titra dans le précis de

¹ Martène and Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum amplissima collectio*, Paris, 1724-33, v., p. 299.

² The error is remarked upon and corrected, apparently from personal knowledge of the tomb, by Foullon, *Hist. Leodiensis*, 1735, i., p. 346.

³ *Bulletin de l'Inst. Archéol. Liégeois*, xvi., 1882, p. 358. A summary is there given of his will, dated 5 Nov. 1401. Among the manuscripts he specifically bequeaths there is no Mandeville ; but a copy was perhaps included among those as to the disposal of which his executor had verbal instructions.

⁴ I can only find it referred to in an article by M. J. Stecher on "Mandeville à Liège," in the *Annuaire de la Soc. Libre d'Émulation de Liège*, 1867, p. 95.

sa dernière volonté Messire Jean de Mandeville, chevalier, comte de Montfort en Angleterre, et seigneur de l'isle de Campdi et du Château Perouse. Ayant cependant eu le malheur de tuer, en son pays, un comte qu'il ne nomme pas, il s'engagea à parcourir les trois parties du monde. Vint à Liège en 1343. Tout sorti qu'il étoit d'une noblesse très distinguée, il aima de s'y tenir caché. Il étoit, au reste, grand naturaliste, profond philosophe et astrologue, y joint en particulier une connoissance très singulière de la physique, se trompant rarement lorsqu'il disoit son sentiment à l'égard d'un malade, s'il reviendrait ou pas. Mort enfin, on l'enterra aux FF. Guillelmins, au faubourg d'Avroy, comme vous avez vu plus amplement cy-dessus."¹

Before analysing this very remarkable passage it will be well to say a few words as to its author, using the materials supplied by Dr. Bormans in the introduction to the great edition of his chronicle in the *Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites*, published by the Belgian Government.² Jean des Preis, or Prez, belonged to one of the oldest families of Liège, and his father, like himself, bore the alternative surname of d'Outremeuse, no doubt from his residing in that quarter of the city which lay beyond the river. He was born in 1338, became in due time a clerk and notary, and held the office of "audiencier" in the Court of Justice at Liège; and he even appears to have received from the emperor the title of Count Palatine (p. xi). The two works by which he is best known are the "Geste de Liège" and the huge "Myreur des Histors." The former is a long poem on the history of Liège. It is brought down to 1390; but the greater part was written in early life long before the prose "Myreur." A still earlier poem, the "Geste d'Ogier le Danois," dealing with the great mythological hero of the Ardennes and of Liège in particular, appears to have perished (p. xvii). There is, however, another work of his extant, the composition of which also most probably preceded that of the "Myreur" (p. lxxxviii). It is preserved in a manuscript at Paris,³ and bears the title "Le Trésorier de Philosophie Naturelle. Des pierres précieuses. Escrit par Jean d'Outremeuse, clerc et notaire de Liège."⁴ This treatise, which, according to the author, was the fruit of thirty-two years of study "en la scienche des pierres précieuses," is divided into four books, the second of which comprises the Lapidary proper. Its chief interest for us lies in the fact that it contains more than one notice of Mandeville. The author, to begin with, gives a list of philosophers, which starts with Hermes Trismegistus and ends (f. 3) with a "noble homme, seigneur Jehan de Mandeville, chevalier, seigneur de Monfort, de Castelperouse, et de l'isle de Campdi, qui fut en Orient et es parties par della par longtemps, si en fist ung lappidaire selon l'oppinion des Indoïs." From this "Lapidaire des Indoïs" d'Outremeuse cites some passages in Latin⁵, and he also states (f. 79) that Mandeville had been seven years resident in Alexandria, and that a Saracen with whom he was intimate had

¹ I quote, not from the *Bibl. Belge*, which omits the last sentence, but from the later work of Dr. Bormans (as below), p. cxxxiii.

² *Ly Myreur des Histors: Chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*, Brussels, 1864-1880. Vols. i. (1864), ii. (1869), iii. (1873), and v. (1867), were edited by A. Borgnet; vols. iv. (1877) and vi. (1880) by S. Bormans. The latter's Introduction and the Index are contained in a separate volume, not numbered consecutively with the rest, entitled *Chronique et Geste de Jean des Preis*, etc., 1887. The references I give in the text are to the pagination of the Introduction.

³ *Bibl. Nat.*, fonds franc. 12,326, early 16th century. A description of it is given by A. Michelant in the *Bull. de l'Inst. Archéol. Liégeois*, x., 1873, p. 39. There is another copy in Barrois MS. ccclxviii., written in 1520 by Jan van Dixmunde.

⁴ He divides precious stones alphabetically according to their names and devotes a chapter to each letter. This is the system followed in the *Liber de Mineralibus* of Albertus Magnus, to whom he often refers as "Albers."

⁵ According to Dr. Bormans, on ff. 55, 56; but this appears to be a mistake. M. Delisle has kindly sent me extracts of all the references to Mandeville, from whom no less than twelve passages are quoted in Latin. The following about the stone "Borax" (f. 53), may serve as a specimen:—" . . . et messire Jehan de Mandeville le recite en son lapidaire des Yndous: 'Quidam enim clericus in absencia famuli aratrum tenuit et duxit, magnumque bufonem cum aratro evertit. Et vidit supra buffonis botrun rotundum (*sic*), unde premordicatur ipsum habere lapidem crapaudinum; et ligavit eum in manica tunice sue firmiter, quousque a fine campi cum aratro reverteretur, et ipso reverso nichil invenit in manica, et tamen manica ex utraque parte fuerat firmiter ligata.'" The matter of these extracts agrees closely with *Le Lapidaire en francoys compose par messire Jehan de Mandeville cheualier* (Lyons? 1530?), which purports to have been translated from the Latin in the 15th century. D'Outremeuse (p. 75), in speaking of the "epististes" or ruby, refers to Mandeville's account "en son livre quil fist des parties d'oultremer" of the ruby and pearls of the King of Nacumeran.

given him some fine jewels, which he, Jean d'Outremeuse, subsequently acquired. The "Myreur des Histors"—a title due, not to Jean d'Outremeuse himself, who merely speaks of "mes croniques," but to his copyist and continuator Jean de Stavelot—was begun, according to Dr. Bormans, about 1395, a date which certainly does not allow too much time for it, since the author died at the end of 1399. Its scope was nothing less than the history of the whole world, and the bare list of his authorities shows the prodigious amount of learning and industry he brought to its composition. It is written in the Walloon-French dialect of Liège, and his reasons for this, "affin que toutes maniers de singnour et aultre gens qui de latien n'ont nulle cognissanche le pussent entendre" (p. xcix), are closely analogous to those given in the French text of Mandeville (above, p. vi). Of the four books into which it was divided, the third ends in 1340, and the fourth, which included under the date 1372 the passage about Mandeville, was carried down to 1399. Unfortunately this last book, which, treating as it did of contemporary events, must have been the most valuable of all, is now lost. There is, however, as Dr. Bormans shows, not the least doubt that it really existed, and all hope of its recovery has not yet been abandoned. Meanwhile, it is a happy chance that has preserved the extract from it with which we are concerned, and the authenticity of which there is not the slightest reason for impugning. The extract was originally taken by the Liège herald and genealogist Louis Abry (1643-1720) from a copy of the "Myreur" made by Jean de Stavelot (1388-1449), who carried it on, in what he expressly calls a *fifth* book, down to 1447. This copy was preserved in the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège, where Stavelot was a monk, and it is known to have been there as late as 1750. From Abry¹ (whose own manuscript, however, is still in existence) the passage was again copied by Jean Gilles (?) Le Fort², in whose collections in the archives at Liège it was discovered by Dr. Bormans.

With regard to the matter of the paragraph, in the first place it completes the chain of evidence that the tomb at Liège³ dated back to the 14th century, and leaves little doubt indeed that, if his story be true, Jean d'Outremeuse himself was responsible for it; although it is certainly strange that, of the titles with which Mandeville is credited both in the "Myreur" and in the "Trésorier," only the minor one of "Dominus de Campdi" appears in the inscription. But an entirely new element is introduced in the unequivocal statement that the man who was buried in the Guillemin church in 1372 as Sir John de Mandeville, otherwise "ad Barbam," had lived and practised at Liège since 1343 as the physician Jean de Bourgogne, otherwise "à la Barbe," only revealing his real name and quality to the writer on his deathbed. Fortunately our knowledge of Jean de Bourgogne is not derived solely from this passage. As we have already seen (p. vi., n. 1), the earliest known copy of Mandeville's Travels was written in Sept. 1371, more than a year, be it remembered, before the date inscribed on the tomb; and, with the new light thrown by Jean d'Outremeuse, it appears something more than a coincidence that it was associated, as M. Delisle has shown (*ibid.*), in the same volume with a treatise on the plague bearing the name of this identical Jean de Bourgogne, "à la Barbe," who is styled in it professor in medicine and citizen of Liège, and who, according to the colophon, composed it in 1365 in that city, where he had previously written several other noble scientific works. As contained in the Paris manuscript, the treatise is in French, but it was

¹ It was Abry who modernised the language, not Dr. Bormans, as Dr. Bovenschen supposes (*Untersuchungen*, p. 199). Abry has a notice of Mandeville in his "Œuvres curieuses des sçavants de la nation liégeoise" (MS. 638, Univ. Libr. of Liège), in which he says that Mandeville left his manuscripts to the library of the Guillemins, whom he made his heirs (J. Stecher, *Annuaire*, etc., p. 115, as above, p. xxxiv., n. 3). Have the Liège archæologists made search in their archives for a copy of the *will* of which D'Outremeuse speaks?

² There were two heralds at Liège named Le Fort. Jean Gilles, the father, settled in Liège in 1662, was appointed Herald in 1682, and died in 1718. He was succeeded in office by Jean Henri, his son, who survived till 1751. Dr. Bormans does not make it clear which of the two copied the extract from Abry; and in his notice of them in the *Bull. de l'Inst. Archéol. Liégeois*, iv., 1860, p. 319, he says their handwriting is so much alike that it is often impossible to distinguish between them. But the great collection of Le Fort papers at Liège appears to have been chiefly formed by Jean Gilles.

³ The date 12th Nov., instead of 17th, perhaps originated with Abry, or even with Stavelot, by the dropping of the v in xvii.

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probably translated from the Latin. In the latter form, and in abridgements and English translations, it is not uncommon in England, where the subject of the plague was one of painful interest. Besides several others in the Sloane collection, there is a good copy at the Museum in Royal MS. 12 G. iv., f. 158b (14th cent.).¹ In it the author, who was plainly resident at Liège, speaks of having forty years of medical experience, and of having already written two works on the subject, one on the origin and nature of infected air, and the other on the different forms of pestilential disease. The work itself is neither better nor worse than the medical science of the age would lead one to expect. Both for the cause and cure of the plague the planets exert a paramount influence, so that, to use the words of a translation in Sloane MS. 3449, ff. 6, 6b (15th cent.), a medicine, though "wele compownyd or medled and ordynatly wroght after the science of phisik," is of no avail if "gyven contrary to þe constellacion," and "they that have not dronkyn of that swete drynke of astronomye mowe putte to thise pestilenciall sores no perfite remedie." The date of composition would appear to be rather 1366 than 1365, for the plague is said not to be the result of the conjunction of planets in the *past* year 1365, but the lingering effects of a conjunction in 1345. The whole concludes with the words, "Non pro precio, sed pro precibus, hoc egi, ut, cum quis convaluerit, pro me oret. Amen," a sentence which has a very Mandeville-like ring. But it is not only in the "Myreur des Histors" and in his own scientific treatises that we encounter this mysterious physician of many names. Under his nickname "ad Barbam" he plays an important part in the vulgate Latin text of the Travels (above, p. vii). In the account of Egypt as there given, after describing the Sultan's mode of giving audience, the author is made to say that, while he was residing at his Court, he saw about the Sultan a venerable and skilful physician, who was "sprung from our own parts," and that, although at the time the nature of their respective duties rarely allowed of intercourse, long afterwards at Liège he wrote his Travels at the exhortation and with the assistance of this same venerable man, as the final chapter would explain.² Accordingly in ch. l. "De compositione tractatus in civitate Leodii," he tells the following story. In 1355, when on his way home, he stopped at Liège and was there confined to his bed in the street called "Bassesavenyr" by arthritic gout. He therefore consulted some physicians of the place, and among others one older and more hoary than the rest, and evidently expert in his art, who went by the name of Master John "ad Barbam." In the course of conversation they recognised one another as old acquaintances at Cairo. Having first proved his medical skill, this physician urged him for the sake of posterity to write an account of his wanderings through the world; and thus the work was composed by his advice and aid, although the author had intended to write nothing, at least until he had reached England. The chapter then concludes with an expression of the writer's belief that all that had happened to him was from God, for since he left home the kings of France and England had done nothing but fight and he would hardly have escaped scatheless, while, now that he was at Liège, only two days journey from the English Channel, he heard that hostilities had ceased, so that he hoped to spend the rest of his days in peace and quiet.³ From this last sentence

¹ The title is rather better given in the Bodleian MS., Ashmole 1443, f. 351 (15th cent.): "Incipit doctrina magistri Johannis de Burgundia, alio nomine dicti Cum Barba, de preservacione regiminis et cura contra epidimias et infirmitates pestilenciales, causatas seu significatas per coniunctiones infrascriptas." There is a useful list of the various manuscripts in Mr. D. Murray's *Black Book of Paisley and other MSS. of the Scoti-chronicon*, Paisley, 1885, p. 79, apropos of a copy of the work in the Black Book. The author, it appears, is sometimes called John de Burdegalia, de Burdeux, Burdeus, etc.

² "Porro ego in curia manens vidi circa soldanum vnum venerabilem et expertum medicum de nostris partibus oriundum; solet namque circa se retinere diuersarum medicos nationum quos renominande audierit esse fame. Nos autem raro inuicem conuenimus ad colloquium, eo quod meum seruicium cum suo modicum congruebat. Longo autem postea tempore et ab illo loco remote, viz. in Leodii ciuitate, composui hortatu et adiutorio eiusdem venerabilis viri hunc tractatum, sicut in fine huius totius operis plenius enarrabo" (Grenv. 6700, ch. vii).

³ ". . . . Itaque anno a natiuitate domini Ihesu Christi m.ccc.lv. in repatriando cum ad nobilem Legie seu Leodij ciuitate[m] permansissem (peruenissem) et pre grauitate (grandeuitate) ac arteticis guttis illuc decumberem in vico qui dicitur bassesauenyr (Bassesavenire), consului causa conualescendi aliquos medicos ciuitatis. Et accidit dei nutu vnum intrare phisicum super alios etate simul et canicie venerandum ac in sua arte euidenter expertum, qui ibi dicebatur magister Iohannes ad barbam (vel de barba). Is ergo, cum (et ego dum) pariter colloqueremur, interseruit

it may be inferred that the passage was not written so early as 1355, since it appears to allude to the Peace of Bretigny in 1360, although possibly what is meant is the nominal truce for two years which followed the battle of Poitiers on 19th Sept. 1356. There is a French MS. of Mandeville which adds to the Latin narrative the curious detail that the house in the street "Bassesavenyr," where the author lay sick, was that of Henkin Levo, or Levoz, and moreover gives the physician his full name of Jean de Bourgogne.¹ Comparing the statements in the "Myreur des Histoires" and in the Latin text of the Travels, it will be observed that, while the latter dates Mandeville's arrival at Liège in 1355 and makes him distinct from the physician Jean de Bourgogne, the other asserts that he was in fact the same person and came thither as early as 1343.² But, assuming that the revelation which forms the ground of the alleged identity was actually made, was there any truth in it? In one important point it breaks down completely, for there never was an earldom of Montfort in the family of Mandeville. The Montfort title, however, was not inscribed on the tomb, and its absence makes it somewhat doubtful whether Jean de Bourgogne ever claimed it. In the "Trésorier" moreover it appears merely as "*seigneur de Monfort*"; and it is not till upwards of twenty years after his death that it is given in the "Myreur" as "*comte de Montfort en Angleterre*." All this looks very much as if Jean d'Outremeuse was disposed, as time went on, to exaggerate his deceased friend's pretensions to exalted rank. It is true that he ostensibly quotes from the latter's own will; but, even if this was the case, it might be argued that he misunderstood some such phrase as "[du] *comté de Hertfort en Angleterre*." The titles derived from the isle of Campdi and Château-Perouse are of less importance, but I cannot identify either place. At the same time, with regard to the cause assigned for Mandeville's leaving England (according to the Travels, in 1322), viz. that he "had the misfortune to kill in his own country a count (or earl) whom he did not name," it is certainly curious that a John de Mandeville did get into trouble for being concerned, as an adherent of the Earl of Lancaster, in the killing of Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall (above, p. xxx). This event, however, took place on 20th June, 1312, just ten years too early; and the Mandeville in question, who was moreover pardoned in 1313, was not at all likely to have survived until 1372, and could not possibly have

dictis aliqua per que tandem nostra inuicem(*om.*) renouabatur antiqua noticia quam quondam habueramus in Cayr Egipti apud Calahelich soldani (Calaleloch soldanum), prout supra tetigi vii. capitulo libri. Qui cum in me experientiam artis sue excellenter monstrasset, adhortabatur ac precabatur instanter vt de his que videram tempore (in t.) peregrinationis (p. et itineracionis) mee(*om.*) per mundum aliqua digererem (dirigerem) in scriptis ad legendum et audiendum pro vtilitate posteris. Sicque tandem illius monitis(-tu) et adiutorio compositus est iste tractatus, de quo certe nihil scribere proposueram donec saltem ad partes (proprias p.) in Anglia peruenissem. Et credo premissa circa me (premisso certamine) per providentiam et gratiam dei contigisse, quoniam a tempore quo recessi duo reges nostri Anglie et Francie non cessauerunt (c. nec cessant) inuicem exercere prelia, destructiones, depredationes, insidias et interfectiones, inter quas nisi a domino custoditus non (*om.*) transissem sine morte vel mortis periculo et sine criminum grandi cumulo (g. cum. cr.). Et nunc ecce anno egressionis (ingr.) mee xxxiiii. constitutus in Leodiensi ciuitate, que a mari Anglie distat solum per duas dietas, audio dictas dominorum (duorum regum) inimicias per gratiam dei compositas (consopitas), quapropter et spero ac (et) propono de reliquo secundum maturiorem etatem me posse in propriis intendere (int. propriis) corporis quieti (corporeis quiete) animeque salutem. Hic itaque finis sit (et sic est finis) scripti in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen" (Grenv. 6700). The readings in parentheses are from Harley MS. 3589. This MS. (f. 74) says of "Joh. de Mandeuel" in the heading of the Table of Chapters, "qui obiit Leodii, anno dni. m.ccc.lxxxii."

¹ "Si en ay compileit che petit livre et mis en escript ensy quilh me puet sovenir. Laquele ouvres fut ordonné lan de grasce milh ccc et lvi, alle xxxiiii an que me parti de mon pais, dedens la noble ceteit de Liege, en unc hosteil en la basse Savenir que on dist al hosté Henkin Levo, où je gisoy malade. Sy me visetoit uns venerable homme et discreit, maistre Johans de Bourgogne, dit ale barbe, phisechiens, liqueils . . . moi recognu, car ilh me avoit veyut en Egipte en la citeit de Caire, où jou demoroy avec li Soudans, et ilh y demoroit aussi," etc. This is quoted (p. 171) in an interesting "Notice sur le quartier de la Sauvenière à Liège," by Ferd. Henaux, in the *Bull. de l'Inst. Archéol. Liégeois*, iv., 1850, p. 159. M. Henaux gives the reference as MS. 360, f. 118, in the library of Liège University, but I cannot find the volume in the Catalogue (1875). He makes two other important statements for which one would like to have the authority, viz. that Mandeville came to Liège in 1352 (? lii for lv), and that he caused a Latin translation of his work to be made by a Liège clerk. The Sauvenière or Savenir (Sabulonaria) was a privileged peculiar in the centre of Liège, belonging to the cathedral of St. Lambert. Like the Whitefriars in London at a later period, it became a nuisance, and the seignorial rights of the chapter were bought up by the city in 1287-94. It was traversed by two streets, called Haute and Basse Sauvenière, in the latter of which was the hostel of Henkin Levoz.

² If this date is correct, and there could have been no reason for falsifying it, he could not have left Egypt in the reign of El-Mudhaffar, who succeeded in 1246 (p. xviii).

done so, if he was the Marshwood Mandeville who was seventeen years of age in 1275. But, still more remarkably, we come on the trace of a "Johan de Burgoyne" in England under somewhat similar circumstances at precisely the right date. On 20th Aug. 1321 one of this name, described as chamberlain to John de Mowbray, a powerful Baron of Lancaster's party, was pardoned¹ for his share in the attack on the two Despensers which resulted in their temporary banishment. Early in the next year the Despensers were recalled by the king; and, Lancaster's forces being defeated at Boroughbridge on 16th March, both he and Mowbray were taken prisoners and promptly executed. One effect of this disaster was that John de Burgoyne's pardon was formally revoked in the following May,² and he had every reason therefore for quitting England, as Mandeville professes to have done only four months later. These facts are not quite in accord with the tale told at Liège just fifty years after to Jean d'Outremeuse, even if we allow for some misunderstanding on the part of the hearer; still, they are near enough to suggest that the alleged revelation may after all have contained a germ of truth. It is of course quite possible that it was false from beginning to end, and that Jean de Bourgogne was neither Mandeville himself nor even the author of the Travels bearing his name; or again, the whole story may have been concocted by Jean d'Outremeuse to cover a fraud of his own. But, assuming the substantial correctness of the latter's report, it certainly seems most probable that, in spite of his own declaration, the bearded doctor's real name was, and always had been, Jean de Bourgogne, but that, having written his book of Travels under the assumed name of Mandeville, he was tempted by its success to secure to himself a posthumous fame by reversing the facts and claiming as his veritable name that which was fictitious. At the same time, to say nothing of occasional references in other parts of the work, his adoption in the first instance of the name of Mandeville, and of St. Albans as a birthplace, shows a certain knowledge of England, which is fully accounted for, if he were identical with the "Johan de Burgoyne" above mentioned; while the latter's connexion with Mowbray may even have brought him into personal relations with the real John de Mandeville who was an active partisan on the same side, and whose name may have suggested itself to him for special reasons upon which it is useless to speculate. Although it may appear fanciful, there is indeed one way in which, as I cannot help thinking, the choice of a name may in a measure have been influenced. In Becdelièvre's *Biographie Liégeoise* (1836), vol. i. p. 112, a notice is given of one Jean Du Pin, author of a work entitled "Mandevie." Becdelièvre, indeed, complicates matters by asserting that he too, like Mandeville, died at Liège in 1372 and was buried in the church of the Guillemins; but this somewhat startling coincidence may be safely disregarded as a mere confusion due to the resemblance between "Mandevie" and "Mandeville." Very little certain is known of Du Pin except what may be gathered from his own work, which I only know in an early printed edition.³ In it he says that he was born in the Bourbonnais in 1302, that he was no clerk and knew no Latin, and that his work was completed in 1340. It is a vigorous satire in mixed prose and verse, somewhat on the same lines as the Sultan's denunciation of Christendom as reported by Mandeville, and for the picture it presents of contemporary manners it is well worth study. But the special feature in it to which I would call attention is that, just as Mandeville's readers are taken by him through the material world, so Du Pin is conducted in a dream through the moral world by "vng noble chevalier qui estoit nomme Mandeuie"; and the home of this knight is moreover in a castle

¹ *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii., div. ii., Appendix, p. 167; div. iii., p. 619.

² *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii., div. ii., App., p. 168.

³ *Le Champ Vertueux de bonne vie appelle Mandeuie* (Paris, M. le Noir, 1500?) Graesse speaks of a still earlier edition, *Le Livre de Bonne Vie qui est appelle Mandevie*, Chambéry, 1485 (*Trésor de Livres Rares*, ii., 1861, p. 448).

⁴ He is included also among Liège writers by F. N. Delvaux in his MS. collections at Liège, vol. iv., p. 46, but on what grounds I cannot say (*Bibl. de l'Univ. de Liège. Cat. des MSS.*, 1875, p. 424). The Abbé Goujet calls him a Cistercian monk of Vaucelles, near Cambray (*Bibl. Française*, ix., 1745, p. 97); but this is disputed with reason by Paulin Paris, in speaking of a copy of his work, entitled "Les Melancolies Jehan Dupin sur les conditions de ce monde, ou le Livre de Mandevie" (*Les MSS. Français de la Bibl. du Roi*, iv., 1841, p. 179).

on a "blanche montaigne" (mons albus), a faint echo of which may be detected in the name of St. Albans. Although I do not in the least intend to suggest that the two works proceeded from the same pen, it appears far from improbable that "Mandevie" was known to the author of the Travels and that the latter parodied the title, as it were, by assuming the nearest actual name with which he was acquainted.

After what has been said, there can be little doubt that this author was Jean de Bourgogne. But something still remains to be cleared up with regard to the statements in the Latin vulgate text which limit his share in the work to advice and assistance. The most natural explanation is that they were inserted by himself as an ingenious blind, with the additional advantage, as Mr. Nicholson has remarked, of securing thereby a first-rate testimonial of his own professional eminence and skill; and, if we had not a French manuscript dated in 1371, before the alleged revelation was made, it might be thought that they had been dropped out of the French text after his actual identity with his own patient was thought to have been established. But reasons have been given (p. viii), though they are hardly conclusive, for believing the French text to be the earlier of the two, as is indeed expressly admitted in the title prefixed to the Latin manuscripts (p. vii, n. 2); and if this be the case, the passages in question seem to mark a stage when the author first formed the design of making more out of his venture than the barren pleasure of having written a popular book under a false name, for, by thus bringing himself into connexion with the pretended author, he prepared the way for the subsequent avowal of his identity with him. On the other hand, we have the distinct, but unauthenticated, statement of M. Henaux (above, p. xxxviii, n. 1) that the author caused the Latin version to be made by a Liège clerk. This must be taken for what it is worth; but the references to Ogier le Danois (p. viii), provided they are an integral portion of the Latin text, are strong presumptive evidence of its being the production of a Liégeois, and, after Jean de Bourgogne himself, no one is so likely to have been responsible for it as Jean d'Outremeuse, with whom Ogier's heroic exploits were a favourite theme. The position of D'Outremeuse with regard to the Travels is in fact somewhat equivocal, and I suspect that he may have known more of their composition than his words in speaking of the *soi-disant* De Bourgogne-Mandeville imply. There are two circumstances in connexion with his own "Myreur des Histors" worthy of note. In the first place, we have a long list of his authorities (Intro., p. xcix), and, with two exceptions, they include all the works from which Mandeville drew the great bulk of his Travels. The exceptions, indeed, are Boldensele and Odoric; but the former's Itinerary was outside the scope of the "Myreur," and of the latter he has indirectly made abundant use. How it may have been in his lost "Geste d'Ogier" we have no means of knowing; in his Chronicle, however, he describes an expedition of the Carolingian hero as far east as India and China (vol. iii. p. 57), and for this purpose he simply adopted Mandeville's narrative, treating him in fact in exactly the same manner as he himself had before treated Odoric. It is evident from this that he was not more scrupulous in such matters than his "compère," and, closely allied to him as he was, it is open to question whether he may not have been rather an accomplice than a dupe. As the possessor of what very possibly had been De Bourgogne's own library, he was certainly well equipped with materials for detecting and exposing the imposture, and the fact that, as he himself states, De Bourgogne came to Liège in 1343, more than ten years before the date given by Mandeville as that of his return from travel, might have excited his suspicion. Considering, however, that D'Outremeuse was not twenty years of age in 1355, the theory that he himself was the compiler¹ and the other, as the Latin text has it, merely the instigator and abettor, would oblige us to assume that the work was written somewhat later than the date it bears.

¹ It is a little curious that in his *Myreur* (vol. iv., p. 587) he says, when speaking of Tartary, that he will not stop to describe it, as he has already done so elsewhere. Now, there is no such description in the *Myreur*, though there is, of course, in the Travels. Could this have been an unconscious slip?

The last word on the subject has doubtless not yet been spoken ; but after all, now that the work is known for what it is, the question of its authorship is of greatly diminished importance. Whether it was written by a real or fictitious Mandeville, whether the Liège physician's story was more or less true or wholly false, or whether it was a mere invention by its reporter, the belief in the great English traveller who spent the best part of his life in wanderings through the known world from England to China and returned home in old age to write an account of them—this still lingering belief must be finally abandoned as an exploded myth. The Travels indeed remain, and, it is to be hoped, will always be read, both for curiosity of matter and a certain indefinable charm of style ; but to quote them as possessing any authoritative character, and to count Sir John Mandeville among our English worthies as a foremost pioneer of travel and adventure, is utterly unwarrantable.

I have still to say a few words on the beautiful facsimile miniatures which illustrate the earlier part of the text. As before stated (p. v), the originals are not contained in any manuscript of Mandeville's Travels, but form a volume by themselves, unaccompanied by the text and without even a word of explanation. This volume was acquired for the British Museum in 1861 from Mr. William Maskell,¹ and is numbered Additional MS. 24,189. It is made up of fourteen vellum leaves, measuring 9 by 7½ inches ; and each leaf has a miniature on either side, enclosed within a framework of ruled pencil lines. The vellum is not left in its natural colour, but its whole surface is tinted a pale milky-green. The first miniature differs from the rest in being entirely drawn in silver-point, a very slight tinting of the flesh being the only colouring. All the others have the outlines drawn with a pen or other sharply-pointed instrument, and are delicately shaded in black and white with a brush. The foliage in all cases is coloured, generally in sombre tones of green. The sea is either washed with light blue or merely flecked with white. The sky is blue, sometimes flushed towards the horizon with a silvery white, but more often covered with floreated patterns in white and darker shades of blue. In the figures, the features and hands are touched with flesh-colour ; and crowns, nimbi of saints, etc., together with the embroidery on many of the costumes, are in gold, delicately applied with the brush.

The subjects of the several miniatures,² with references to the passages in the printed text which they illustrate, are as follows :—

Pl. I. (f. 3). A scribe, with fur hood and skull-cap, is seated before a desk, writing in a volume. On the slope of the desk is inscribed the letter L.

Pl. II. (f. 4). An elderly man, with thick beard, moustache, and long curling hair, covered by a slouch-cap, is seated before a desk, writing on a long roll. This is no doubt intended for Sir John Mandeville or “ad Barbam” himself. Behind him is a youthful attendant, carrying a bound volume and a purse. The central rose in the arch is filled in with blue, and the smaller one on either side with bright green.

Pl. III. (f. 4 b). Pilgrims setting out, some in a ship leaving the shore and others on land. The principal figure (presumably Mandeville) is apparently hailing the vessel ; he wears a collar of golden oak-leaves, and has a golden chaplet on his bare head.

Pl. IV. (f. 3 b). A party of pilgrims in a ship ; the principal figure has long flowing locks, and wears a collar of golden oak-leaves as in Pl. III.

¹ It previously belonged to Samuel Woodburn, the well-known dealer. He has inserted a note (f. 1), stating that he had it from a M. Pesch, who told him he purchased it from a monk in Rome. Being ignorant of the connexion of the miniatures with Mandeville's work, he goes on to describe the volume as a specimen of the “old Spanish or Moorisco school,” grounding this preposterous theory on Pl. XXIII., where, in the supposed African costumes and in the hunting with the cheetah, he detected evidence that the art was not wholly European.

² I have rearranged them in proper order, the leaves in the volume in which they are bound up being displaced. It will be observed that, with the somewhat doubtful exceptions in Pl. XXII., the last passage illustrated is no further than p. 17.

Pl. V. (f. 9 b). The statue of Justinian before the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople (p. 4). The Emperor, however, is improperly represented as standing erect, instead of being mounted on horseback.

Pl. VI. (f. 11). A procession of clergy exhibiting to the Emperor the relics at Constantinople, viz. the Seamless Coat (slightly tinted blue), the Holy Cross, the Crown of Thorns, and the Sponge (p. 5, Fr. text).

Pl. VII. (f. 11 b). The erection of the Holy Cross, represented as "made of four maner of treesse," and coloured accordingly (p. 5).

Pl. VIII. (f. 13). The angel at the gate of Paradise delivering to Seth three grains of the fruit of the Tree of Life (p. 6). The fruits on the trees in the garden are coloured as well as the foliage, and the plumage of the birds is brightly tinted.

Pl. IX. (f. 13 b). The burial of Adam, Seth being about to place the three grains under his tongue (p. 6).

Pl. X. (f. 14). A procession of clergy advancing to meet St. Louis with the Crown of Thorns (p. 6).

Pl. XI. (f. 10). In the upper part, the King of France; in the lower part, the Emperor of Constantinople; each bearing in his hand the Head of the Spear with which our Our Lord's side was pierced at the Crucifixion (p. 7). The flag with the arms of France is coloured *azure*, semée of fleurs de lis *or*.

Pl. XII. (f. 14 b). Christ crowned with thorns in the garden (p. 7), represented as a circular grass-plot with flowers, enclosed by a wattled hedge. The foliage is very dark; and the sky a deep blue, shot with gold.

Pl. XIII. (f. 12). Christ crowned with thorns in presence of the High Priest (p. 7).

Pl. XIV. (f. 12 b). Christ crowned with thorns in presence of Pilate (p. 7).

Pl. XV. (f. 6). Three tombs within a church, side by side, seen through an arcade, with reclining figures upon them, representing St. John Chrysostom, St. Luke, and St. Anne, at Constantinople (p. 8). The first-named alone has a nimbus; and his cope is richly embroidered in gold.

Pl. XVI. (f. 10 b). The Emperor of Constantinople, still holding the Spear-Head; by his side are the vessels of enhydros, "pat euermore droppes water" (p. 8).

Pl. XVII. (f. 6 b). A tomb with a reclining figure (Aristotle), in front of a city (Strages, or Stageirus) built upon an island; before the tomb is an altar, upon which men and women are placing coins (p. 8).

Pl. XVIII. (f. 15). The philosophers on the summit of Mount Athos, taking observations of the stars and writing words in the dust (p. 9).

Pl. XIX. (f. 15 b). A tournament in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, with the Emperor, ladies, and others looking on, and a squire leading a horse out of the vaulted stables (p. 9).

Pl. XX. (f. 7). The discovery of the grave of Hermes Trismegistus at Constantinople, with a plate of gold (seen in the centre of the picture) engraved with a prophecy of the coming of Christ (p. 9).

Pl. XXI. (f. 7 b). Pope John XXII., surrounded by his Cardinals, receiving the answer of the Greek church to his demand for submission (p. 9). The background is a bright red, covered with floreated patterns in blue, white, and darker shades of red.

Pl. XXII. (f. 5). Two scenes are here depicted. In the upper part, in front of a city close to the sea, is the figure of a saint extended on a tomb, behind which is a tau-shaped cross: probably the tomb either of St. Sozomenus or St. Hilarion, together with the cross of Dismas, the Good Thief, all in Cyprus (p. 14). The meaning of the lower part of the design is more doubtful. The female figure, with a golden crown and rayed nimbus, has the appearance of the Virgin; but the tower and the palm branch, which she holds in either hand, are the emblems of St. Barbara,¹ and the allusion may therefore be to St. Barbara's church at Old Cairo (p. 18).

¹ She is represented with just such a crown and rayed nimbus in the beautiful Breviary of Isabella of Castille, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 18,851, f. 297.

In that case, the scene in the left hand lower corner, where a coffer is being received on board a ship, may represent the removal of the bones of St. Mark from Alexandria to Venice (p. 29).

Pl. XXIII. (f. 5 b). Two scenes from the account of Cyprus, viz. a party of horsemen hunting deer with the cheetah (p. 14), and a banquet in a chamber hollowed out below the surface of the soil (p. 15). The background in the latter scene is coloured blue, with floreated patterns.

Pl. XXIV. (f. 8). In the upper part, three pilgrims in a ship approaching a landing-stage before the gate of a city, probably meant for Tyre (p. 15) or Joppa (p. 16). In the lower part are the same three pilgrims on land, paying toll to soldiers outside the city-gate. The landing-stages are coloured brown, and the windows are outlined in light green.

Pl. XXV. (f. 8 b). In the upper part, Elijah fed by a raven, the scene being suggested by the mention of him as dwelling on Mount Carmel (p. 16). The raven is a deep black, the meat and the flame of the fire red. In the lower part are St. James and St. John, seated in front of their church at Saffre (p. 16). St. John, as usual, holds a chalice with a serpent issuing from it; but the object, whatever it is, borne by St. James is not one of his recognised emblems, unless it possibly represents a fuller's club.

Pl. XXVI. (f. 16). The "Foss of Memnon," full of vitreous sand, near Tyre (p. 16). In the lower part of the plate is a glass manufactory, with workmen blowing bottles, attending to the furnaces, etc.

Pl. XXVII. (f. 16 b). Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza on his shoulders, with Dalilah looking out of a window, and armed Philistines lining the battlements and peering round the gateway (p. 17).

Pl. XXVIII. (f. 9). Pilgrims on their journey, one party on horseback, another in a boat, and a third on foot, probably in allusion to the route down the coast of Palestine (p. 17). The last group includes the same bare-headed figure, with the collar of oak-leaves, who appears in Plates III. and IV.; and the general resemblance to Plate III. is very close.

The artistic merit of the miniatures is of a high order, the excellence of the grouping and the variety of expression, together with the delicacy of the drawing and colouring, in many cases being remarkable. With regard to the locality of their execution, the character of the art exhibits every indication of Flemish origin, and this is confirmed by the architectural details, though not so much perhaps by the richness of the Gothic tracery, as by the peculiar step-like gable-ends of the houses and other details. Both on artistic grounds and from the fact that the centre of the Mandeville legend was at Liège, it is probable that the volume was produced somewhere near the Meuse, perhaps at Liège itself; but there is no direct evidence of this, and I know of no particular artist to whom it can with any reason be attributed. There may, however, be a possible clue in the letter L inscribed on the desk in the first miniature. The date may without hesitation be fixed in the early part of the 15th century. The facsimiles are from photographs taken by the Autotype Company, the green tint in which they are printed imitating as nearly as possible that of the vellum, and the partial colouring being admirably supplied by Miss Jane Escombe. Their success as faithful reproductions is greatly due to the careful supervision exercised by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, who at the time was Keeper of the MSS.; and I have to thank him also for constant advice and assistance during the preparation of the text of the volume.

G. F. W.

20 Nov. 1889.

GLOSSARY.

- ABCE, alphabet, 11, 71
 ADMYRALL, Emir, 20
 AFOUNDED, founder (of a horse), 35
 AGAYNEWARD, back, 28
 ALBESPYNE, *alba spina*, 7
 ALLINGES, altogether, 94
 ALMOUS GERNE, charitable, 69
 ALSONE, ALSSONE, at once, 10, 16
 APPROPER, appropriate, 18, 93
 ARETTID, deemed, 85
 ASCENSORY, "un montour" (Fr. text), 106
 ASCHEZ,¹ requires: "ilk ane [gives presents] after his degre aschez," *i.e.* according to his rank, 116
 ASTROLABRE, astrolabe, 115
 AT DO, to do, 66
 AT SAY, to say, 18, 25, 30, etc.
 AT UNDERSTAND, to understand, 109
 AYRAND, airing, 25
- BACHELERE, young man, 137
 BARBAREN, berry, 7
 BEESE, be (imper.), 89
 BEKK, brook, 47, 49
 BEME, trumpet, 56
 BESE, is, 74
 BIGG, BIGGED, build, built, 48, 55, 101
 BIRRE, impetus, 151
 BISILY, carefully, 35, 148, 149
 BOBBE, bunch (of grapes), 82, 131
 BOIST, box, casket, 43
 BOLNED, swollen, puffed up, 69
 BOMBE, BOUMBE, cotton, 103, 142
 BOSE, must, 122
 BOURDEZ, jests, pleasantries, 107
 BOWSOUMNESS, obedience, 110
 BREKE, breeches, 122
 BRERDES, edges, 35
 BRETIST, fenced ("weleb. aboute, as it ware a castell"), 34; *cf.* 35
 BUGLE, buffalo, 132
 BUN, bound, 19, 35
 BUSE HALD, "il covient tenir" (Fr. text), 20
 BUTOUR, a bittern, 105
- CAMMACA, CAMOCHAZ, da-masked silk, 114, 125
- CARAYNE, flesh, carrion, 145
 CATTE²: "Loth wyf turned intil a salt catte," 51
 CHAFT, jaw, 142
 CHAMELET, camlet, 20, 121
 CHEPE: "derthe of corne or gude chepe", 29; "grete chepe," 101
 CHESTAYNE, chestnut, 152
 CLENLY, thoroughly, without exception, 77
 COERBUILLE, cuir-bouilli, 123
 COMPENDIOUS, short (of a road), 28
 COMPUNCT, repentant, 146
 COTOUN, cotton, 142
 COUABLE, fit, 116
 COUENABLE, fit, 59
 CRAKE, crow, 31
 CRUPOUN, crupper, 142
 CULLED OFF, cut off, 17
 CUNDITE, CUNDYTE, conduit, 24, 37, 106
 CURROURE, courier, 119
- DECESSE, decease, 19
 DEDLY, mortal (of a person), 24, 145
 DEESSE, dais, 106
 DERE, to harm, 95, 139
 DISESE, harm, 146
 DRUBLY, turbid, 27
 DUBLER, dish, bowl, 123, 134
 DWERGH, dwarf, 147
- EDIFICACIOUN, edifice, 21
 EFTSONES, again, 123
 ELDE, age, 12, 76
 EMPECHING, impeaching, 34
 ENDLANG, along, 23, 101
 ENGLETERE, eglantine, 7
 ESEMENT, resting-place, convenience, 104
 EUOUR, ivory, 115, 136
- FALLAND EUILL, "la caduke" (Fr. text), epilepsy, 70
 FERDENESS, fear, 139
 FERE, to frighten, 140
 FEWAILE, fuel, 126
 FILTRE, felt, 121, 125, 152
 FISCH HALE, sound as a fish, 52 (see note)
 FLYTEZ, strifes, 69
- FORBY: "men þat come forby," 5; "knaue þe tane forby toþer," 121; "forby all oþer folk," 124
 FORDONE, destroyed, 109, 139
 FORINGGED (*leg. foriugged*), fore-judged, 50
 FORSCHAPEN, misshapen, 24
 FORSPEKER, advocate, 68
 FORTE, strong (of Samson), 17
 FORTHERLY AS, much as, 141
 FORþI, because, therefore, *passim*
 FORTHINKEZ ME, repenteth me, 150
 FRAGHT, freight, 15
 FREMMED, strange, foreign, 115
 FUNN, found, 113, 114
 FUYSOUN, abundance, 87
- GANGER, goer, 136
 GAYLOUNAGON, "cailou aigu," 26 (see note)
 GENTRY, mark of gentility, 154
 GER, GERT, cause, caused, 2, 12, 13, 15
 GERFAWCOUN, gerfalcon, 117, 118
 GERNE: *v.* Almous gerne
 GRAYTHELY, readily, 70
 GRECE, GRECEZ, step, steps, 9, 31, 36, 39, 40, 108
 GREE, GREEZ, step, steps, 31, 36, 40
 GREFE, GREEFFE, grievous, 96, 112
 GREW, Greek, 5, 9
 GRYSEZ, swine, 36
 GYNNEZ, gins, traps, 105
- HAWLER, hall-keeper, 136
 HENT, took, 19
 HESIL, hazel, 142
 HIDEIS, hiding, 111
 HIGHT TO SCHEWE, "promis a declarer" (Fr. text), 11
 HIGHT, was named, 19
 HONESTLY, decently (of manners at table, etc.), 108
 HORS ILES, horse eels, 98
 HOSTEZ, cubers (*cf.* Fr. text), 26
 HOWSELD, having received the Eucharist, 129
 HOURSILL, Eucharist, 10
 HUMBLOK, hemlock, 65
- IN POYNT TO, about to, 57
 IROUS, angry, 141
- JAPE, jest, sport, 17, 107
 JOURNEE: "þe iournee (*sc.* matters) chaunged efter to þe werse," 113
 JUNKES, reeds, 6, 7
 JUPERDY, jeopardy, 137
- KEMMAND, combing, 13
 KIRK, church, *passim*
 KIRNELLES, battlements, 35
 KNAFE CHILDRÉ, male children, 137
 KYNDE, nature (*e.g.* God of kind), 50, 82, 121, 123, 154
 KYNDELY, natural, 10, 26, 82, 89
 KYNDELY, naturally, 96
- LANERE, lanier hawk, 117
 LAUMBRE, amber, 97
 LAWD MEN, lay men, 155
 LAYNE, hide, "celer" (Fr. text), 31
 LAYTH, ugly, 77
 LEPER, coagulate, 27
 LESYNG, lying, 144
 LETT, hinder, 9, 78
 LETTERURE, literature, reading, 155
 LETTYNG, hindrance, 56, 111
 LEUENYNG, lightning, 144
 LEVER, rather, 15
 LOWGH, lake, 95, 98
 LUFE, palm (of the hand), 26
 LUGE, a lodge, 96
 LYKAND, pleasant (of wine), 102
 LYNE, flax, 49
- MARCHEZ WITH *or* UPON, borders on, 21, 22, 37
 MAUGREE HIS, "maugree luy," (Fr. text), 12
 MAUNDEE, Maundy, 10, 45
 MAWLARDE, a mallard, 105
 MAWMET, an idol, 85, etc.
 MELLED, mixed, 38
 MENE3EE, MEN3EE, company, band, 109, 118, 135
 MENGED, mingled, 84
 MESELLES, lepers, 67
 MIRK, dark, 151

¹ In the note to p. 116, l. 10, I have inexcusably taken this word to mean "ashes."

² This is explained (see above, p. xiv) under "Cat" in Part V. of Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*, just published: "Cat salt [or salt cat], a beautifully granulated kind of common salt formed out of the bittern or leach brine." The earliest reference given is to *Phil. Trans.*, xxxii., 1723, p. 354, "And this [crystalized liquor] they call Cat-Salt or Salt-Cats."

MISCHEEFFE, MISCHEFFE, damage, misfortune, 20, 76
 MISTE, need, 41
 MISTER, need, 87, 113
 MORTAS, MORTAYS, mortise, 5, 38, 39
 MOTYNG, debate, 79
 MOW: "schuld mow wade ouer," 21
 MOWRES, pismires, ants, 149
 MURMURACION, murmuring, 29
 MYGHTY, strong (of wine), 12, 14, 101

 NAKERS, kettle-drums, 138
 NEBBE, beak, 31
 NERE HAND, nearly, 16, 36, 97, 123

 OBEISCHAUNT, obedient, 130
 OFFERAND, offering (subst.), 18, 31
 OKER, usury, 10
 ORIENT (of a ruby, etc.), 97
 ORLOGEZ, horologes, 115
 OSTRIE, hostelry, 119
 OPER HALFE MYLE, a mile and a half, 11, 64
 OVERTHWERT, across, 5, 25, 106

 PAFELIOUN, pavilion, 121
 PAMENT, pavement, 106, 108, 154
 PAPEIAY, parrot, 134
 PAPIOUN, *sc.* BABOON, cheetah, 14 (see note)
 PAPIRE, paper, 117
 PARCENERE, partaker, 156
 PASK EUEN, Easter Eve, 10
 PECE, A, a vessel, "hanappe" (Fr. text), 27
 PELOUR, PELURE, fur, 121
 PERLIOUS, perilous, 23, 26, 64
 PIGMENS, pygmies, 103
 PISSEMYRES, ants, 149
 PLATTE, flat, 100
 PLAUNCHOURE, plank, 47

POMELLE, ball, orb, 136
 PRIKE, ride, 119
 PURE, to purify, refine, 149
 PURE, mere: "pure nede," 142; "pure age," 144
 PYNED: "he was p. on þe crosse," 38

 QUARELLES, square-headed bolts, 95
 QWIKK, living, 12, 50

 REFLAIRE, smell, 26, 84
 REKE, smoke, 59, 121
 RELEFE, "relief" (Fr. text), the remains (of a meal), 102
 REMANAND, REMENAUNT, rest, remnant, 27, 42
 REPARILYNG, repairing, 87
 ROSERES, rose-trees, 35
 RUKE, rook, 31
 RYUAYING: "disporte in r. or huntynge," 105

 SAGRE, saker falcon, 117
 SAMMEN, together, 36, 37, etc.
 SAWGHTLING, agreement, 97
 SAWNAPE, *sc.* surnape, a cloth, 123
 SCHERE, cut up (of meat), 154
 SCHIRE THURSDAY, Thursday before Easter, 10 (see note)
 SCHONE, shoes, 31, 42
 SCHYRE, thin (of the beard), 101
 SEMELY, likely, 140
 SIBBE, kinsman, 99, 115, 120, 142
 SKILLE, reason, 96, 110, 141
 SLEIGHT, skill, 131
 SLYFYNGES, cuttings, slips (of plants), 26
 SMARAGDES, emeralds, 25
 SODEOUR, SOWDIOUR, soldier, 18, 108
 SOPHISTICACIOUN, adulteration, 26
 SOPHISTICATE, adulterated, 26
 SOWCE, to steep, pickle, 123
 SOWTER, cobbler, 122

SPERDE, SPERED, closed (of doors), 45, 49
 STALE, *sc.* SCALE, "eschele" (Fr. text), wing (of an army), 135
 STALWORTHELY, strongly (of a river), 4
 STANGED, pierced, 7
 STANKE, STAUNKE, pool, lake, 57, 103
 STEDE, STEEDE, place, 3, 32
 STEIGH, mount, 43, 48
 STEWE, stove, 65
 STIE, "sentir" (Fr. text), path, 131
 STOURE, conflict, 77
 STURE, coarse (of wool), 140
 STYE, steep ascent, "eschiele" (Fr. text), 43
 SUAND, following, 141
 SUPPOWELD, supported, 83
 SURENAME, surname, 60
 SWEFNYNG, dream, 27
 SWELGH, outlet, "une espiral" (Fr. text), 16
 SWELGHES, volcanoes, "vulcans" (Fr. text), 29
 SYDE, long, 69, 100
 SYMENT, cement, 132

 TAANGED, stung, bitten, 141
 TARGET, shield, 97
 TARS, TARTARENE, Tartary cloth, 21, 114, 121
 TAWBURNEZ, tabors, 138
 TENT: "take tent," look, attend, 153
 PAIRE THANKES, voluntarily, "voluntiers" (Fr. text), 140
 THARF BREED, unleavened bread, 10
 THEKED, THEKID, roofed, 38, 44
 ÞORN, the letter þ so-called, 71
 THRALDOM, THRALL, servitude, 22, 110
 THRALLED, held in thrall, 19
 THRANG, closely packed, 124
 ÞUSGATES, thus, 88
 TRIACLE, treacle, 94

TITTER, rather, sooner, 1, 68
 TITTEST, soonest, 62
 TOME, empty, 149
 TO-NAME, surname, 55
 TOWAIL, towel, 108
 TRAPPOUR, trappings (of a horse), 123
 TRUFLEZ, trifles, nonsense, 108
 TRUNSCOUN, fragment, 117
 TRUSSE: "trusse paire vitales with þam," 30
 TWYNNED, separated, 112

 UMBELAPPED, lapped around, 128
 UMGANG, circuit, 97, 98, 103, 119, 128
 UMQWHYLE, sometime, 20
 UNDRUN, nine o'clock, a.m. 81
 UNNETHES, hardly, 101, 106, 121
 UNWEMMED, undefiled, 67

 VINTAYNES, twenties, 114
 VYUER, pond, stew, 87, 105

 WAMBE, belly, 154
 WARNE, unless: "warne þe snawe ware," 65
 WEDD, pawn, pledge, 6
 WERRAY, make war, 145
 WERY, WERIED, curse, cursed, 48, 50
 WHITMETE, white-meat, "oefs et formage" (Fr. text), 10
 WIKKED (of air), 106
 WIRIED, worried, torn, 96
 WIRY, to worry (of dogs), 96
 WITERLY, certainly, 39
 WONDER (adv.), 19, 27, 29, etc.
 WREKE, revenge, 139
 WYGHT, brave, 110
 WYNNE TO, reach, 133

 YDRIOUS, enhydros, 8 (see note)
 YNENTES, anent, 107, etc.
 3OK, the letter 3 so called, 71
 3OLE, yule, 10

THE BUKE OF JOHN MAUNDEUILL.

HERE BEGYNNEZ þE BUKE OF JOHN MAUNDEUILL.

f.3. **S**EN yt es so þat þe land bezond þe see, þat es to say þe land of repromission, þat men calles þe Haly Land, amanges all oþer landes es þe maste worthy land and souerayne of all oþer, and es blissed and sacred and halowed of þe precieuse blude of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste; in þe whilk land it lyked him to take lief and blude of oure Lady Saint Marie and to enuirun þat land with his blissed fete.—And þare he didd many miracles and preched and teched þe faithe and þe lawe of vs Cristen men, as vnto his childer; and þare he sufferd many reprufes and scornes by vs. And he þat was King¹ of heuen and of erthe, of þe aer and of þe see, and of all thingz þat er contened in þam, wald be called all anely king of þat land, as þe prophete saise, *Noli timere, filia Syon: ecce, rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus*,² þat es to say, “þou doghter of Syon, drede þou nozt; for, lo, þi kyng commes to þe, dulye mylde and meke”; and þat land he chose before all oþer landes as þe best and þe maste worthy of þe werld; for, as þe philosopere saise, *Virtus rerum in medio consistit*, þat es to say, “þe vertu of thingez es in þe myddes.” And in þat land he wald lede his lyf and suffer hard passioun and dede of þe Iews for vs synfull wormes, to by and delyuer vs fra deed withouten end, whilk was ordeyned til vs for þe synne of oure forme fader Adam and for oure awen also. For, as for himself, he desserued neuer nane euill; for he did neuer euill, ne thought neuer euill. And he þat was king of glory and of ioy, mightiest and best,³ wald in þat place suffer þe deed titter þan in anoþer. For he þat will 10

MAUNDEUILLE.⁴

H.f.i. **C**OME il ensi soit qe la terre doutre mer, cest assauoir la Terre Seinte, qe homme dit la terre de promission, vltre⁵ totes altres terres soit la pluis excellente et la pluis digne et dame et soueraigne de touz altres terres, et soit benoite et seintefie et consacree dul preciaus corps et du sang⁶ nostre seignur Ihesu Crist; en la quelle terre il ly plesoit soy enombrer en la virgine Marie et char humaigne prendre et noricion,⁷ et la dite terre marcher et enuironer de ses benureez piez.—Et ou il voleit 20 meint miracle faire et precher et enseigner la foy et la ley de nous Cristiens, come a ses enfantz; et ou il veolt meint reproeche et meinte mokerie porter et soeffrer pur nous. Et de celle terre singulièrement veolt estre appelez Roi, cil qi Roiz estoit de ciel, de terre, de ayr,⁸ de meer, et de touz choses contenues en y ceaux, et il mesmes sappella Roi par especialtee de celle terre, en disant *Rex sum Iudeorum*, qar luy lors estoit celle terre proprement des Iuys; et celle terre il auoit eslite pur luy entre totes altres terres come⁹ la meilleure et la pluis vertuose et la pluis digne de monde; qar ceo est luy corps¹⁰ et ly my lieux de tote la terre de monde, et auxi, come dit le philosophe, *Virtus rerum in medio consistit*.¹¹ En celle tres digne terre veot le Roiz celestres vser sa vie et estre ledengez des cruelles¹² Iuys et passion et mort soeffrer pur lamour de nous, et pur nous¹³ rechater et deliuerer des peines denfern et de la mort terrible perpetuele, qi nous estoient apparaillez pur le pecche de¹⁴ nostre primer piere Adam et pur noz mesmes pecchez auxint. Qar en droit de luy nauoit il nul mal deserui; qar vnqes mal ne pensa, ne mal ne fist. Et bien veolt le Roi de gloire en celuy lieu pluis qen vn altre terre mort et passion

¹ King, om. E.

² This quotation, made up of John xii. 15 and Matt. xxi. 5 only in E. C. follows the French texts.

³ myghte best in that place suffre, C.

⁴ Ci commence le liure qui parle des diuersites des pais qi sunt par universe monde, le quel liure fut co[m]pile fait et ordonne par mesure Jehan Mandeuille, Chiualer, ne Dangleterre de la ville con dit Saint Albain, G.; no title, S.

⁵ entre, S. G.; outre, R.; passynge, C.

⁶ de ayr, om. G.

¹¹ vel sic *Omnis virtus est in medio*, S.

¹⁴ de, S. G. R.; qe, with “fait” inserted after “Adam,” H.

⁶ sanc et corps, G.

⁹ pour lui outrement, comme, S. G.

¹² chienz, G.

⁷ et noricion, om. G.

¹⁰ li cueors, S.; om. G.; coers, R.

¹³ et pur nous, S. G. R.; om. H.

- f.3b. do any thing þat he will be knawen openly til all men, he will ger crie it openly in þe middell of a toune or of a citee, so þat it may be knawen til all þe parties of þe citee. On þe same wyse he þat was kyng of all the werld wald suffer deed at Ierusalem, þat es in middes of þe werld, so þat it might be knawen to men of all þe parties of þe werld how dere he boght man þat he had made til his awen liknes for þe grete luffe þat he had til him. For mare worthie catell myght he noȝt hafe sett for vs þan his awen blissed body and his precious blude, þe whilk he sufferd be schedd for vs. A, dere Godd! what lufe he had til his sugets, when he þat neuer didd trespass wald for trespassours suffer ded! Right wele aght men to lufe and serue swilk a lorde, and wirschepe and praise swilk a haly land, þat broȝt furthe swilk fruyte, thurgh whilk ilk man es saued, bot if it be his awen defaute. Þis es þe land þat es hight til vs in heritage; and in þat land he wald die and sesse þare in, to leefe it to his childer. For þe whilk land ilke a gude Cristen man þat may, and has wharoff, suld 10 enforce him for to conquere oure right heritage and chace oute þerof þaim þat er mistrowand. For we er called Cristen men of Criste oure fader; and if we be riȝt childer of Criste, we awe for to chalange þe heritage þat oure fader left to vs, and for to do it oute of straunge men handes. Bot now pride enuy and couetise has so enflaumbed þe hertes of lordes of þe werld þat þai er mare bisie for to disherite þaire neighbours þan for to chalange or conquere þaire right heritage before said. And þe common pople, þat wald putte þaire bodys and þaire catell in iupardy for to conquere oure heritage, þai may na thing do withouten lordes.
- f.4. For assemblee of þe pople withouten lordes þat may gouerne þam es as a flokk of schepe þat has na schepehird, þe whilk departes sunder and wate neuer whider þai schuld ga. But wald Godd þat þir werldly lordes ware at gude accorde and, with oþer of þaire common pople, wald take þis haly viage ouer þe see, I trowe wele þat within a lytill tyme oure riȝt heritage before said schuld be recounsailed and putte in to þe 20 handes of þe right heyers of Ihesu Criste.

And for als mykill as it es lang tyme passed sen þare was any general passage ouer þe see in to þe haly land, and men coueytes to here speke of þat land and of diuerse cuntreez þer aboute, and þeroff þai hafe grete solace and comforthe, I JOHN MAUNDEVYLE, Knyȝt, þof all I be vnworthy, þat was borne in Ingeland in þe

- soiffer. Qar qi veol ascune chose publier, si qe chescun le sache, il le fait crier et pronuncier en le my lieu de la ville, si qe la chose soit sceue et espandue a totes partz. Auxi le Creour¹ de tot le monde veolt mort soffrir pur nous a Ierusalem, qest en my lieu de monde, a la fyn qe la chose fuit² pupplie et sceue de touz les cousteez de monde, coment il auoit chèrement comparez³ homme qil auoit fait a sa ymage, et coment il nous auoit rechatez chèrement pur le grant amour qil auoit vers nous sanz ceo qe nous leussons deserui. Qar pluis chier chatel ne pluis grant ranceoun ne poait il mettre pur nous qe son seint corps et son precious sang et sa benoite⁴ vie, qe tot offry et abandona pur nous, cil, qi vnqes ne eust en luy tecche de pecche, par grant amour voleit son corps a mort liuerer⁵ pur 30 peccheours. Ha, dieu! quel amour il auoit enuers ses subgitz, quant il, qestoit sanz culpes, voleit mort soffrir pur les⁶ coupables! Bien doit homme tiel seignur amer honurer douter et seruir, et celle seinte terre honurer et preiser, qi tiel fruit ad porte, par le quel chescun y ert sauue, si ceo ne soit⁷ par son defalt. Bien doit estre delitable et fructuose la terre qi fuist arostie⁸ et mollie de precious sang
- H.f.1b. Ihesu Crist, qest⁹ la terre qe nostre Seignur nous promist en heritage, et en la dite terre voloit il morir come saisy, pur la lesser a ses¹⁰ enfantz. Pur quoi chescun bon Cristien qi poair en ad et de quoi,¹¹ se deueroit¹² pener et mettre en grant trauail¹³ de nostre suisdit et droit heritage conquere et mettre fors des mayns de mescreantz et del apropiier a nous. Qar nous sumes appelez Cristiens de Crist, qest nostre pierre; et, si nous sumes droitz filz de Dieu, nous deuons leritage qe notre pierre nous ad lesse chalenger et houter de mayns des estranges. Mes au iour de huy orgoil couetise et enuye ont ensi les coers de seignurs terriens enflaumez qils entendent¹⁴ pluis a autry desheriter quils ne font chalanger et a conquere leur droit et propre heritage desuisdit. Et cil de comun, qi bone volente en ount a mettre corps et auoir pur conquere nostre desuisdit heritage, ne poent rien faire sanz les seignurs soueraignes. Qar assemblee de 40 communalte sanz chief seignur¹⁵ est come tripeau des barbiz sanz pastour, qi espandent et ne scieuent ou ils deuoient aler, ne quoi ils deuoient faire.¹⁶ Mes sil plesoit a nostre seint pierre lapostolle, qar a Dieu plerroit il bien, qe les princes terrienz fuissent a bon acorde¹⁷ et ouesqe ascuns¹⁸ de lour comune voisissent emprendre la seint viage doutre meer, ieo quide estre bien certain qen brief terme serroit la terre de promission reconcilie¹⁹ et mise en mayns des droitz heirs filz Ihesu Crist.

Et purceo qil y ad long temps qil neust passage general outre meer et plusours gentz se delitent en oyer parler de la dite seint terre et en ount solaz, ieo JOHAN MAUNDEVILLE, chiualer, ia soit ceo qe ieo ne soie dignes, neez et norriz Dengleterre de la ville Seint Alban,

¹ rois, S.; roy, G.

⁴ precieuse, G.

⁷ n'est, S. G.

¹⁰ les, H.

¹³ trauail, S. G.; om. H. R.

¹⁶ qe il doiuent faire ne ou aler, G.

¹⁹ reconcillez, S.; rescousse, G.

² soit, S. G.; fuit, R.

³ habandonner et liurer, G.

⁸ arose, S.; arousee, G.

¹¹ et de quoi, om. G.; en ad de qoi, S.

¹⁴ tendont, S.; tendent, G.

¹⁷ fuissent accordes, S.

⁹ achate, G.

⁶ ses, H.

⁹ c'este la terre, S.; c'est la terre, G.

¹² deueroit, S. G. R.; om. H.

¹⁵ chief de seigneur souuerain, G.

¹⁸ autres, S.; eulx, G.

The Buke of John Maundeuill.

3

toune of Saynt Albanes, and passed þe see þe 3ere of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste m'cccxxxij,¹ on Myghelmesday, and seyne hiderward has bene lang tyme ouer þe see, and has sene and gane thurgh many kingdomes, landes and prouincez and iles, and hase passed thurgh Turkye, Ermony þe lesse and þe mare, Tartarye, Perse, Sirie, Araby, Egipte þe hie and þe lawe, Liby, Caldee, and a grete party of Ethiope, Amazon, Inde þe lesse and þe mare a grete party, and thurgh many oþer iles þat er aboute Inde, whare dwelles many diuerse maners of folke of diuerse lawes and schappes—of whilke landes and iles I schall speke mare playnely, and I schall diuyse a party of þa thinges what þai er, when tyme commes, after þat it may comme to my mynde, and specially for þaim þat wil and er in purpose to visit þe haly citee of Ierusalem and the haly f.4b. placez þat er þare aboute ; and I schall tell þe way þat þai schall hald þider, for I hafe many tymes passed and riden it in gude company of lordes.²

10

CHAPTER I.

[*To teche 3ou the weye out of Englonde to Constantynoble.*]³

IN þe name of Godd allmyghty, he þat wil passe ouer þe see to Ierusalem, he may wende many ways, bathe on þe see and on þe land after þe cuntreez þat he commes fra, and many of þam commes all to ane end. Bot troues noȝt þat I will tell all þe tounes and citeez and castelles þat men schall ga by ; for þan me must make to lang tale. Bot all anely sum cuntreez and maste principal stedes þat men schall ga thurgh to ga

qi y passay la meer lan millesme ccc^{me} vintisme et secund, le iour de Seint Michel, et qi depuis ay estee vltre meer par long temps, et ay veu et enuironne meint pays et meinte diuerses prouinces et meinte diuerses regions et diuersez isles, et ay passe par Turkye, par Armenye la petite et la grande, par Tartarie, par Persye,⁴ par Sirie,⁵ par Arabe,⁶ par Egipte la haute et la basse, par Libie, par Caldee, par grant partie de Ethiope, par Amazonie, par Ynde la meinour et la moiene et de la maiour vn partie,⁷ et par mout des diuerses⁸ 20 isles qi sunt enuiron Ynde, ou y demoerent multz des diuerses⁹ gentz de diuerses leyes et de diuerses faceons—des quelles terres et isles ieo parleray pluis pleignerement et deuiseray¹⁰ ascune partie de choses qi y sont, quant y serra¹¹ lieu demparler, solonc ceo qil me puet souenir, especialment pur cieus qi volunt et entente¹² ont de uisiter la noble¹³ cite de Ierusalem et lez seintz lieux qi la entour sunt, et lour deuiseray quele¹⁴ chemyn ils purroient tenir, qar ieo en ay par meint¹⁵ passez et chiuachez ouesque bone compaignie, Dieu graciez.

Et sachez qe ieusse cest escript¹⁶ mis en latyn pur pluis briefment deuiser ; mes, pur ceo qe plusours entendent mieltz romantz qe f.2. latin, ieo lay mys en romance, pur ceo qe chescun lentende et luy chiualers et les seignurs et lez autres nobles homes qi ne¹⁷ sciuent point de latin ou poy, et qount estee outre meer, sachent et entendent, si ieo dye voir ou noun, et si ieo erre en deuisant¹⁸ par noun souenance ou autrement, qils le puissent adresser et amender, qar choses de long temps passez par la veue tornent en obly, et memorie de homme ne puet mye tot retenir ne comprendre.

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CHAPITRE I.

Del chemyn Dengleterre iusques a Constantinople.

Ren noun de Dieu glorious, qi veolt aler outre meer par plusours chemyns il puet aler, par meer et par terre, solonc les parties dont il mouera, dont luy plusours tournent tot a vn fyn. Et nentendez mie qe ieo voille¹⁹ declarer totes lez lieux,²⁰ cites, villes, chausteux par ou y couendra a passer,²¹ qar ieo ferroie trop long compte, mes soulement²² ascuns pais et lieux principaux par ou homme doit

¹ So in four English MSS. in the British Museum, viz. Harl. MSS. 2386, 3954, and Royal MSS. 17 B. xliii, 17 C. xxxviii. All the French and Latin MSS. have 1322, as well as the English version in C.

² For the passage following this in C. see the Introduction.

³ The text in Egerton MS. 1982 not being divided into chapters the headings are taken from C. They closely follow the headings in the French version in H. R.

⁴ Feorsie, S. ⁵ Gyrie, G.

⁷ par Inde la menour et la maiour vn grant partie, S. G.

⁹ i demurent meintes diuerses gentz, S.; il demeure meinte diuersez gens, G.

¹¹ serray, H.

¹⁴ vne partie des chosez et quel, G.

¹⁷ qi ne, om. H.

¹⁹ voil, S.; veulle, G.; voile, R.; om. H. with "le" before "declarer."

²¹ par ou homme doit aler, S.; len doit aler, G.

⁶ Ambre, S.

⁸ meintes diuerses, S. G.

¹⁰ S. G. R.; diuersey, H.

¹³ seinte, S.; sainte, G.

¹⁶ liuerette, S.; liure, G.

²⁰ lieux, om. S. G.

²² solonc, S.; selon, G.

þe riȝt way, schortly I think for to touche. For, if a man come fro þe west partys of þe werld, as Ingland, Ireland, Wales, Scotland or Norway, he may, if he will, wende thurgh Almayne and thurgh þe kyngdom of Hungary, þat marchez to þe land of Poialme¹ and to þe land of Pannony and of Alleseye.² And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe kyng of Hungary es a full grete lord and a myghty, and haldes grete and mykill land. For he haldes þe land of Hungary, Sauoy,³ Comany, a grete party of Bulgary, þat men calles þe land of Bulgers, and a grete party of þe kyngdom of Ruscy, and þat lastes to þe land of Nyfeland⁴ and marchez apon Pruyse. And thurgh þe land of Hungary men gase to a cytee þat es called Chippron⁵ and thurgh þe castell of Newburgh,⁶ and men passez by þe ryuer of Danuby. Þis es a full grete ryuer and gase in to⁷ f.5. Almayne vnder þe hilles of Lumbardy, and it takes in to him xl. oper ryuers; and it rynnes thurgh Hungary and Cresses⁸ and Tracy and gase in to þe see so stalworthely and with so grete strenth þat þe water es fresch xx. 10 myle within þe see. And efterward men gase to Bulgary and enters in to þe land of Bulgers, and þare passez men a brigg of stane þat es ouer þe ryuer of Marrok.⁹ And þan men passez thurgh þe land of Pynceras¹⁰ and commes to Grece to þe citee of Sternes¹¹ and to þe citee of Affynpayn¹² and seyne to þe citee of Bradrenople¹³ and seyne to þe citee of Constantynople, þe whilk was sum tyme called Bethsamaron,¹⁴ and þare dwelles commonly þe emperour of Grece. Þare es þe best kirk of þe werld and þe fairest, and it es of saynt Sophie. And before þe kirk of saynt Sophie es ane ymage of Justinyane þe emperour, wele ouergilted; and it es made sittand apon a hors and coround. Þis ymage was wont to hald in his hand a rounde appel of gold; bot it es lang sen it fell oute of þe hand. And men saise þare þat þe fallyng oute of þe apple es a token þat þe emperour has lost a grete party of his lordschepe. For he was wont to be emperour of Romany, of Grece, of Asie þe 20 lesse, of Surry, of þe land of Iudee, in þe whilk es Ierusalem, of þe land of Egipte, of Perse and of Araby; bot he has lost all, oute taken Greece, and þat land anely he haldes. Men wald meny tyme hafe putte þe appel in to þe ymage hand, bot it will noȝt habyde þerin. Þis apple betakens þe lordschepe þat he had ouer

passer pur aler droite voie. Primerement qi se moet¹⁵ des parties doccident, come Dengleterre, Dirland, de Gales, de Scoce, ou de Norwaye, puet, sil veolt, aler par Alemaigne et par le roialme de Hongrie, qi marchist a la terre de Polainie¹⁶ et a la terre de Pannonie et de Slesie.¹⁷ Et est le Roi de Hongrie mout poissant et mout vaillant sires, et tieent grande terre forement. Qar il tient Hongrie, Sclauonie,¹⁸ et de Comanie¹⁹ vne grande partie et de Bulgarie,²⁰ qe homme apelle la terre des Bougres, et de roialme de Roussie grande partie, dont il ad fait Duchee, qi dure iusques a la terre de Niflam²¹ et marchist a Prusse. Et passe homme par la terre de ce seignur par la cite de Cipron²² et par le chaustel de Neiseburgh²³ et par la Male Ville,²⁴ qi siet²⁵ vers le fyn de Hongrie, et la passe homme la riuere de Daimbe.²⁶ Ceste riuere de Dambe est mult grant riuere et naist²⁷ en Alemaigne desouz les montaigne vers Lumberdye, et resceit en luy xl. altres fluuies, et court parmy Hongrie et parmy Grieece et parmy Trachie, et entre en meer vers orient. Et si roudement se fiert en la meer qe leawe 30 maintient sa doceour xx. lues dedeins la meer sanz soy meller ouesqe eawe de la meer. Puis vait²⁸ homme a Belgraue²⁹ et entre homme la terre de Bougres. Et la passe homme vn pont de pierre sur la riuere de Marroc,³⁰ et passe homme par la cite de Pnicemarcz³¹ et vet homme en Grieece a la cite de Ny et puis a Fenepape³² et puis a la cite Dandrenople et puis a Constantinople, qi soleit appelle Besanzon.³³ Et la demoert comunement lempereur de Grieece. La est la puis bele esglise et la puis noble³⁴ de monde, qest de Seinte Sophie. Et deuant celle esglise est lymage Justinien lempereur, coeuere dor³⁵; et est a chiual coronez. Et soleit tenir vn pomme rounde dooree³⁶ en sa mayn; mes elle piecea est cheue fors. Et ceo dit homme qe signefie ceo qe lempereur ad perdu grant partie de sa terre H.f.2b. et de sa seignurie. Qar il soleit estre Emperour de Romanie³⁷ et de Grieece et de tote Asye la moindre, de la terre de Sirie, de la terre de Iudee, en la quelle est Ierusalem, et de la terre de Egipte,³⁸ de Persye, et Darabe; mes il ad tot perdu, fors Grieece et le pais qil se tient³⁹ soulement. Et ascuns ount quidez plusours foythz a remettre le pomme en le mayn, mes elle ne veolt tenir. Celle pome signifieoit la

¹ Poland.² Silesia.³ Slavonia.⁴ Lifland, Livonia.⁵ Cyperon, or Sempronium, now Oedenburg.⁶ C. adds "and be the evylle town, þat sytt toward the ende of Hungarye" (Cf. the French text, and see note).⁷ gothe into, C. A misreading by the translator of "uaist (vait, va) en" for "naist en" (Vogels, *Die ungedruckten Lat. Versionen Mandeville's*, 1886, p. 12).⁸ Greece (as in C.) and Thrace.⁹ R. Morava.¹⁰ The Pincenati, or Petschenegs.¹¹ Hesternit, now Sofia.¹² Philippopolis.¹³ Adrianople.¹⁴ Byzantium.¹⁵ se vet, S.; sen ua, G.¹⁶ Poialme, S.; Poulaine, G.; Polayne, C.¹⁷ Alesie, S.; Blechie, G.; Slesie, C.¹⁸ Sauonie, S. G.; Solauonye, C.¹⁹ Canonie, G.²⁰ et Ualgare, G.²¹ Suflan, S.; Sufflan, G.; Niflan, R.; Nyflan, C.²² Clipron, S. G.; Cypron, C.²³ desie Seburgh, S.; Meseburc, G.; Neysbourgh, R.; Neiseburghe, C.²⁴ Damby, S. G.; Daumbe, or Damube, R.²⁵ Maleuille, S.; Malleuille, G.; le mal ville, R.²⁶ set, S.; est, G.; soit, R.²⁷ bel grane, G.; Belgraue, C.²⁸ Marro, S. G.; Marroie, R.; Marrok, C.²⁹ vient, S.; va, G.³⁰ Pincerat, S.; Pincemarcz, R.; Pinchenas, G.; Pyncemart, C.³¹ Et vet homme a la cite de Sternes et puis a Phinepape, S.; et va len a la cite de Sternes et puis a Finepape, G.; Fynpape, R.; Fynepape, C.³² Besanizon, S.; Besaison, G.; Bezanzon, C.³³ et la plus noble, om. S. G.³⁴ de cupre dorrez, S.; de cuire dore, G.; couered with gold, C.³⁵ dooree, om. S. G.³⁷ de Rome et de Romanie, S. G.³⁸ de Egipte, om. G.³⁹ qui sappent, G.

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all þe werld. þe toþer hand he haldes lift vppe agaynes þe west,¹ in taken for to menace mysdoers. þis ymage standes on a piler of marble.

CHAPTER II.

[Of the crosse and croune of oure Lord Ihesu Crist.]

f.5b. **A**T Constantynople es þe spounge² and þe rede of whilk þe Iewes gafe oure Lord to drynke, when he hang on þe crosse. Sum men trowes þat halfe þe crosse of Criste be in Cypre in ane abbay of munkes þat men calles þe Hill of þe Haly Crosse; bot it es noȝt so. For þat crosse þat es in Cypre es þe crosse on whilk Dismas þe gude theeffe was hynged. Bot all men wate noȝt þat; and þat es ill done. For by cause of getyng of offerandes þai say þat it es þe crosse of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste.

And ȝe schall vnderstand þat þe crosse of oure Lord was made of foure maner of treesse, as it [es] contende in þis werse, whilk es here writen, *In cruce fit palma, cedrus, cypressus, oliua*. For þe pece þat went vprightes fra þe erthe vnto þe heued was of cypresse; and þat pece þat went ouerthwert, to þe whilk his hend ware nailed, was of palme; and þe stock þat stude in þe erthe, in þe whilk was made a mortas, was of cedre; and þe table abouen his heued was a fote and a halfe lang, on þe whilk þe tyle was writen in Hebrew, in Grew and in Latyne, and it was of olyue. Of þise foure maner of treesz þe Iews made Cristes crosse for þai trowed þat he schuld hafe bene hingand apon þat crosse als lang as þat crosse myght last. And þefore made þai þe fote of cedre; for cedre may noȝt rote in erthe ne in water. For þai wald þat it schuld hafe lang lasted. And for þai trowed þat Cristez body schuld hafe stynked, þai made þat pece þat went fra þe erthe vpward, on whilk his body hang, of cypresse, for it es wele smelland, so þat þe smell of his body schuld not greue to men þat come forby. And þat f.6. pece þat went ouerthwert, to whilk his hend ware nayled, was of palme; for in þe alde testament was it ordaynd þat, when any man had þe victory of his enemy, he schuld be cround with palme. And for þai trowed þat þai

seignurie qil auoit sur le monde qest roundez. Et lautre mayn il tient leuee contre lorient, en signe de manacer les malfaitours. Celle ymage estet sur vn estage³ de marbre.

CHAPITRE II.

De la croiz et la coroune nostre Seignour.

ACONSTANTINOPLE est la croiz nostre Seignur Ihesu Crist, et vne sue cote sanz coustures, et lesponge et larundine a quoi homme luy donoit a boire fiel et aigre vin en la croiz. Et si⁴ ad vn des claus de quoi il fuit atachez a la croiz. Ascuns gents quidont qe la moitee de la croiz nostre Seignour soit en Cipe a vne abbeye des moignes qe homme appelle la Montaigne de Sainte Croiz; mes y nest mie ensi. Qar celle croiz de Cipe est celle en quelle Dismas le bon laron fuist penduz. Mes chescun nel sciet mie; et ceo est mal fait. Qar pur auoir lemolument des offerendes ils la fount a honurer et donent entendant qe ceo soit de la croiz nostre Seignur.

Et sachez qe la croiz Nostre Seignur fuist de quatre manere de boys, si come cest vers deuise, *In cruce sunt⁵ palma, cedrus, cypressus, oliua*. La piece qaloit tot droit de la terre iusques a mont vers le chief estoit de cipres; et celle qaloit de transvers, a quoi les mayns estoient claeuz, estoit de palmer; et li trunc dessouz, qestoit fchez dedeinz la roche, en quoi il y auoit vne mortaise pur tenir le pie de la croiz, estoit de cedre; et la table, qestoit sur la teste, qauoit pie et demy de long, en quoi ly titre estoit escript en ebreu, en griec⁶ et en latin, estoit de oliue. Et firent les Iuys la croiz de ceo quatre manere de boys tout a certes qar ils quidoient qe nostre Seignur duist la demorer tout pendant tant come le corps purroit durer. Et pur ceo firent ils le pie⁷ de cedre; qar cedre ne porroit point, nen terre nen eawe. Et ils voleient qil durast longement. Apres ils pensoient qe le corps nostre Seignur duist porrer et puer. Et pur ceo firent ils le thytre⁸ de la croiz de cipres, qest bien⁹ odorant, au fyn qe la flaour de son corps ne greuast les trespasantz. Et ly trauersyn fuist fait de palme, pur ceo qen veil testament, quant¹⁰ ascun auoit victorie, homme le coronoit de palme. Et pur ceo qils quidoient auoir

¹ the east; agens the est, C.

² is the cros of oure Lord Ihesu Crist and his cote withouten semes, that is clept *Tunica inconsutilis*, and the spounge, etc., C.

³ ymage, S.

⁴ cum, S.; sum, G.; fit, C.

⁵ thei, S.; le chief, G.

⁶ et si—crois, om. S. G. The sentence is in the English text in C.

⁷ en griec, om. G.

⁸ bien, om. H. R.

⁹ la croiz, G.

¹⁰ quant, H.

had þe victory of Criste, þai made þe ouerthwert pece of palme. And þe table of þe tytyle was made of olyue; for olyue betakens pees, as þe story of Noe beres witness, whare þe doufe broght þe braunche of olyue in hir beek, whilk betakned pees made betwix Godd and man. And so trowed þe Iewes to hafe pees, when Criste was deed; for þai said þat he made stryffe amang þam. And ye schall vnderstand þat oure Lorde was nailed to þe crosse liggand, and þerfore he sufferd þe mare payne.

Men of Grece and oþer Christen men also þat dwelles bezond þe see saise þat þe tree of þe crosse þat we call cypresse was of þat tree þat Adam ete þe appel off, and so þai fynd writen. And þai say also þat þaire Scripture saise þat Adam fell seke and said to his sone Seth, þat he schuld ga to Paradys and pray þe aungell þat kepes Paradys, þat he wald send him of þe oile of þe tree of mercy for to enoynt with his membres, þat he mygth hafe hele. And Seth went forth to Paradys; bot þe aungel wald nozt late him in, bot said til him þat he myght nozt hafe of þe oile of mercy. Bot he tuke him foure¹ graynes of þe same tree þat his fader ete þe appel off, and bad him, als sone as his fader ware deed, þat he schuld putte þase graynes vnder his tung and graue him so, and of þase foure graynes schuld spring trees þat schuld bere a fruyte thurgh whilk Adam schuld be saued. And, when Seth come hame agayne, he fand his fader nere deed; and he did with þe graynes as þe f.6b. aungel bad, of whilk sprang foure trees, wharof a crosse was made þat bare gude fruyte, Ihesu Criste, thurgh wham Adam and all þat comme of him er saued and delyuerd fra deed withouten end, bot if it be þaire awen defeute. Þis haly crosse had þe Iews hidd in þe erthe vnder þe roche of mount Caluarie; and it lay þare cc. 3ere and mare vnto þe tyme þat saynt Helyne fand it, þe whilk saynt Helyne was moder of Constantyne þe emperour of Rome. And scho was doghter of Coel, kyng of Ingeland, þat was þat tyme called þe mare Bretayne. And þe emperour of Rome, when he was in þat cuntree and sawe hir grete bewtee, he tuke hir to his wyfe and gatte on hir þe forsaid Constantyne. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe crosse of oure Lorde was of lenth viii. cubits; and þat tree þat was ouerthwert had in lenth three cubits and a halfe. A party of þe coroun of thornes wharwith oure Lorde was coround and ane of þe nayles, and þe spere heued, and many oþer relyques er in Fraunce in þe kynges chapell. And þe coroune lyes in a vessell of cristall, wele dight and richely. A kyng of Fraunce boght þise relyques sum tyme of þe Januenes, to wham þe emperour had layd þam in wedd for a grete soume of gold. And if all it be so þat men saise þat þis coroun be of thornes, 3e schall vnderstand þat it was of iunkes of the see, þat ware whyte and prikked als scharpely as thornes. For I hafe many tymes sene

vencu Ihesu Crist, ils le² firent de cel boys. Et la table de la titre ils firent de oliue; qar oliue signifie peez, si come lestoire de Noe tesmoigne, quant la columbe porta la raim de oliue, qi signifoit³ peez estre fait entre Dieu et homme. Et auxi les Iuys quidoient lors auoir peez apres la mort nostre Seigneur, qar ils disoient qil auoit mis descord entre eaux. Et sachez qe nostre Seigneur fuist atachez a la croiz en gisant par terre et puis fuist dressez⁴ ouesqe la croiz, et ensi en dressant il soffry la pluis grande peine.

H.f.3. Item les Gregeys⁵ et li Cristiens auxi qi demoerent outre meer dient qe larbrie de la croiz qe nous appellons cipres fuist dul pomer de quel Adam goustade de fruit, et ensi ont ils en escript. Et dit cest escript qe quant Adam estoit malades, il dit a son filz Seth qil alast a Paradiz et priast al angel qi garde Paradiz qe ly vosist enuoier del abre⁶ de misericorde, pur oindre ses membres et pur recouerir saintee. Le quel Seth y ala; mes ly angel ne ly lessoit entrer, auxi ly dit qe del oile de misericorde ne poait il auoir. Et ly⁷ bailla trois grainz de ceo mesme pomer, et luy dit qil les meist en la bouche son pierre et, quant larbre cresseroit et⁸ porteroit fruit, adonques serroit son pierre garry. Et, quant Seth fuist retourne, il troua son pierre pres de sa mort. Si li mist des grainz en la bouche, qi cresseront et⁹ deuindront en trois grandes arbres, des quelles la croiz fuist fait qi porta le bon fruit Ihesu Crist, par quel fruit Adam et cils qi de luy sunt descenduz sunt garriz et deliueriez de la mort perpetuelle, si ceo nest par lour coulpes. Ceste seinte croiz auoient les Iuys enfowe¹⁰ en terre desouz la roche dul mont de Caluarie; et la demorroit cc. ans et pluis tanqe elle fuist troue par Sainte Eleyne, la mere Constantin lempereur de Rome. Et ceste Eleyne fuist file Choel¹¹ roi Dengleterre, qadonques estoit appelle la grand¹² Brutaigne, qe ly emperers Constaunz¹³ prist a femme pur sa bealtee, quant il fuist en celles parties. Et poez sauoir qe la croiz nostre Seigneur auoit de long viii. cubitz; et ly trauersyn auoit de long iii. cubitz et demy. Et est¹⁴ vne partie de la coronne de quoi il fuist coronne en la croiz, et vn de claus, et le feer de la lance, et plusours autres reliques sunt¹⁵ en France en la chapelle le Roi. Et gist la coronne en vn vessaal de cristal molt bien aournez. Qar vn roi iadys achata ces seintz reliques des Sanowoys,¹⁶ as queux lempereurs les auoit engages pur grant bosoigne dargent.¹⁷ Et come bien qe homme die qe celle coronne est des espines, saches¹⁸ qe ele est des iouns marinz blancz,¹⁹ qi pignent come espines. Qar

¹ three, C.; and so also below.

⁴ leue, G.

⁶ dil oile dil arbre, S.; de luile de larbre, G.; de oile de larbre, R.

⁸ cresseroit et, om. S. G.

¹¹ Hohel, S.; Clolgel, G.; Cool, C.

¹⁴ La vn partie, S. R.; La est, G.

¹⁷ busoigne qil auoit, S. G.

² les, H. R.

⁵ en Grece, S. G.

⁹ cresseront et, om. S. G.

¹² grand, om. S.

¹⁵ qui sunt, G.

¹⁸ Saches—espines, R.; om. H.

³ S. G.; signifont, H.

⁷ mes il bailla a Seth, S.; et il, G.

¹⁰ reconduz, S.; reposte, G.

¹³ Constaunz, om. G.

¹⁶ Jeneueys, S.; Genneuoiz, G.; Genevois, R.; Jewes, C.

¹⁹ blancz, om. S. G.

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bathe þat þat es at Parysch and þat þat es at Constantinople ; for þai ware bathe of ane, made of junkes of f.7. þe see, bot men has departed þam in twa parties, of whilk a party es at Parysch and þe toþer party es at Constantinople. And I hafe a prikk þeroff, þat semes a whyte thorne; and þat was giffen me for grete frenschepe. For þare er many of þam broken and fallen doune in þe vessell whare in þe coroun es, ay as þai breke when men stirrez þe vessell to schewe þe coroun to grete lordes and to pilgrimes þat commes pider.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat oure Lorde, þat nyght þat he was taken, he was ledd in til a gardyne, and þare he was opposed scharply; and þare þe Iews scorned him and sett a coroun on his heued and thrust it þeron so fast þat þe blude ran doune by many placez of his visage and his neck and his schulders. And þat coroun was made of braunches of albespyne ; and þerfore has þe albespyne many vertuz. For he þat beres 10 a braunche þeroff apon him, þer schall na thunder ne na maner of tempest dere him; ne þe hous whare it es in may nane ill spirit comme in, ne in na place whare it es. And in þe same gardyne sayne Petre forsuke oure Lord thryes. Afterward was oure Lord ledd before þe bischope and þe officers of þe lawe in anoþer gardyn of Annas; and þare he was opposed also and scorned and coround eft with a thorne þat men callez þe barbaren, þat growed in þat gardyn. And þat also has many vertuz. And afterward he was ledd in to a gardyn of Cayphas; and þare he was coround with ane engleterre. And seyne he was ledd in to þe chaumbre of Pylate; and þare he was opposed and coround. For the Iews sette him in a chaier and cledd him in a f.7b. mantell; and þan made þai þe coroun of þe junkes of þe see, and þai knelid to him and coround him þerwith and said *Aue, rex Iudeorum*, þat es at say, "Haile, kyng of Iews." And þis coroun, of whilk þe ta halfe es at Parisch and þe toþer at Constantinople, had Criste apon his heued when he was done on þe crosse. And 20 þerfore men schuld maste wirschepe it, and hald it mare worthy þan any of þe oþer. þe schaft of þe spere with whilk Criste was stanged to þe hert hase þe emperour of Almayne; bot þe heued þerof es at Parisch. þe emperour of Constantinople saise þat he has þe spere heued; and þat spere heued hafe I oft sene, bot it es gretter þan þat of Parisch.

ieo lay veu et regarde mult espicialment par plusours foyz et celle de Pariz et celle de Constantinople. Qar ceo fuist tot vne coronne entortellez, faite des joncs ; mes homme lad desseuerez et departiez en deux, dont lune partie est a Paris et lautre a Constantinople. Et si en ay vne¹ de celles precieuses espines, qi semble estre vne espine blanche ; et celle me fuist done pur grande especialtee. Qar il y ad plusours brisez et cheuz² deinz la vessel ou la coronne gist, si come ly jonc sek debrissent quant³ homme remoue le vesseal pur montrer as grandz seignurs.

Et sachez qe, quant Nostre Seignur fuist pris la noyt, il fuist mesnez en vn jardyn primerement, et fuist examinez molt 30 fortement ; et la se mokeyent de ly les ribaldz luy et firent vne coronne des branches dune albe espine, qi cresceoit⁴ en la jardyn, et luy mistrent les espines deuers la teste, et si durement lempresseront qe le sang curroit⁵ en plusours lieux par la face, par le col, et par ses espaules, et pur ceo ad lalbe espine plusours vertuz. Qar, qi porte vne branche sur luy, il nad garde⁶ de foudre ne de tonire ne de tempeste, ne la meson ou il est dedeins. Nul malueis⁷ esprit ne puet approcher⁸ en lieu ou il soit. En celle jardin luy renoya seint Piere troiz foythz. Puis fuist nostre Seignur mesne deuant les euesques et les meistres de la ley en vne autre jardyn, qi fuist de Anne ; et la fuist il autre foythe examine, et puis moke et ledenge et coronne autrefoythz dune espine blanche, qe homme appelle Berberiz, qi cresceoit⁹ en le jardyn, qad auxi mult des vertues. Et si fait homme de bon oint¹⁰ des foilz de celle espine. Puis fuist il mesnez en le jardyn Cayphas, et la fuist coronnez dune eglentier. Et puis fuist il mesne en la chambre Pilatus pur examiner,¹¹ et la fuist il coronne dune coronne des joncs de la meer ; et la lassisterent ly luy en vne chaire et luy vestirent vn mantel et luy firent vne coronne de cez joncz et sagenuleereont en¹² luy escharnisant et en disant *Aue, Rex Iudeorum*. Et ceo est le coronne dont la moitee toute ronde est a 40 Paris, et lautre moitee est a Constantinople, ouesqe la quelle nostre Seignur fuist mis en la croiz et mort soffrist pur nous. Par qoi homme doit tenir celle coronne pluis precieuse qe nul des autres. Et le hast de la lance ad lempour Dalemaigne ; mes le feer est a Pariz. Et nientmeins¹³ lempour de Constantinople dit qil ad le feer de la lance ; ieo lay veu,¹⁴ et est pluis larges assetz qe celui de Paris.

¹ et si en ay vehu lun et lautre, et ay vn, S.; and so G.

² si come se debrissent, quant, S.; si come elles se remuent et debrissent, G.

³ estoit, S. G.

⁴ ou il est auxint ne malueis, S.; ne la maison aussi ne maluais, G.

⁵ cestoit, S.; estoit, G.

⁶ examiner, gestoit junke (ioinchiee, G.) des juncs marins; et la lassisterent li Juys en vn cheiere et li vestirent vn mantel, et li fierent vn coronne des juncs et sagenuloient, etc. S.; and so G.

⁷ et, H.; en, R.; et li escharnirent en disant, "Dieu garde li Roy dez Juys," S. G.

⁸ maintefoitz, S.; maintez fois, G.

⁹ plusours debrusetz dedeins, S.; qui sunt brisees dedens, G.

¹⁰ over erasure, H.; cola, S.; coula, G. R.

¹¹ garde, S. G.; om. H.

¹² entrer, S. G.

¹³ verins, S.; vernis, G.

¹⁴ vehu souent, S.; veu souuent, G.

CHAPTER III.

[Of the cytee of Costantynoble; and of the feithe of Grekes.]

ALSO at Constantinople lies saynt Anne, oure Lady moder, wham saynt Helyne gert be broght fra Ierusalem. And þare lies also þe body of Iohn Crisostom, þat was bischope of Constantinople. And þare lies sayne Luke, þe euangelist; for his banes ware broght fra Bethany,¹ whare he was grauen. And many oþer reliques er þare. And þare es of þe vesselles of stane, as it ware marble, whilk men callez ydrious, þat euermare droppes water and filles þaim self ilk a zere. And I do 3ow to wit þat Constantinople es rist a faire citee and a gude, and wele walled; and it es three cornerd. And þare es ane arm of þe see þat men calles Ellespount; and sum calles it þe Bouche of Constantinople, and sum Brace Sayne George. And þis water enclosez twa parties of þe citee. And vp toward þe see apon þe same water was wont to be þe grete citee 10 of Troy in a faire playne; bot þat citee was destruyd with þaim of Grece.

f.8. Aboute Grece er many Iles, þat es to say Calcas,² Calistra,³ Oertige,⁴ Tesbiria,⁵ Minca,⁶ Flaxania,⁷ Melo, Carpataya,⁸ Lempnia.⁹ And in þis ile es þe mount Caucase¹⁰ þat passez þe clowdes. þare er also many oþer diuerse cuntreez and spechez þat er tributaries and obeyand to þe emperour, þat es at say Turcople, Pyncenard, Comange, Tracy, Macedoyne, of whilk Alexander was kyng, and many oþer. In this cuntree was Aristotle borne, in a citee þat men calles Strages, a litill fra Tracy. At Strages lyes Aristotle, and þare es ane awtere apon his tounge. And þare make þai a solempne feste ilke a zere, as he ware a saynt. And apon his awter þai hald þaire grete counsaile and assemblee; and þai trowe þat thurgh inspiracion of Godd and him þai sall hafe þe better counsaile. In þat cuntree es rist grete mountaynes toward þe end of Macedoyne. And amanges oþer þer es ane þat men calles Olympus, þat departes Macedoyne and Tracy; and it es hye abouen þe 20

CHAPITRE III.

De la cite de Constantinople; et de la foy des Griecz.

ACONSTANTINOPLE gist saint Anne, la mere nostre Dame, la quelle saint Eleine fist porter de Ierusalem. Item la gist le corps saint Iohan Crisostome, q̄i fuist archeuesqe de Constantinople. Et auxi gist illeques saint Luc leuangelist; qar ses os furent la portez de Betanie,¹¹ ou il fuist enterrez. Et mult des autres reliques y sont. Et si ad le vessealz de pierre, auxi come de marbre, la quelle pierre homme appelle enydros¹² q̄i tot dys degoutent eawe et se¹³ reempeissent de eaux mesmes touz les anz, tanqe ils vont hors par dessure, sanz ceo qe lem mette riens dedeins.¹⁴ Constantinople est mult bele citee et mult noble, et bien mure; et est la cite triangle. La il y ad vne brace de meer qe homme appelle Hellespont; et autres lappellent la Bouche de Constantinople, et autres le Bracz Saint George. Et cest bracz clouet les deux parties de la cite.¹⁵ Et puis halt vers le chief de cest bracz de meer deuers la grant meer soloit estre la cite de Troie sur la riue del eawe en mult beau lieu et plain; mes la cite y piert poy, pur ceo 30 qil y ad si grant temps qe elle fuist destruite.

Entour Griee y ad plusours isles, come Calistre, Calcos,¹⁶ Critige,¹⁷ Tesbria, Minea, Flaxon, Melo,¹⁸ Carpate,¹⁹ et Lempne. En celle isle est luy mont Athos, q̄i passe les nues. Et y ad auxi plusours langages et plusours pays qui touz obeissent a lempereur, ly Toucople,²⁰ ly Pincenard, ly Commaing,²¹ et mult dautres gentz, et le pais de Trachie et Macedoigne, dont Alisandre fuist roy. En ceo pays fuist Aristotles nee, en vne cite qe homme appelle Strageres, assetz pres la cite de Trachie. Et a Strageres gist Arestotles, et y ad vn aulter sur sa tombe. Et fait homme grant feste de luy touz les anz, auxi bien come cil estoit saint. Et sur son aulter ils vont tenir les grandz conseils ensemble; et lour semble qe²² par inspiracion diuine il lour vient a deuant²³ le meillour conseil. En ceo pais y ad multz des haltz montaignes. Vers la fyn de Macedoigne il y ad vne montaigne qest appelle Olimpus,²⁴ q̄i departe Macedoigne et Trachie; et est si halt

¹ Bithynia.⁴ Ortygia, Delos.⁷ Naxos ?¹⁰ Athos, C.¹³ se, S. G.; ceo, H.¹⁴ qui tousiours degoutte yaue et se remple de celle mesmes tous les anz, tant quele sen va par dessus, sens ce que len mette riens dedens, G.¹⁵ de la cite et chiet de la grant mer uers le chief et est plus haut vers la riue de lyaue. La cite de Troie soloit estre en mult biau plain, etc., G.¹⁶ Calcas, S. G.¹⁹ Carpace, S. G.²² qe, S. G. R.; om. H.² Chalce, now Carki.⁵ Lesbos ?⁸ Carpathus, Scarpanto.¹¹ Bithinie, S.; Bethanie, G.; Bethanye, C.³ Calliste, Thera.⁶ Minois, Paros.⁹ Lemnos.¹² enydros, S.; enydos, G.; enydros, C.¹⁷ Ortage, S.; Oritige, G.; Critige, C.²⁰ Curtople, S.; Turcople, G.²³ a deuant, om. G.¹⁸ Meso, S.²¹ Comang, S. G.²⁴ olimpus mons athos, G.

clowdes. þare es also anoper hill þat men calles Athos; and þat es so hie þat þe schadowe þeroff rechez vnto Lempny, þe whilk es þerfra nere lxxvii. myle. Abouen on þir hilles es þe aer so clere and so sutill þat men may fele na wynd þare; and þerfore may na beste ne fewle liffe þare, so es þe aer drye. And men saise in þase cuntrees þat philosophirs sum tyme went vp on þir hilles and held to þaire noses spoungez moisted with water for to cacche aer, for þe aer þare was so drie. And also abouen on þir hilles in þe powder þai wrate letters f.8b. with þaire fingers, and at þe zere end þai went agayne and fand þe same letters þat þai had writen þe zere before als fresch as þai ware on þe first day withouten any defaute. And þerfore it semes wele þat þase hilles passez þe clowdes to the pure aere.

In þe citee of Constantinople es þe emperours palays rȳt faire and wele dight; and þare be syde es a fayre place ordaynd for iustying. And þer er stagez made all aboute it and grecez, þat men may sit on, ilk ane 10 abouen oper, to see þe iustying, so þat nane schall dere oper ne lett oper to see. And vnder þe stages er stables vownted wele for þe emperour hors; and all þe pilers er of marbill. And in þe kirk of saynt Sophy ane emperour on a tyme wald hafe layd þe body of his fader, when he was deed; and, als þai made a graue, þai fand a body in þe erthe, and apon þat body lay a grete plate of gold and þerapon was writen in Hebrew, in Grewe and in Latyne, *Ihesus Christus nascetur de virgine Maria; et ego credo in eum*, þat es to say, "Ihesus Criste sall be borne of þe virgyn Mary; and in him trowe I." And þe date when þis was writen and layd in þe erthe was ii^m zere before þe incarnacioun of Criste. And ȳit es þat plate in þe tresoury of þe kirke; and men saise þat þat body was þe body of Ermogenes¹ þe wyse man.

And if all it be so þat þe Grekes be Cristen, ȳit þai vary fra oure faith. For þai say þat þe Haly Gaste commes noȳt oute of þe Sonne, bot anely of þe Fader; and þai er noȳt obeyand to þe kirke of Rome, ne to þe 20 Pope. And þai say þat þaire Patriarke has als mykill power bezond þe Grekis see as oure Pope hase on f.9. þis syde. And þerfore þe Pope Iohn þe xxii. sent letters to þaim schewand þam how þat þe cristen faith schuld be all ane, and þat all cristen men schuld be obeyand to a pope, whilke es Cristez vicar in erthe, to wham Godd gaffe full powere for to bynd and to louse; and þerfore þai schuld be o[be]dient til him. And þai sent to him many answers; and amanges oper þai sent him ane, and said on þis wyse, *Potentiam tuam summam circa tuos subiectos firmiter credimus; superbiam tuam summam tollerare non possumus; auariciam*

quelle passe les nues. Et y ad vn autre qad noun Athos, qest auxi si halt qe lombre de luy se extent iusques a Lempne, qest vn isle a lxxvi. miles de long de la montaigne. Et ad soumet² dessus celles montaignes³ il y ad si⁴ pur aier qil ne court ne vent ne aure; et pur ceo noisel ne beste ne purroit la suis viuer, pur ceo qe laier est trop sek. Et dit homme en celles parties qe ly philosophes iadys y monteront sur 30 celles montaignes et tenirent a lour nariz vne esponge moillee en eawe pur auoir aier moiste, ou autrement ils ne puissent aleiner, mes fuissent defailliez pur defalt daleine, pur ceo qe laier est trop sek. Et sur celles montaignes en halt en la poudre ils escriuerent lettres ouesques lour doiz, et al chief del an ils remonteront et troueront les lettres toutes autieles qils⁵ les auoient escriptz [et] nestoient riens defaites. Pur quoi y piert bien qe les montaignes ioignent⁶ bien iusques a pur aier.

A Constantinople est ly palaiz del emperour, mult beau et bien ordeigne. Et y ad delez vne bele place pur iouster ou pur iuer, qi est toute as estages et ad degrez entour,⁷ si qe chescun puet veer⁸ sanz espechier altrȳ vewe. Et desouz cez degrez sont les estables vultez pur lez chualx al emperour; et sont touz les pilers dedeins de marbre. Dedeins lesglise Seinte Sophie vn emperour iadys voleit faire mettre le corps dun⁹ son parent mort; et, quant homme fesoit sa fosse, lom troua vn autre corps dedeins terre, et sur ceo corps vne grande plate de fyn or, ou il auoit lettres escriptes en ebreu, en grec, et en latin, qi desoient ensi, "Ihesu Crist naistra de la virgine Marie; et ieo croy en luy." Et la date contenoit qe cil estoit mis en terre m^m ans¹⁰ auant¹¹ qe nostre Seignur fuist nee. Et vncore est la plate dor en la tresorie del esglise; et dit homme qe ceo fuist Hermes le sages.

Et, combien qe les Gregeois soient Cristiens, totefoithz ils varient mult de nostre droite creance. Qar ils dient qe ly Seint Esprit 40 ne procede point de Filz, mes de Dieu le Piere soulement; et si nobeissent point a la esglise de Rome ne al pape. Et dient qe tant de poair ad lour Patriark de la come le Pape de cea. Et pur ceo le Pape Iohan vintisme secund leur escript lettres, coment Cristienetee deueit estre tot vne, et qe ils deuoient obeier a vn Pape, qest droit vikers de Dieu et a qȳ Dieu dona plein poair de lyer et assoudre; H.f.4b. pur quoi ils deuoient obeier a luy. Mes ils enuoierent response mult diuerse; et entre les autres choses ils disoient ensi, *Potentiam tuam summam circa tuos subiectos firmiter credimus; superbiam tuam summam tollerare non possumus*¹²; *auariciam tuam summam saciare non*

¹ Hermogene, C. But see the French text.

⁴ si, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁷ et y a estages et degres entour deles vne belle place pour iouster ou pour iouer si que, G.

⁸ veer, S.; veoir, G.; vers, H.; ver, R.

¹¹ aincoiz que, G.

² ad soumet, corr. in H. to "souuent."

⁵ qils, S.; quelles, H.; come il, G.; qe lez, R.

⁹ de, S. G.

¹² possumus, H.

³ et—montaignes, om. G.

⁶ y vont, S. G.

¹⁰ mil ans, S.; 11^m, G.

tuam summam saciare non intendimus. Dominus tecum sit, quia Dominus nobiscum est. Vale. Þis es to say, "We trowe wele þi powere es grete apon þi subgets; we may noȝt suffer þi grete pride; we er noȝt in purpose to staunche þi grete couetise. Godd be with þe, for Godd es with vs. Fare wele." And oþer answeere had he noȝt of þaim. Þe Grekes also makes þe sacrement of þe autere of leuaynd breed¹; for oure Lord made it of leuaynd breed, when he made his maundee. And þai say we erre þat makes þe sacrement of tharf breed. And on þe schire Thursday make þai þat breed in a takenyng of þe maundee, and dries it at þe soune, and kepez it all þe ȝere, and giffez it to seke men in steed of howsill. And þai make bot ane vnccioun, when þai cristen childer, ne dippes þaim bot anes in þe fount. Þai anoynt na seke men; and þai say þer es na purgatory, and þat saules sall nowþer hafe ioy ne payne before þe day of dome. Þai say also þat fornicacion es na dedly bot a f.9b. kyndely thing, and þat men and wymmen schuld noȝt be wedded bot anes, and, wha so weddes ofter þan anes, 10 þaire childer er bastardes and geten in synne. þaire prestes also er wedded. And þai say þat oker es na dedly synne. þai sell benifitez of haly kirk, and so duse men in oþer placez; and þat es grete schlauder and grete harme. For now es symony kyng coroune in haly kirk. Godd may amend it, when his will es. þai say also þat in lentyn men schuld noȝt synge messe bot on þe Setirday and on þe Sonounday. And þai fast noȝt þe Seterday na tyme of þe ȝere, bot it be ȝole euen or pask euen. þai suffer na man þat commes fra þis syde of þe Grekes see syng on þaire awters; and, if it fall þat þai do, þai wasche þe awter alsone with haly water. And þai say þat þer schuld bot a messe be sunge at ane awter on a day. Ouer þat þai say þat oure Lorde ete neuer bodily mete, bot he made signe of etyng and feyned as he had etyn, schewand taken of manhede. þai say we synne dedly in þat we schaue oure berdes, for þai say þat þe berde es taken of manhede and þe giff of Godd. And þa þat² schafes þaire berdes, þai do it all anely for to plesse þe werld and 20 þaire wyfes. þai say also þat we synne dedly in etyng of bestez þat ware forbedd in þe alde lawe, as swyne, hares and oþer bestez þat chewes noȝt cudde. Also þai say þat we synne in etyng of flesch in þe three days before Ask Wedensday, and also in etyng of flesch on Wedensdays, and when we ete whitmete on Frydays. And þai curse all þase þat etes na flesh on þe Saterdag. Also þe emperour of Constantynople makes þe f.10. patriarches, ercebischopes and bischopes, and he giffes all þe digniteez of haly kirk in þat cuntree; and he pryues þaim þat him think vnworthy. And so he es þare lorde bathe of temperaltee and of spiritualtee.

intendimus. Dominus tecum, quia Dominus nobiscum est. Et autre response ne poait ly Pape auoir de eaux. Et font auxi le sacrement dul auter de pain leuee; et dient³ qe nous mespreignons del faire de pain qi nest mie leuee,⁴ qar nostre Seignur le fist de pain leuee⁵ a la Cene. Et⁶ ieosdy seint ils font lour pain leuee, pur la remembrance de la Cene, et le secchent al solail et le gardent par tot lan, et le doignent ad malades en lieu de *Corpus Domini*. Et si ne font qe vne envnction en baptisme, et ne font point darrein⁷ vnxioun as malades. 30 Et dient auxint qil ny ad point de purgatoire et qe les almes nount peine ne ioie iusques au iour de juggement. Et dient qe fornicacioun nest pas pecche mortel, ancis est chose naturele, et qe homme ne femme ne deuont marier qe vne fois, et, qi se marie pluis, les enfantz sont bastardes et engendres en pecche. Et si deffont les mariages pur petite occasioun. Et lour prestres sont auxi totes⁸ mariez. Et dient qe vsure nest mie pecche mortel. Et vendent les benefices de seintez esglises, et si⁹ fait homme maintenant autre part; de quoi ceo est damages et grant esclandre. Qar au iour de huy est Simon¹⁰ roi coronnez en seinte esglise. Dieu le veulle amender; qar tant come seinte esglise chancelle et clouche, le poeple ne poet estre en bon estat. Et dient les Griecz qe en quarresme homme ne doit point chanter messe, si non le samady et ly dymenge. Et si ne ieunent point le samady en nulle seison dul an, sil ne¹¹ soit la veile de Noel ou de Pasques. Et ne lessent point les Latins chanter a lour aulters; et, sils chantent par ascune auenture, ils lauent laulter apres de eawe benoite. Et dient¹² qe homme ne doit chanter qe vne messe le iour a vn aulter. Et dient auxi qe nostre Seignur ne mangea vnqes, mes il fist semblance de manger. Et dient qe nous pecchons mortelement a raser noz barbes, qar ceo est signe dul homme et doun¹³ de nostre Seignur, et cils qi 40 les font raser le font pur estre pluis pleisantz a monde et as femmes. Et dient qe nous pecchons a manger des beistes qi furent defendeuz en veile testament, ceo est des porceaux, des lieures,¹⁴ et dautres bestes qi ne roignent point lour viande. Et dient qe nous pecchons de ceo¹⁵ qe nous mangeons char le sismaigne de quarresme carnem pernant, et de ceo qe nous mangeons char les mesqerdyz et oefs et fromage les venderdyz. Et escumengent touz ceaux qi font abstinance de manger char le samady. Item ly emperers de Constantinople fait le patriarche, les archeuesques et les euesques, et doigne les digniteez et les benefices; et les houstes et priue, quant il troeue ascune cause. Et ensi il est sire de temporel et del espiritel en son pays.

¹ therf bred, C.² G. R.; dient, S.; om. H.³ et—la cene, om. G.⁴ si S. G. R.; om. H.⁵ et dient, S. G. R.; om. H.⁶ de manger char le meskerdi, S.; de mangier char le mecredi, G.⁷ And þa þat—wyfes, om. C.⁸ non leue, G.⁹ darrein, om. S. G.¹⁰ H. R.; simonie, S. G.¹¹ doun, om. S. G.¹² non leue, G.¹³ totes, om. G.¹⁴ sil ne, om. S.¹⁵ des lieures, om. G.

The Buke of John Maundeuill.

II

If 3e wil wit of þe abce of Grew and what kyn letters þai hafe, here 3e may see þam and þer names also :—
alpha α, beta β, gamma γ, delta δ, e breuis ε, epissima ς,¹ zeta ζ, hetha η, tetha θ, iota ι, kappa κ, mi μ, ni ν,
xe ξ, o breuis ο, pe π, cope ϑ,² ro ρ, sima σ, tau τ, gui υ, fi φ, xi χ, spi ψ, o longa ω, encos Δ,³ chile ς.⁴

CHAPTER IV.

[Of seynt John the euangelist; and of Ypocras doughter transformed from a
womman to a dragoun.]

AND if all it be so þat þire thynges touche nozt to teching of þe way to þe haly land, neuer þe les þai
touche þat þat I hafe hight to schewe, þat es at say of þe customes and maners and diuersteez of
cuntreez. And for þe land of Grece es þe next cuntree þat variez and es discordand in faith
and lettres fra vs and oure faith, þerfore I hafe sette it here, þat 3e may wit þe diuersetee þat es betwene oure 10
trowth and þaires; for many men has grete lyking and comforth to here speke of straunge thinges.

Now comme I agayne for to teche þe way fra Constantinople to þe haly land. He þat will ga thurgh
Turkye, he gase to þe citee þe whilk es called Nyke,⁵ and so thurgh þe zate of Chiuotot,⁶ and to þe mount
of Chiuotot, þat es rizt hie; and it es oþer halfe myle fra þe citee of Nyke. Wha so will passe fra Constan-
tinople to þe haly land by see, he schall ga by þe Brace of Sayn George, and so, sayland in þe Grekes see, by
a place⁷ whare sayne Nicholas lies and by many oþer places. And first men commes til ane ile þe whilk es
called Sylo.⁸ And in þat yle growes mastik apon smale treesse; and it springes oute of þam as it ware þe
gum of plum tree or chiry tree.

H f.5. Et si vous voulez sauoir de lour a. b. c., quelles lettres ils ont,⁹ icy les poez veer ouesqes les nouns¹⁰ qils les appellent :—a alpha,
b betha, c gama, d deltha, e e breuis, e longe epilmon, z zetha, h hetha, th tetha, i iota, k kapda, l lapda, m m[i], n ni, x exi, o o breuis, 20
p pi, c cophe, r ro, s summa, t tau, u vi, f fy, x chi, y psi, o othomega, dd diacosin.¹¹

CHAPITRE IV.

De seint Johan leuangeliste; et de la file Ypocras conuertie en la fourme de dragon.

ET combien qe cestes choses ne touchent a la matiere de chemyn enseigner, nient meins y touche a ceo qe iauoy promis a
declarer, vne partie de custumes¹² des maners et des diuersiteez dascuns pays. Et pur ceo qe ceo est la primere pais variant et
descordant en foy et en lettres de nostre pais de cea, pur ceo lay icy¹³ mis, au fyn qe vous sachez la diuersite qest entre nostre
creance et la leure; qar mult des gentz se delitent et y preignent solacz en oier parler des choses estranges.

Ore retourneray ieo a mon chemyn deuiser. De Constantinople qi veot aler par la terre de Turkye, il vait vers la cite de Nike.¹⁴ Et
passe homme par le port de Chieuetout,¹⁵ et veit homme tudiz deuant luy la montaigne de Chieuetout, qest bien halte; et est vn
lieue et demye lieue¹⁶ de Nike. Ou lem vait, qi veot, par eawe ou par bracz seint George, et est par la meer vers la ou seint Nicholas 30
gist¹⁷ et vers multz autres lieuz. Primerement vait homme al isle de Silo. En celle isle crest ly mastik en petitz arbresceaux; et ist
come gumme¹⁸ de pruners ou de cerisers.

¹ ἐπίσημα ς : the character ς used only as a numeral = 6.

² εἰκοσι Δ, for Δ[εκα]Δ[εκα].

³ Cibotus, Civitot, now Gemlik.

⁴ font, S.

⁵ S. omits the alphabet altogether. In G. the names are : Alpha, betha, delca, o (sic) breuis, hophisimon, zetha, betha (sic), thetha, iotha, kapda, lapda, mi, nu, exi, o breuis, py, copho,
ro, summa, tau, vi, thi, psi, si, ethomega. C. follows H. The Greek characters in all three MSS. are hopelessly corrupt.

⁶ des custumes, omitted here by G., but inserted above after "chemyn."

⁷ icy, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁸ est a demie lieue de Nilz, G.

⁹ ou lomme vet par vent par le bras de S. George et par le mer vert, la ou S. Nicholas gist, et vers autres lieux, S.; ou len ua, qi veult, par le bras S. George et par la mer vert, la
ou S. Nicholas gist et par autres lieux, G.; R. agrees with H., omitting "ou" after "eawe" and "est."

¹⁰ gomme, om. S. G.

¹¹ κοππη ϑ, used as a numeral = 90.

¹² Nicæa, in Bithynia.

¹³ Chios, Scio.

¹⁴ χίλιοι ς, the latter character for χ.

¹⁵ Myra, in Lycia.

¹⁶ voieus, G.

¹⁷ Nilz, G.

¹⁸ Cheinetot, S.; Cheuetot, G.

f.10b. Seyne men passez by þe ile of Pathmos, whare sayn Iohn þe euaungelist wrate þe apochalipse. And 3e schall vnderstand þat, when oure Lorde died, sayn Iohn was of elde xxxii. 3ere, and he liffed after þe passioun of Criste lxii. 3ere.¹ Fra Pathmos men gase til Ephesum, a faire citee and nere to þe see; and þare died sayne Iohn, and was grauen behind þe awter in a tounge. And þare es a faire kirk; for Cristen men ware wont for to hafe þat citee in hand. Bot now it es occupied with Turkes, and so es all Asy þe less; and þerfore es Asy þe lesse called Turkey. In þe tounge of sayne Iohn men may fynd na thyng bot manna; for sum men saise his body was translated in to paradyse. And 3e schall vnderstand þat sayn Iohn gert make his graue þare in his lyfe and laid himself þerin all qwik; and þerfore sum saise þat he dyed noȝt, bot þat he restez þare to þe day of dome. And forsothe þare es riȝt a grete meruaile; for men may see þare þe erthe of þe tounge many a tyme stirre and moue, as þer ware a qwikke thing vnder.

Fra Ephesum men passez by many iles in þe see vnto þe citee of Pateran,² whare sayne Nicholas was borne, and so to the citee of Marc,³ whare he was chosen to be bischope. þare growes riȝt gude wyne and myghty, þe whilk men callez wyne of Marc. Fra þeine men passez to þe ile of Grece,⁴ þe whilk þe emperour gafe sum tyme to þe Ianuynes. And fra þeine men wendes to þe ile of Cophos,⁵ and so by þe ile of Lango, of whilk iles Ypocras was sum tyme lorde.

f.11. And sum saise þat in þe ile of Lango es Ypocras doghter in likness of a dragoun, þe whilk es a hundreth fote lang, as men saise, for I hafe noȝt sene it. And folk þare calles hir Lady of þat ile. Scho lies in ane alde castell, and schewes hir thries in þe 3ere; and scho duse na man harme. Scho was changed þus fra a faire damysell til a dragoun thurgh a goddess þat men called Diane. And men saise þat scho sall dwell so vnto þe tyme þat a knyght comme þat schall be so hardy þat he sall dare ga to hir and kisse hir mouth. And þan sall scho turne agayne to hir awen kynde and be a womman; bot scho sall liffe bot lytill while efter. And it es noȝt lang sithen a knyght of Rodes, the whilk was a doghty man and a hardy, said þat he wald kisse hir. And he leped on his coursere and went to þe castell and entred in to þe caue whare þe dragoun lay. And scho began to lift vp hir heued agayne him; and þe knyght⁶ sawe it so hidous, and fast he fledd away. And þe dragoun folowed and tuke þe knyght and bare him maugree his til a cragg of þe see, and ouer þat cragg scho kest him in to þe see;

Et puis vait homme par lisle de Pathmos. La escript saint Iohan leuaungelist lapocalipse. Et poez sauoir qe, quant nostre Seignur suffrist passioun, saint Iohan nauoit dage mes xxxii. ans, et apres sa passioun il vesquit lxvii.⁷ ans, et en le⁸ centisme an de son age il morust. De Pathmos lem vait a Ephesim, vne bele cite et pres de la meer. La morust saint Iohan et fuist enterrez deriere laulte en vne tumber. Et y ad vne mult bele esglise; qar Cristiens soloient tenir cel lieu. Mes toutfoithe en la tumber⁹ saint Iohan y ny ad qe manne; qar le corps de luy fuist translate en Paradyse. Et ore tignent les Turkis la cite et lesglise et toute Asye la moyndre; et pur ceo est Asye la menour appelle Turkie. Et sachez qe saint Iohan fist la faire la fosse en sa vie, et puis se¹⁰ coucha dedeins tot vif. Et pur ceo dient ascuns qil ne morust mie, mes qil se repose la iusques al iour iuggement. Et verayement il y ad vn grant meruaile; qar homme H.f.5b. veit visiblement souentefoitz la terre de sa tumber crouler et mouoir par dessure et la poudre auxi, ensi qil eust vn homme vif dessouz qi le remuast, dont totes cils qi le regardent se merueillent mout, et ceo est bien reson.

Puis de Ephesim vait homme par meintes isles de meer iusques a la cite de Pateran,¹¹ ou saint Nicholas fuist neez, et puis a la cite de Marrea,¹² ou il fuist esluit euesque par la grace Dieu. La cresceont tresbons vins et tresfort, qe homme appelle vin de Marrea. De la vait homme al isle de Crete,¹³ qe luy emperers dona iady as Ianeweys.¹⁴ Et puis passe par la isle de Cohos¹⁵ et par lisle de Langho,¹⁶ des quelles isles Ypocras fuist sires.

Et dit homme qen celle isle de Langho est vncore la file Ypocras en guise dun graunt¹⁷ dragoun, qad bien c. toises de long, si come lem dit, qar ieo ne lay veu. Et cils del¹⁸ isle lappellent la Dame de pais. Et gist as voutes dun anxien chaultel, et se moustre deus foithz ou trois lan; et ne fait a nully damages, si homme ne luy fait mal. Et fuist ensi mesnee¹⁹ et changee dune belle damoiselle en vn dragoun par vne dieuesse qauoit nom Diane. Et dit homme qelle reuendra vncore ariere en son estat, quant homme trouera vn chualer si hardiz qe louse aler baiser en la bouche; mes apres ceo qelle serra conuertie en femme elle ne viuera gairs. Il nad mie long temps qe vn chualer del Hospital de Rodes, qi pruz estoit et hardiz, dit qil irroit baiser. Si monta sur vne courser et ala au chaustel et entra la caue. Et le dragoun commencea a leuer la teiste encontre luy; et, quant le chual le veoit si hideux, il fuy sa voie et porta le chualer maugree luy sur

¹ lxvii. 3eer and in the c. 3eer of his age he dyede, C.

⁴ Crete.

⁶ So also in C. In the French it is the "chival," not "chivaler."

⁷ lxii., S. G.

⁸ se, S. G.; ceo, H.; ce, R.

⁹ Grece, S. G.

¹⁰ Longo, S.; Lango, G. C.

¹⁹ mene, S. R.; muce, G.

² Patera, in Lycia.

³ Cos, another name for Lango, the birthplace of Hippocrates.

⁶ les, H.

¹¹ Patriam, G.; Paterane, C.

¹⁴ Janoais, S.; ioianz, G.

¹⁷ graunt, S. G. R.; om. H.

³ Myra.

⁹ fosse, G.

¹² Marroa, S. G.; Martha, C.

¹⁵ Thohos, S.; Cholas, G.; Colos, C.

¹⁸ des, H.

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and so was þat knyght lost. Also a 3ong man, þe whilk wist noȝt of þat dragoun, went oute on a tyme of a schippe for to refresch him, and walked furth in þis ile til he come to þe castell, and entred in to þe caue. And so he fand a chaumbre, and þerin he sawe a damysell kemmand hir hare and loked in a mirrour, and scho had mykill tresoure aboute hir. And he supposed þat scho had bene a common womman, þat had dwelled þare to kepe men þat come thurgh þe cuntree; and he stude still þare behind hir till scho turned hir toward him and f. 11b. asked him what he wald. And he said þat he wald be hir paramour. And scho asked him if he ware a knyght, and he said nay. And scho said þat þan myght he noȝt be hir lemman; bot scho bad him go agayne to his felawes and make him knyght and com agayne on þe morue, and scho schuld com oute of þe caue. And scho bad him þat he schuld kisse hir mouthe and hafe na drede of hir, what figure so euer he sawe hir, for scho schuld do him no harme, if all scho ware neuer so vggly ne so hidous til his sight. For, scho said, it was done by 10 enchauntement, for scho was swilk as he sawe hir þat tyme. And scho said him þat, if he kissed hir, he schold hafe all þat tresour and be lord of hir and of pase iles. And he went fra hir and come to his felawes to þe schippe and gert make him knyght and went agayne apon the morue to kisse þe damysell. And, when he sawe hir comme oute of þe caue in liknes of a dragoun, he had so grete drede þat he fledd to þe schippe, and scho folowed him. And when scho saw þat he turned noȝt agayne, scho began to crie, as a thing þat had mykill sorowe. To þe schippe scho folowed him and, when he was entred in to þe schippe, scho turned agayne with a hidous crie; and sone after þe knyght died. And seyne hiderward myght na knyght see hir, þat ne he died sone after. Bot, when a knyght commes þat es so hardy þat he dare kisse hir, he schall noȝt die, bot he schall turne þat damysell in to hir riȝt schappe, and he schall be lord of hir and of þe iles beforesaid.

Fra þis ile men passez to þe ile of Rodes, þe whilk þe Hospitellers haldez and gouernes. And þis ile þai 20 wan of þe emperour of Constantinople. And it was sum tyme called Colos,¹ and so calles þe Turkes it ȝit. f. 12. And sayne Paule in his pistle wrate to þam of þat ile *ad Colocenses*. Þis ile es viii^e myle fra Constantinople, for to wende by þe see.

vn roche, et de celle roche il sailly en la meer, et ensi fuist perduz le chiualer. Item vn iefnez homme, qi rien ne sauoit de cest dragoun, issy dune nief et ala parmy lisle iusques al chastel et entra en la caue. Et ala tant auant qil troua vne chambre, et la vit il vne damoiselle, qi se pignoit et regardoit en vn mireour, et si auoit mult de tresour entour luy. Et il pensoit qe ceo fuist vne femme legiere, qi demorrast illeokes pur reteinere ses assentanz²; si attendy tanqe la damoiselle vit lombre de luy en mireour et se torna vers luy et luy demanda quoi voloit.³ Et il respondy qil voloit estre ses amis. Et elle demandoit sil estoit chiualer; et il dit qe nanil. "Donques," dit elle, "ne purrez vous estre mes amis. Mes alez vers voz compaignons et faitez vous faire chiualer; et demain ieo yssey hors de cienz et vous irray a deuant. Et moy venez baiser en la bouche et naitez point de pour, qar ieo ne vous ferray point de mal. Et combien qe vous semble qe 30 soie hideux a voiere, ceo est par enchantement, qar ieo suy tielle come vous ore voerez. Et si vous me baisez, vous auerez tot ceo tresour, et serrez mon baroun et sire de cestez isles."⁴ Et sur ceo il sen party, et ala vers sez compaignons en la nief et luy fist fare chiualer. Puis H.f.6. venoit lendemain a deuant la damoiselle pur la baiser. Et quant il la vist issir de la caue en fourme⁵ si terrible, il eust si grant pour qil fuy sa voie tanques a la nief. Et elle suy apres, et quant elle vist qil ne retorneroit vers luy, si⁶ commença a crier et braier come dolente, et retorna ariere⁷; et tantoust cis chiualer morust. Et vnqes puis nul chiualers ne la poent veoir qils ne fuissent tantoust mortz. Mes, quant y vendra chiualer⁸ si herdyz qe lose aler baiser, il ne morra mie, mes⁹ conuertera la damoiselle en sa droite fourme et serra sire de pais.

Et puis vait al isle de Rodes, qe ly Hospitlers tignent et gouernent. Celle isle ils tolirent al emperour en temps iadyz. Et soloit cest isle estre appelez Collos, et vncore lappellent les Turkis ensi. Et seint Poul en ses epistres escreuoit a eaux de celle isle, *Ad Collosenses*. Ceste isle est bien viii^e lieues loinz de Constantinople, en passant parmy la meer.¹⁰

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¹ From the Colossus.

² se il voloit rien, G.

³ si, S. G.; se, H.

⁴ aincois, S. G.

¹⁰ ccc. lieues de long. De Constantnoble en passant parmi ceste isle et parmi la mer len va en Chypre, ou, etc., G.

² recevoir les compaignons, S.; recevoir les compeignons, G.; resseyuere ses assentaunz, R.

⁴ ceste isle, S. G.; cestez, over "celle," H.; cels islez, R.

⁷ et retorna ariere, om. G.

⁵ venir en fourme, G.

⁸ chiualer, over erasure, H.; vn, S. R.; chiualer, G.

CHAPTER V.¹

[*Of diversities in Cyprus; of the road from Cyprus to Jerusalem; and of the marvel of a fosse full of sand.*]

FRA þis ile of Rodes men passez in to Cypre, whare er many vynes, of þe whilk es made noble wyne and myghty; þe whilk er þe first zere reed, and after a zere it turnez to whyte, and, ay þe elder it es, þe whittere it waxes and þe mare clere and mare myghty and þe better smell hase. Vnto Cypre men passez by a place þat es called þe Gulf of Cathaly,² þe whilk was sum tyme a grete cuntree and a faire, and a faire citee þerin, þat hight Cathaly. And all þat cuntree was lost thurgh foly of a zong man. For þer was a faire damysell whilk he luffed wele, and scho dyed sudaynely and was layd in a graue of marble; and for þe grete lufe þat he had to hir he went on a nyght til hir grafe and opned it and went in and lay by hir and zode his way. And at þe nynde moneth end a voice come to him on a nyght and said, "Ga to þe graue of þat womman and open it, and behald what þou has geten on hir. And, if þou ga noght, þou schall hafe grete harme and grete disese." And he went and opned þe grafe, and þer flewe oute a heued³ riȝt horrible and hidous to see, þe whilk flewe all aboute þe citee, and allsone it sank and all þe cuntree aboute it. And þare er many perilous passagez.

Fra Rodes to Cypre es nere v^o myle; bot men may wende to Cipre and noȝt com at Rodes. Cypre es a gude ile and a grete; and þare er many gude citez, bot principally foure. Þare er also three bischopes and ane f.12b. ercebischope. Þe ercebischope see es at Nicosy.⁴ Þe principale citee of Cypre es Famagost⁵; and þare es þe best hauen of þe see in all þe werld, for þare arrayues Cristen men and hathen and men of all nacions. And in⁶ Cypre es anoȝer hauen at þe citee of Lymettes.⁷ In Cypre also es þe hill of þe Haly Crosse; and þare es ane abbay of mounkes, and þare es [þe] crosse of þe gude theeffe Dismas, as I hafe said before. And sum trowes þat þare es þe half of þe crosse of oure Lord, bot it es noȝt so. In Cipre lyes sayn Genouefe, of wham men of þat cuntree makes grete feste and grete sollempnytee. And in þe castell of Amours liez þe body of saynt Hillarion, and men kepes it full wirschipfully. In Cipre men huntet with papiouns, þe whilk er

CHAPITRE V.

Des diuersitez en Cipre; del chemin de Cipre iusques a Ierusalem; et del merueille dune fosse plein dareyne.

DE celle isle de Rodes lem vait en Cipre, ou il y ad fortz vins; qi primer sunt rougez, et apres vn an deaignont blancz, et de tant come ils sont puis vielez de tant sunt ils puis blancz et puis cler et puis odorantz. Et passe homme par cel chemyn delez la goulf de Cathalie,⁸ ou il soloit auoir vne grande terre et vne bele cite, qauoit a noun Cathalie, la quelle cite et pais fuist perduz par la folie dun iefne homme. Qar il auoit⁹ vne damoiselle bele et faitese,¹⁰ la quelle morust sodeinement et fuist mise en vne sarken de marbre. Et pur le grant amour qil auoit en luy, il alast de noyt a sa tumbe et louery et entra et geust ouesqe luy et puis semparty. Et, quant il vient au chief de ix. mois, si venoit vne voiz a luy et luy dist, "Va a la tumbe de cielle femme et louerez, et regardez ceo qe tu as engendre en luy. Et gardez bien qe tu ne lessez, qar, si tu ne vais, mal te auendra." Ly queux y ala et ouery la tombe, dont y vola fors vne teste mult deffigree et hidouse, la quelle teste remua la cite et la pais, et tantoust la cite foundy en abisme. Et la il y ad mult perilouse passage et sanz fonz.

Et de Rodes a Cipre y ad bien v^o lieues¹¹ et puis; et homme iroit bien en Cipre sanz entrer a Rodes, qi voderoit, en lessant Rodes a couste. Cipre¹² est mult bele isle et mult grande; et y ad iiij. princepaulx cites. Et y ad vn archeuesqe a Nichocye,¹⁴ et iii. autres euesques en pays. Et a Famagost y ad vn des principalx portz de meer qi soit en monde. La ariuent Cristiens et Sarazins et gentz de touz nacions, et auxint a Limeezez.¹⁵ En Cipre est la montaigne de Seint Croiz, ou il y ad moignes noirs. Et la est la croiz de bon laroun Dismas, sicome ieo vous ay desuis dit. Et quident ascuns qe ceo soit la moitee de la croiz nostre Seigneur, mes noun est. Et font mal qi ensi font entendant. En Cipre gist seint Zenonime, de qi¹⁶ cils de pais font grant feste. Et en le chastel de Damurs gist le corps seint H.f.6b. Hillarien, et le garde homme mult deignement. Et pres de Famagost fuist neez seint Barnabe lapostre. En Cipre lem chace ouesqe papiouns,

¹ There is no division or rubric here in C., although the matter following is not covered by the rubric of ch. iv.

² Satalia, or Adalia, on the mainland, N. W. of Cyprus.

³ Nicosia, Lefkosia.

⁴ Limasol.

⁵ vn beal damoiselle, S.; vne belle damoiselle, G.

⁶ en lessaunt Rodes a costet Cipre, S.; en lessant Rodes. Et a couste Cipre, H.; en lessaunt Rodis. Et cest Cipres, R.

⁷ iii., G.

⁸ Genouefe, de qele, S.; Genouefe, de la quele, G.; Jerome, de qy, R.; Zenomyne, C.

⁹ Famagosta.

¹⁰ Satalie, S.; Sathalie, G.; Chatalie, R.; Cathaillye, C.

¹¹ ii^e lieues, G.

¹² Nicossie, S.; Nichosie, G.; Nichotie, R.

¹³ an eddere, C.

¹⁴ And in—Lymettes, om. C.

¹⁵ amoit, G.

¹⁶ alimeezez, H. R.; et—limeezez, om. S. G.

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lyke to leoperds ; and þai take wylde bestes riȝt wele, 3a better and mare swiftly þan hundes. And þai er sum dele mare þan lyouns.¹ In Cipre es þe maner þat all men, bathe lordes and oþer, etez þaire mete apon þe erthe. For þai make pittes in þe erthe all aboute þe hall, depe to þe knee, and þai ger paue þam wele ; and, when þai will ete, þai ga in to þa pittes and settes þam doune. And þis es þe cause, for to be mare fresche ; for þat land es mare hate þan it es here. At grete festes, and for straunge men þat commez þider, þai sette burdes and fourmes, as men duse in þis cuntree ; bot þai ware leuer sitte on þe erthe.

In Cipre² þer es a laake half a myle fra þe see, þe water of þe whilk ilk a ȝere a certayne tyme congelez in to gude salt ; and þerfor schippes þat commes fra þe Haly Land commes þer away for to fraght þam with þat salt.

f.13. Fra Cipre men may Wynde by see and by land to Ierusalem ; and in a day and a nyght he þat has gude wynd may com to þe hauen of Tyre, þat now es called Surry³, and it⁴ es at þe entree of Surrie. Þare was sum tyme 10 a faire citee of Cristen men, but Sarzenes hase destruyd it a grete party ; and þai kepe þat hauen riȝt strangly, for drede þat þai hase of Cristen men. Men myght passe to þat hauen righter and better and com noȝt at Cipre, bot þai wende gladly to Cipre to rest þam þare on þe land and to refresch þam, and⁵ also to fraght þer schippes with salt, as I talde ȝow before, and to by þam oþer thinges þat þai hafe nede off to þaire liffing. At Tyre euen apon þe see syde men may fynd many rubies. And þare es also þe well of whilk haly writte⁶ saise þus, *Fons ortorum, puteus aquarum viuencium*. In þis citee of Tyre said þe womman Samaritane til oure Lorde þir wordes,⁷ *Beatus venter qui te portauit et vbera que suxisti*, þat es at say, “Blissed be þe wambe þe bare and þe pappes þat þou sowked.” And þare forgafe oure Lord þe womman of Cananee hir synnes. Before þe citee of Tyre was sum tyme þe stane whareon oure Lorde satte and preched ; and on þat stane was founded þe kirk of saynt Saueour. 20

And viii. myle fra Tyre apon þe see syde es þe citee of Saphon,⁸ or Sarepte, toward þe este. Þare was þe prophete Helyas wont for to dwelle ; and þare raised oure Lorde Iesus þe wydow son⁹ fra deed to lyue. And v. myle þeine es þe citee of Sydon, of whilk citee Dydo, þat was Eneas wyf after þe destruccion of Troy, was lady. And scho founded Cartage in Affryk ; the whilk es now called Dydoncato.¹⁰ In þe citee of Tyre regned f.13b. Achilles, Dydon fader. And xviii. myle fra Sydon es þe citee of Beruch.¹¹ And fra Beruch thre day iourneez es þe cytee of Sardyne. And fyue myle þeine es þe citee of Damasc.

qi semblent leopardz priuez, qi preignent trop bien les bestes sauages. Et sont vn poy puis grantz qe leoun et puis aigres¹² ; et preignent les bestes sauages puis asprement et puis aigrement qe chiens ne facent. Lem chace auxi ouesqe chiens domestes, mes les papions chacent puis aigrement. En Cipre ont ils vne manere qe seigneur et vadlet mangent par¹³ terre. Qar ils font faire fosses en terre enuiron les sales de parfond iusques a genoil, et les font bien pauer ; et, quant ils veullent manger, ils aylent¹⁴ dedeins et sasseont. Et puis homme mette la mape¹⁵ del autre couste sur le pauement. Qar ceo est la guise par de la pur estre puis freschement ; pur ceo qe la pais est puis chaud qil ne soit icy. Et as grandes festes et pur gentz estranges, sils vignont, ils font mettre bancz et tables, si come lem fait en cez parties ; mes ils amacent mieux a seoir a terre. 30

De Cipre vait homme par meer vers Ierusalem et vers les autres lieux¹⁶ qe les Sarazins tignont. Et est homme en vn iour et en vne noyt, qi ad bon vent, au port de Thir, qe maintenant homme appelle Sur,¹⁷ et est vn entree¹⁸ de Surie. Il y soloit auoir mult bele cite des Cristiens, mes les Sarazins lont destruit en grande partie ; et gardent le port¹⁹ mult curieusement pur le pour²⁰ qils ont des Cristiens et pur le tribut a leuer. Lem irroit bien puis droit a ceo port sanz entrer en Cipre ; mes lem vait volunters en Cipre pur soi reposer en terre ou pur prendre ascuns choses necessaires pur lour viure. La sur la rivage de la meer troue homme mult des rubiz et des grenas. Et la est la fontaigne dont seint escripture emparle, *Fons ortorum et puteus aquarum viuencium*. En celle cite de Thyr dit la femme a nostre Seigneur, *Beatus venter qui te portauit et vbera que suxisti*. La perdona nostre Seigneur les pecches de la femme Cananee. Deuant Thir soloit estre 40 la pierre sur quoy nostre Seigneur seoit et prechoit ; et sur celle pierre fuist foundez lesglise de seint Saueour.

Et a viii. miles de Thir contre orient sur la meer est la cite de Serphen²¹ en Sarepte de Sidoniens. La soloit demorer Helies le prophetes. La resussita il Jonas²² le filz a femme veue. Et a v. miles de Serphen est la cite de Sidon,²³ de la quelle cite Dido estoit, qestoit femme Eneas apres la destruccioun de Troie et qi fonda la cite de Cartage en Affrike. Et ore appelle homme Sidon Saiete.²⁴ Et en la cite de Thir regna Agenor²⁵ le pierre Dido. Et xvi.²⁶ miles de Sidon est Beruth. Et de Beruth a Serdenar²⁷ y ad trois iournes. Et de Serdenar y ad v. lieues a Damasce.

¹ and þei taken more scharpelych the bestes and more delyuerly þan don houndes, C.

² Sûr.

³ Canticles, iv. 15.

⁴ and þere reysed he [sc. Elijah] Jonas the widwes sone, C.

⁵ Beyrout.

⁶ ils sailent, S.; il saillent, G.; ils alent, R.

⁷ Surrie, S.; Sur, G. R.; Surrye, C.

⁸ paige, S. G.

⁹ Jonas le prophete, G., omitting “il.”

¹⁰ Acheus, S.; Atheus, G.; Agenor, C.

¹¹ and it—Surrie, om. C.

¹² St. Luke, xi. 27.

¹³ et puis aigres, om. S. G.

¹⁴ mette la nape, S.; met la nape, G.

¹⁵ al entre, S. G.

¹⁶ Saropheu ou Sarapte, S.; Sarpheu, ou Sarepte, G.; Sarphen, C.

¹⁷ Sigon, S.; Sydon, G.

¹⁸ xviii., S.; xvii., G.; xvi., C.

¹⁹ In Cipre—þat salt, om. C.

²⁰ and—before, om. C.

²¹ Sûrafend.

²² and now is cleped Sydon Sayete, C.

²³ ensemble par, G.

²⁴ isles et lieux, S.; illes, G.

²⁵ la porte, S. G.

²⁶ Saite, S.; Sacce, G.

²⁷ Saderna, S.; Sardena, G.

Qwha so wil ga langer tyme on þe see and com nere to Ierusalem, he schall go fra Cipre by see vnto porte Jaff, for þat es þe next hauen to Ierusalem. For fra þat hauen to Ierusalem es noȝt bot a day iournee and a half. Þare es þe citee of Joppe; bot it es called Jaffe after ane of Noe sones, þat hight Japhet, whilk founded it. And sum men saise it es þe eldest citee of þe werld, for it was made before Noe flude. And þare er banes¹ of a geaunt, þat hight Andromedes; and ane of his ribbes es xl. fote lang. Wha so arryues at þe first hauen of Tyre or of Surry, whilk I spakke off before, he may, if he will, ga by land to Ierusalem. And he sall ga to þe citee of Acon,² þat was sum tyme called Tholomayda, a day iournee fra Tyre. And it was a citee of Cristen men sum tyme, bot now it es destruyd for þe maste party. And fra Venice til Acon es by see ii^m and iiij^{xx} [2080] myle of Lumbardy; and fra Calabre, or fra Cicil, til Acon es i^m and ccc. myle. And þe ile of Grece³ es riȝt in þe mydde way. Beside þe citee of Acon toward þe see, as it ware sex [score] furlangs þeine, on þe riȝt hand toward þe south es þe hill of Carmele, whare Helyas þe prophete dwelled. And þare was þe order of frere Carmes first founded. Þis hill es noȝt riȝt grete ne hie. At þe fote of þis hill was sum tyme a gude cytee of Cristen men, þat men called Cayphas,⁴ f.14. because þat Cayphas founded it; bot it es now all wasted. And at þe left syde of þe hill es a toune þat men calles Saffre,⁵ and it es sette apon anoȝer hill. Þare was sayn Jame and sayn John borne; and in þe place of þaire birthe þer es a faire kirke standand. Also fra Acon til a hill þat men calles Scale de Tyre⁶ es a c. furlangs.

And be syde of Acon rynnnes a litil riuier, þat men calles Belyon,⁷ and þare nere es þe fosse of Mynon, all rounde, þe whilk es nere hand a c. cubites large; and it es all full of grauell. And if þer be neuer so mykil taken on þe ta day, on the morue it es als full as euer it was; and þat es a grete meruaile. And þer es euermare grete wynd in þat fosse, þat stirres all way þe grauell and makez it to buyle vp. And if a man putte þerin any metell, it turnez alssone in to glasse. Þis grauell es schynand, and men makes þeroff gude glasse and clere. Þe glasse þat es made of þis grauell, if it be putte agayne in to þe grauell, it turnes agayne in to grauell, as it was first. And sum saise þat it es a swelgh of þe Grauelly See. Men commes fra ferre cuntreez with schippes by see and with cartes by land to fecche of þat grauell.

Et qi voet aler pluís loins par meer et pluís approcher a Ierusalem, homme⁸ vait de Cipre au porte de Iaffe.⁹ Ceo est la pluís pres part de la cite de Ierusalem, qar de ceo port iusques a Ierusalem ny ad qe vne iournee et demie. Et est la ville appelle Iaffe pur vn des filz Noie, qi auoit a noun Iaffet, qi la fonda; et maintenant est appelle Iaffe.¹⁰ Et sachez qe Iaffe est la pluís anxienne cite et ville qi soit en mounde, qar elle fuist fondee deuant la fluuie¹¹ de Noe. Et vncore y piert en la roche la ou les cheynes de feer furount attachez dont Andromade¹² vn grant geant fuist mis en presone auant la fluuie de Noe, de quelle geant los dune de ses coustes ad xl. piez de long. Et qi ariue au primere port de Thir ou de Sur, dont iay parle, il vait par terre, sil voet, iusques a Ierusalem. Et vait de Sur iusques a la cite Dacoun¹³ en vn iour, quelle cite soleit estre appelez Tholomaida.¹⁴ Et estoit vne cite des Cristiens mult bele iadys, mes elle est forement gaustee. Et siet sur la meer. Et de Venise iusques a Acoun¹⁵ par meer y ad m^lm¹ et iiij^{xx} lieues¹⁶ Lombardeles; et de Calabre ou de Cecile iusques a Acoun¹⁷ par meer y ad m^lccc. lieues Lumberdeles. Et lisle de Crete est droitement en mie voie. Et pres de celle cite Dacoun¹⁸ vers la meer a vi^{xx} stadies, en¹⁹ la detre partie vers mydi, est le mont Carmelyn,²⁰ ou Helies le prophete demorroit. Et la fuist primerement troue lordre des Freres Carmes. Celle montaigne nest pas grande ne halte. Et a pie de celle montaigne soleit auoir vne bele cite et bone des Cristiens, qe homme appelloit Cayphas, purceo qe Cayphas lauait fonde; mes elle est anques toute gauste. Et a sinistre de mont Carmelin y ad vne ville²¹ qad a noun Saffre, assise sur vn autre montaigne. La furent neez seint Iake et seint Iohan; et en lieu de leur natiuitee est vn bele esglise. Et de Tholomaida, qore ad a noun Acoun,²² iusques a la grant montaigne qest appelle la sealle des Thirs²³ y ad c. stadies.

Et delez ceste cite Dacoun²⁴ court vne petite riuere, qad a noun Beleon.²⁵ Et la delez est le fosse Mennon.²⁶ Ceo est vn fosse reonde, qad c. cubitz²⁷ de large; et est²⁸ tote pleine daregne lusant, de la quelle homme faite voirre bele et clere. Et vient²⁹ homme quere celle aregne par meer en niefs et par terre en chariotz. Et, quant homme ad forement desemplie³⁰ celle fosse de celle aregne, lendemain elle est ariere auxi pline come deuant; et ceo est grant meruaile. Et totdys y ad grant vent en celle fosse, qi remesne³¹ totdys laregne et la fait tourneboiller³² merueillousement. Et qi mettroit ascun metal en ceo fosse entre my laregne, ceo metal se conuerteroit en voirre. Et luy voirres auxint qest fait de celle aregne, si homme le mette ariere en celle fosse, il deuient aregne come deuant. Et dient ascuns qe celle fosse est vne espiral de la Meer Arenouse.³³

¹ irene cheynes, C., and otherwise following H. literally.

² i. e. Crete, as in C.

³ Scala Tyrionum, or Râs en Nâkûrah, north of Acre.

⁴ Japh, S.; Jasphe, G.

⁵ Adromand, S.; Adiormandi, G.

⁶ Athon, G.

⁷ Dathon, G.

⁸ ville, S. R.; cite que len appelle, G.

⁹ Schale de Tus, S.; Scalle de Tir, G.; Scalle dez Thirs, R.; Scalle of Thires, C.

¹⁰ Belecoun, S. R.; Belnon, G.; Belon, C.

¹¹ est, om. H.

¹² remuet, S.; remuent, G.; remegne, R.

¹³ Haifa, or Caiffa.

¹⁴ Belus, Wâdy Abellin.

¹⁵ Joppe, S.; Jappe, G.

¹⁶ Daton, G.

¹⁷ mil iiij^{xx} lieues, G.

¹⁸ en—partie, om. G.

¹⁹ Athon, G.

²⁰ Menneon, S. G.; Mennon, C.

²¹ vet, S.; va, G.

²² trouler, S. G.

²³ Acre, Akka, or Acco Ptolemais, 27 miles south of Tyre.

²⁴ Sepphoris, Seffûrieh.

²⁵ homme—Jerusalem, R.; om. H.

²⁶ deluge, G.

²⁷ Thalamayda, G.

²⁸ Athon, G.

²⁹ Carmelion, S. G.

³⁰ Dathon, G.

³¹ toises, G.

³² et qi forment desemple, G.

³³ arenouse, S. G. R.; om. H.

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Also fra Acon before said gase men three day iournez to þe citee of Palestyne, þat now es called Gaza, and it es a full faire citee and full of riches and of folk. Fra þis citee til a hill withoute bare Sampson þe forte þe zates of þe citee, þe whilk ware made of brasse. And in þat citee he sloghe þe kyng in his palays and many oþer also aboute iij^m, and himselfe with þam. For þai had taken him and putte oute bathe his eghen, and culled f.14b. off his hare, and putte him in prisoun. And at þaire festes þai broght him furth before þam and made dance before þam and make iapes. So on a hie feste day, when he was wery for [þat he] danced before þam, he bad him þat ledd him þat he suld lede him to þe post þat bare vp all þe hous; and he tuke þe post in his armes and schoke doune all þe hous apon þam, and so he sloghe himself and all þat ware þerin, as it telles in þe bible in xvi. chapetre of *Judicum*. Fra þis citee¹ men may ga to þe citee of Gerare, and so to þe castell of Pilgrimes, and so to Ascalon, and þan to Iaff, and so to Ierusalem. 10

He þat will ga first to Babilone whare þe Sowdane dwelles to hafe leue for to passe mare surely thurgh þe cuntreez and for to ga to þe mount Synay before he com to Ierusalem and þan turne agayne to Ierusalem, he sall ga fra Gaza to þe castell of Ayre.² And þan a mau passez oute of Surry and enters in til wildernes, whare þe way es riȝt sandy. And þat wildernes lastes viii. day iournez. Neuerþeles men schall fynd all way by þe way all þat þam nedes of vitailles. Þis wildernes es called Acchelek. And, when a man commes oute of þis deserte, he enters in til Egipte, whilk also es called Canopak; and in an oþer langage it es called Merfyne. And þe first gude toune þat men fyndes es called Balbeor³; and it es at þe end of þe kyngdom of Halope. And fra þeine men gase til Babilon and to þe citee of Caire.

Item Dacoun⁴ desuisdit len vait en quatre⁵ iours a la cite de Palestine, qi fuist de Philestens; et maintenant est appelle Gaza, ceo est a dire cite riche,⁶ et est mult bele cite et bien puepplie et siet vn poy a desus la meer. De celle cite emporta Samson le fort les portes sur vne haute tetre,⁷ quant il fuist pris en celle cite. Et si occist en palais le roi et ly mesmes et mult des meillours⁸ des Philestenx, qi lauioient oueoglez, ses chiueux tonduz, et puis emprisonnez. Qar ils se mokeient de luy, et pur ceo il fist tresboucher la maison sur eaux. Et de la vait homme a la cite de Cesaire et puis a chaustel des Pelerins et puis a Ascolonge⁹ et puis a Iaffe¹⁰ et a Ierusalem, qi veot. 20

Et qi veot primerement aler par terre¹¹ a Babiloine ou le Soudan demoere comunement¹² pur impetrer grace¹³ de ly pur aler pluis seurement par le pais ou pur aler a mont de Synay auant qe lem aile a Ierusalem et puis retourner par Ierusalem, adonques y vait homme de Gaza au chaustel Daire. Et puis ist homme de Surie et entre homme as desertz, ou les chemins sont mult zablenous. Et cis desert dure bien viii. iourneez, mes totdys troeue homme hosteleries sur le chemin par iournes, ou homme troeue ceo qe meistier est de touz choses necessaires pur viure. Et homme appelle¹⁴ ceo desert Alhilet.¹⁵ Et, quant homme ist hors desert, homme entre en Egipte et appelle homme Egipte Canopac; et solonc autre langage homme appelle Merfyn.¹⁶ Et troeue homme primes vne bone ville qad a noun Balbor¹⁷; et est au fyn de reialme de Halappe. Et de la vait homme a Babiloine et a Cair. 30

¹ i.e. Acre. The proper order, from N. to S., of the places mentioned is Acre, Castellum Peregrinorum (i.e. 'Athlît), Cæsarea, Jaffa, Ascalon, and Gaza.

² Daron, Darum.

³ iiii., S. G.

⁴ milers, S.; milliers, G.; tot milia, Boldensele.

⁵ par terre, om. G.

⁶ appelle, S. G.; om. H.; interl. R.

⁷ Mersin, S.; Merlin, G.; Marsyn, R.; Morsyn, C.

⁸ Belbays.

⁹ noble et riche, G.

¹⁰ Ascalon, S. G.

¹¹ couient, S.; il le couient, G.

¹² Achilek, S.; Achillek, G.; Alhylet, R.; Achelleke, C.

¹³ Balbetz, S.; Galbetz, G.; Belethe, C.; Belteis, Boldensele.

¹⁴ dathon, G.

¹⁵ terre, S. R.; tertre, G.

¹⁶ Japheth, S.; iasphe, G.

¹⁷ lettres de grace, S.

CHAPTER VI.

[Of manye names of Soudans; and of the Tour of Babiloyn.]

IN Babilon es a faire kirk of oure Lady, whare scho dwelled viii. 3ere, when scho fledd oute of þe land of Iudee for drede of Kyng Herode. And þare lies þe body of þe haly virgyn sayn Barbara, and þare dwelled Ioseph, when his breþer had salde him in til Egipte. And þare¹ also gert kyng Nabugodonosor putte þe three childer in þe fyre, forþi þat þai held þe riȝt beleue. And þase childer hight Anany, Azary and Mysael, as þe psalme saise of *Benedicite*. Bot Nabugodonosor called [þam] oþer names, þat es at say Sydrak, Mysak and Abdenago, whilk er þus mykil to say, Godd glorious, Godd victorouse, Godd ouer all kyngdomes; and þat by cause of þe myracle þat he sawe, when he sawe Goddes son ga with þase childer vp and doune in þe fire. At Babilon es comounly þe dwellyng of þe sowdan in a faire castell and a strang, sette apon a hie roche. ¹⁰ In þat castell er all way dwelland, for to kepe þe castell and to serue þe sowdan, ma þan viii^m men,² þat takes all þaire necessities of þe courte of þe sowdan. þe maner of his courte schold I wele ynogh ken; for I dwelled a lang tyme with þe sowdan and was sowdiour with him in his weres agayne þe Bedoynes. And he wald hafe married me richely with a grete prince doghter and giffen me many grete lordschepes, so þat I wald hafe forsaken my byleue and turned to þaires; bot I wald noȝt.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe sowdan es lord of fyue kyngdomes, whilk he has geten by conquest and appropere vntil him. And þir er þai:—Egipte; and þe kyngdom of Ierusalem, of whilk Daudid and Salomon ware kynges sum tyme; Surry, of þe whilk þe citee of Damasc was cheeff; þe kyngdom of Halope in þe land of Dameth; and þe kyngdom of Araby, of whilk ane of þe three kynges þat made offerand til oure Lord, when he was borne, was kyng. And many oþer landes he haldes in his hand. And ȝit ouer þis he es called Caliphes, ²⁰ þat es a name of grete dignitee and of grete worschepe,³ and it es mykill at say as kyng; for þe sowdan es of als grete auctoritee amanges þaim as þe kyng es here amanges vs. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þare was sum tyme fyue sowdanes, after þe noumer of þe fyue kyngdomes þat langes to þe sowdan þat es now. Bot now þer es bot a sowdan, þe whilk es called þe sowdan of Babilon.

CHAPITRE VI.

Des plusours nouns des Soudans; et de leur estre; et de la tour de Babiloigne.

BABILOIGNE y ad vne bele esglise de nostre Dame, ou elle demorroit vii. ans, quant elle fuy de la terre de Iudee pur le pour de Roi Herodes. Et la gist le corps de seinte Barbe virgine. Et la demorroit Ioseph apres ceo qil fuist venduz de ses freres. Et la fist Nabugodonosor mettre en feu⁴ les trois enfantz pur ceo qil estoient de bone foy, qestoient appelez solonc ebreu Ananie, Azarie et Misael, si come le psalme de *Benedicite* nome. Mes Nabugodonosor les appelloit autrement, ³⁰ Sidrac, Misaac et Abdenago, cest a dire Dieu glorious, Dieu victorouse,⁵ Dieu sur totes roialmes. Et ceo fuist pur le miracle qil vist le Filz Dieu, si come il disoit, aler ouesque ses enfantz parmy le feu. La demoert le soudan en son Calahelic,⁶ qar la est comunement la seige en vn beau chastel et fort et grant, assis sur vne roche; ceo est au Cair deles Babiloigne. En cest chaustel y ad tottys demorant, quant luy soudan y est, pur luy seruir et pur le chaustel garder, pluis de vi. mil persones, qont totes leur necessaires de la court del soudan, sanz ceo qil y ait guerre ne autre grant affaire.⁷ Ieo le doy bien sauoir, qar ieo demorray soudeour oue luy en ses guerres grant piece⁸ de temps encontre les Bedoins. Et me eust mariez mult hautement au file de prince terrien et done des grantz heritages, si ieo vosisse auoir renoie mon creatour; mes ieo nauoie talent pur nul auoir qil me poait promettre.

Et sachez qe le soudan est sires de v. roialmes, qil ad conquis et appropriez a luy par force. Ces sont le regne de Kanopac,⁹ ceo est Egipte; et le regne Ierosolomitan, dont Daudid et Salamon furent reis; et le regne de Surie,¹⁰ dont la cite de Damasce fuist chief; et le regne de Halappe en la terre de Mac¹¹; et le regne de Arabe, qi fuist a vn des trois rois qaloient affaire present a nostre Seignur, quant il fuist neez. Et plusours autres terres tient il en sa main. Et ouesque ceo il¹² est Califfes, qest mult grande chose en leur langage, et est ⁴⁰ tant a dire come roi. Il y soleit auoir v. soudans; et mainteignant il ni at qe celluy de Egipte.

¹ A confusion between Babylon of Egypt, or Cairo, and Babylon of Chaldaea.² he holdethe Calyffes, þat is a fulle gret thing in here langage, C.³ uertueus, G.⁴ en son chastel beal et fort et grant, assis sur vn roche, ceo est a Kaire, S.; en son chastel, car la est comunement li sieges en vn beau chastel. Car la est comunement assis, etc. G.; en soun chalahelic, qar la est, etc., R.; in his Calahelyke, etc. C.⁵ qil ad a guerre et autre affaire, S.; que il guerre ne autre a faire, G.⁶ Conepat, S.; Canopart, G.; Canapak, C.⁷ qil, S.⁸ et le regne de Surie—chief, om. S. G.⁹ chose. Soudan en leur langage est, S. G.¹⁰ viii^m persones, C.; circa sex milia personarum, Bold.¹¹ fournaise, G.¹² pece, S.; partie, G.¹³ Damieth, S.; et de la terre de damiethe, G.; Mathe, C.

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þe first sowdan of Egipte was called Yaracon, and he was Saladyne fader; þe whilk was sowdan after Yaracon, þe same tyme þat kyng Richard was in þase cuntrez with his oste of Cristen men. After Saladyn regned his son Boradyn, and after him regned his neuw. Qwhen he was deed, þe comoun pople of Egipte thoȝt þam ouer mykill thrallid and bun in awe, and sawe þat þai ware strang by cause of þe multitude of þam, and went and chose þam ane of þaim self for to be þaire sowdan; and he was called Melechsala. And in his tyme Lowice þe kyng of Fraunce went in to þe Haly Land and faght with þe sowdan; and þare þe king was taken and putte in prisoun. þis same sowdan afterward was slayne with his awen seruands and anoþer was chosen in his steed, þe whilk was called Tympieman. And he raunsouned Kyng Lowice and deliuerd him oute of prisoun. Afterward ane of þe comouns, þat hight Cothas, slew Tympieman and was made sowdan for him; and he gert call him Melechomethos. Wham sone after anoþer of þe comouns, Bendochdaer by name, slewe and regned in his steed; and he was called Melechdaer. In his tyme þe gude kyng Edward went in to Surry and didd grete 10 harme to þe Sarzenes. þis same sowdan was puysond at Damasc and died þare. And after him his son wald f.16. hafe regned as next ayr, and gert call him Melechsyt. Bot sone þer come anoþer, þat hight Elphy, with mykill folk and drafe Melechsyt oute of þe land and made him self sowdan. He tuke þe citee of Triple and slewe many Cristen men þerin in þe ȝere of oure Lord m'cclxxix.¹ Afterwardes he, þis Elphy, was puyssound thurgh anoþer þat coueitid to be sowdan; and he also was slayne sone afterward. And þan þai chose til þaire sowdan þe son of Elphi and called him Melechesserak. He tuke þe citee of Acoun and schotte oute of it all þe Cristen men þat ware þerin. Afterward he died of puyssoun, and his broþer regned for him and was called Melechinasser. Sone after ane þat hight Guytoga tuke þis sowdan and empresound him in þe castell of Mount Reall and regned in his steed as sowdan; and he was called Melechadell. He þis, by cause he was ane aliene, þat es at say a 20 Tartarene, was putte oute of þe land; and anoþer, þat hight Bathyn, was made sowdan, and was called Melechynanser. þe whilk on a day, as he playd with anoþer at þe chesse and his swerde standand drawn besyde him, fell at debate with þe toþer, and the toþer hent his awen swerde and slew him þerwith. And afterward þer was grete discorde amanges þam for the chesing of anoþer sowdan. At þe last þai ascended all þat þe forsaid Melechinasser, wham Guytoga had empresound before in þe castell of Mount Reall, schuld be þaire sowdan. þis ilk Melechinasser regned a lang tyme and gouerned him wonder wysely, so þat, after þe decesse

Et le primer soudan fuist Xaracon,² qi fuist de Mede et fuist piere a Sahaladin; qi prist le Califfe de Egipte et loccist et fuist soudan H.f.8. par force. Puis fuist soudan Sahaladin, en qi temps le roi Richard Dengleterre y fuist³ ouesqe plusours autres, qi garderont le passage qe Sahaladin ne poait passer. Et apres Sahaladin regna son filz Boradin⁴; et apres son neuu. Puis ly Comainz,⁵ qi estoient come serfs en Egipte, sentirent lour poair grant et elisoient vn soudan de eaux, le quelle se fist appeller Melethsalan.⁶ Et en son temps entra el pais le 30 roi de Noun Tympieman.⁷ Et cis fist⁸ deliuerer seint Lodowiz de prisone pur raunceoun. Et puis vn autre de ces Comainz reigna, qauoit noun Cachas,⁹ et occist Turqueman pur estre soudan. Et se fist appeller Melechemees.¹⁰ Et puis [fuist] vn autre, qauoit noun Bendochdar, qi occist Melchemees¹¹ pur estre soudan et sappella Melechdar.¹² En son temps entra ly bon¹³ roi Edward Dengleterre en Sirie et fist grant damage as Sarazins. Et puis cis soudan fuist empoisonnez¹⁴ a Damasce, et son filz quidoit reigner apres luy par heritage et se fist appeller Melechsach¹⁵; mes vn autre, qauoit noun Elphi, le chacea fors de pais et se fist soudan. Cely prist la cite de Trepelle¹⁶ et destruit mult des Cristiens lan de grace m'cc quatre vintz et ix.¹⁷ Puis fuist il emprisonnez¹⁸ dun autre, qi voloit¹⁹ estre soudan; mes cilz fuis tantoust tue. Apres fuist le filz Elphi eslit soudan et sappella Melethssaseraf²⁰; et cis pris la cite de Acoun²¹ et enchacea touz les Cristiens. Cil fuist auxi empoisonnez,²² et fuist son frere fait soudan et appelle Melechnasser.²³ Et puis vn appelle Guytoga²⁴ le prist et mist en prisone en chaustel de Montriual²⁵ et se fist soudan par force et sappella Melechcadell²⁶; et cilz estoit Tartarinz. Mes le Comainz le 40 chaceront hors dul pais et firent vn de lour soudan, qauoit noun Lachin²⁷; et cil se fist appeller Melechmanser.²⁸ Le quel ieuoit vn iour as esches, et sa espeie gisoit delez luy, si qe vn se coroucea a luy et de sa propre espeie loccist. Apres furent ils a grant descord affaire vn soudan, et finalment ils sacorderont a Melechnasser, qi Guytoga auoit mis en prisone a Montreual. Cil reigna longement et se gouerna

¹ mill cc. liiii. score and ix. C.

² Noradin, S. G.

³ Melletsesa, S.; Mellechsasa, G.; Melethsalan, C.

⁴ Caphas, S.; Cathas, G.; Cachas, C.

⁵ Mellechinese, S.

⁶ bon, om. G.

⁷ Triple, S. G.

⁸ cuidoit, G.

⁹ emprisonnes, G.

¹⁰ Mont Real, S.; Montroyal, G.; Mountryuall, C.

¹¹ Mellechmander, S.; Melchinander, G.

¹² Saxatron, G.; Zaracon, C.

¹³ li Comay, S.; li Comain, G.; ly Comains, R.; the Comaynz, C.

¹⁴ Turpinam, S. G.

¹⁵ Melletchine, S.; Melchinese, G.; Melchemeez, R.; Melechemes, C.

¹⁶ et sappella Melechdar, om. S.; et puis—Melechdar, om. G.

¹⁷ emprisonnez, G.

¹⁸ et ix., om. G.

¹⁹ Melleschasserak, S.; Mellechchasseralz, G.

²⁰ Mellechinasser, S.; Mellechnasser, G.

²¹ Mellechcadell, S.; Melchiadel, G.; Melechcadell, C.

²² issi, S. G.

²³ fit, S.; fist, G. R.; fuist, H.

²⁴ Mellethfait, S.; Mellechsait, G.; Meleschsach, C.

²⁵ enpoisones, S.

²⁶ Dathon, G.

²⁷ Guitoga, S.; Guincoga, G.

²⁸ Latyn, S.; Latin, G.; Lachyn, C.

of him, his eldest son was chosen sowdan, and he was called Melechinader. Qwham his broþer gert sla priuely
16b. and regned in his steed, and gert call him Melechmandabron. And he þat was sowdan when I parted oute
of þat land.

þe sowdan may lede oute of Egipte ma þan xx^m men of armes; and oute of þe rewme of Surry and of Turkey,
and oute of oþer rewmes þat er vnder his subieccion he may bring ma þan l. thousand men of armes. And all
þai take þaire wagez and all þat þaim nedes of þe sowdan, þat es to say ilk ane of þam takes 3erely vi^{xx} florenes;
bot ilk ane of þam buse hald three horses and a camell. And þare er ordaynd amanges þam in diuerse citeez
and tounes certayne persouns, þe whilk er called admyralles; and ilk ane admyrall sall hafe at his ledyng
foure or fyue or sex men of armes, and sum ma. And ilke ane admyrall sall take als mykill by him self as all þa
þat er vnder him. And for þi, when þe sowdan lykes to avaunce any man of gude þat es with him, he makes 10
him ane admyrall. And if any derth com in þe cuntree, þan pure knyghtes and sodyours selles þaire hernays
for mischeeffe.

þe sowdan has three wyfes, of þe whilke ane sall be a Cristen womman and þe oþer twa Sarezenes.¹ And ane
of þir wyfes sall dwell in Ierusalem, anoþer at Damasc, and þe thridd at Ascalon. And, ay when him list, he
gase to visit þam, and vmqwhyle ledes þam aboute with him. Noght forþi he has lemmanes, als many as him list
haue; for, when he comes till any citee or toun, he gers bring before him all þe nobilest and þe fairest
maydens of þe cuntree nere aboute, and he gers þam be keped honestly and wirschipfully. And, when he will
f.17. hafe any of þam, he gers þaim all be broght before him, and wha so es maste lykand till him, he sendes till hir
or takes þe ryng off his fynger and castez till hir. And þan sall scho be tane and waschen and bawmed and
wirschipfully cledd and after souper be broght till his chaumbre. And þus he duse ay when he will. Before 20
þe sowdan sall na straunger com þat he ne sall be cledd in clathe of gold or tars or in chamelet, a maner of
clething whilk þe Sarzenes vse. And als sone as he has sight of þe sowdan, be it at wyndow or elleswhare, him
behoues knele doune and kisse þe erthe; for swilk es þe maner þare to do reuerence to þe sowdan, when any
man will speke with him. And, when any straungers commes till him in message oute of ferre landes, his men
sall stand aboute him with drawen swerdes in handes, and þer handes vp on loft, to stryke þam doune, if þai
speke any thing þat displesez þe sowdan. þare sall na straunger com before him for to ask him any thing þat ne
his asked sall be graunted him, if it be resounable and noȝt agayne þaire lawe. And riȝt so duse all oþer princez

sagement, si qe le eisnez filz fuist eslit apres luy² Melechmader, le quel son frere fist occire secretement pur auoir le seignurie et se³ fist
appeller Melechmadabron.⁴ Et cils fuist soudan quant ieo men parti.

Item luy soudan poet bien mesner hors de Egipte puis de xx. mille hommes darmes; et de Surie et de Turkie et des autres pais qil
tient il empuet trere puis de l. mille. Et touz cils sunt a sez gages; et cils sunt totdis a luy sanz les genz de son pais,⁵ qi sunt sanz
nombre. Chescun ad bien pres de vi^{xx} florins par an; mes sur ceo il couient chescun tenir trois chualx et vn camail. Et par les cites et
par les villes sunt admirals, qont a gouernir celle gent; lun ad agouernir iiii.,⁶ lautre v.,⁷ lautre puis, lautre meins. Et atant prent luy admiral
par luy tout soul come totes autres soudeours dessouz luy ount. Et pur ceo, quant luy soudan voet⁸ ascun vaillant chualer auancer, il le
fait amiral. Et, quant il fait chier temps, les chualers sunt poures et vendent lour chualx et lour hernois.

H.f.8b. Item ly soudan ad iiii.⁹ femmes, vne Cristiene et trois¹⁰ Sarazines, dont lune demoere a Ierusalem, et lautre a Damasce, et lautre a
Ascolone; mes elles se transment bien en autres cites. Et, quant il voet, il les va visiter. Et si ad des amies tantz come il veoit. Qar
il fait vner deuant luy les puis belles et les puis nobles damoiselles de son pais et les fait garder et seruir mult honorement. Et, quant il
voet vne auoir pur coucher ouesqe luy, il les fait totes vner deuant luy et regarde par tout laquelle luy plect mieus, et a celle il enuoie ou
chiet¹¹ lanel de son doy. Et tantoust homme la meigne baigner et vestir et asseiner¹² noblement, et la noit homme la meigne en sa 40
chambre.¹³ Et ensi fait il totefoitz, quant il plect. Deuant le soudan nul estrange¹⁴ vient, qi ne soit vestiz de drape dor ou de tartaire ou
de camaka¹⁵ en la guise qe les Sarazins sunt vestuz. Et si couient qe, tantoust qe homme le veit primes, soit as ffenestres ou autre part, qe
homme sagenoille et qe homme baise la terre; qar ceo est la guise affaire reuerence de ceux qi voillent parler a luy. Et, tant come
estranges messagers sunt deuant luy et parlent a luy,¹⁶ les gentz au soudan sunt entour eaux ouesqe espeiez tresetes et gysarmes et haches,
les bracz tot leuez en haut, pur ferir sur eaux, sils dient chose qi despleise au soudan. Et auxint nul estrange vient deuant luy, qi
luy fasce ascune requeste, qil nel ottoie, pur quoi qil soit resonable et ne deuient contre sa loy. Et ensi font les autres princes par dela;

¹ iiii. wyfes, on Cristene and iii. Sarazines, C.

² son frere—et se, om. S.

³ paleis, S.; paiz, G.

⁴ voet, S. R.; veult, G.; voit, H.

⁵ gette, S. G. R.

⁶ estrange, om. G.

⁷ apres li et fut appelle Mellechmador, S; apres lui et fut appelle Melchinador, G.

⁸ Mellechmada, S.; Melchinanda, G.; Melechmadabron, C.

⁹ iiii^e, S. G.

¹⁰ iii, S. G.

¹¹ aourner, S. G.

¹² Tartaryn ou de Camoca, S.; tartarin ou de camoquas, G.

¹³ v^e, S. G.

¹⁴ ii, S. G.

¹⁵ et la noit—chambre, om. S. G.

¹⁶ et parlent a luy, om. G.

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and lordes in þat cuntree; for þai say þat na man suld com before a prince þat he ne schuld passe gladder away þan he come þiderward.

And wit 3e wele þat þis Babiloyne of whilk I speke now, whare þe sowdan es dwelland, es noȝt þe grete Babilon, whare þe confusioun of tunges was made, when þe toure of Babilon was in makynȝ; þe walles of þe whilk ware lxiiii. furlanges hye, and it es in þe desertes of Araby, as men gase toward þe kyngdom of Caldee. Bot it es lang sen any durst com nere þat wricched place; for it es waste and so full of dragouns and nedders and oþer venymous bestes, þat þare dare na man com nere it. Þe sercle of þe toure with þe compas of þe citee f.17b. þat was þare sum tyme contenen xxv. myle aboute, as þai say þare in þat cuntree. And if all it be called a toure, þare ware sum tyme within it many faire edificaciouns, þe whilk er now destruyd and noȝt bot wilderness. And 3e schall vnderstand þat it was made foure square, and ilka¹ square contened sex myle and mare. Þis ilke 10 toure made Nemprot, þat was kyng of þat land; and men saise þat he was þe first erthely kyng þat euer was. He gert also make ane ymage in mynde of his fader, and comaundid all his subgetes to wirschipe þat ymage. On þe same wyse did oþer grete lordes aboute; and on þis maner began ydolatry first. Þat ilke citee of grete Babilon was sette in a faire playne, þe whilk was called Sennaar felde, apon þe ryuer of Eufates, þat ran thurgh þe citee þat tyme. And þe walles of þe citee ware cc. cubites hie and l. cubites thikk. Bot efterward Syrus, þe kyng of Perse, withdrew þe water and destruyd þe citee and all þe cuntree þare aboute. He departed þe grete riuer of Eufates, and gert it rynne in ccc. and xl. diuerse ways. For he had made his grete athe and sworne so greuously þat he schuld bring it to swilke a state þat wymmen schuld mow wade ouer and noȝt wete þaire kneesse²; and so he did. And þe cause was for in þat ryuer þer ware oft tymes many of his worthiest men drowned. 20

Fra þat Babilon þer þe Sowdan dwelles for to passe north este to þe grete Babilon er xl. day iourneez thurgh deserte. And þat Babilon es noȝt in þe subieccioun of þe Sowdan, bot within þe lordschippe of þe kyng of Perse. And it es halden of þe grete Caan, þe whilk es a grete emperour, 3a þe grettest of þe werld, for he es f.18. lord of þe grete Ile of Cathay and of many oþer cuntreez, and of a grete party of Inde. His land marchez with Prestre Iohn land; and he has so grete lordschippes þat he knawes nane end of þam. He es gretter and

qar ils dient qe nul ne deuoit venir deuant Prince, qi ne vaille mieux, et doit estre plus leez au departir de sa presence qil nestoit al venir deuant luy.

Et sachez qe ceste Babiloigne dont ieo vous ay parle, ou le soudan demoere deleez,³ nest mie la grande Babiloigne, la ou les diuerses langages furent controuez⁴ par miracle de Dieu, quant le grant Tour de Babel estoit commence affaire, ou les murs estoient ia faitz lxiiii. stadies de haut; qi est as grantz desertz de Arabe sur le chemyn quant homme vait vers le roialme de Caldee. Mes il ad long temps qe 30 homme nosoit a pres approcher la tour; qar il est⁵ tote deserte, et y ad des dragons et des grantz serpentz et de diuerses bestes venouses.⁶ Celle tour ouesqe la cite auoient bien xxv. lieues de circuit des murs, si come cils de pais dient et si come lem puet estimer et comprendre, Et, combien qe homme appelle la Tour de Babiloigne, nientmeins il estoient ordenis plusours mansions et plusours habitations grandes et leez.⁷ Et contenoit celle tour grande pais de circuit, qar la tour seulement contenoit x. lieux de quarreure. Celle tour founda le roi Nembrok, qi fuist roi de celluy pais, et ceo fuist le primer roi de monde. Et fist faire vne ymage en noun de son pierre, et constreignoit totes ses subgitz⁸ a laorer. Et lors comenceront autres seignurs affaire auxint; et ensi comenceront⁹ les ydoles et simulacres. La tour et la cite estoient mult bien assises et en beau pais et plain, qe homme lappelle la plain de Semaar.¹⁰ Les murs de la cite auoient cc. cubitz de H.f.9. haut et l. cubitz despes, et courroit la riuer Deufrate parmy la cite et la tour auxint.¹¹ Mes Sirus,¹² le roi Persains, lour toly la riuer et destruit toute la cite et la tour auxint; qar il departi la riuer en ccc. et lx.¹³ petites riuerettez. Qar il auoit iurre qil mettroit la riuer en tiel point qe vne femme¹⁴ la passeroit bien sanz soy¹⁵ desuestier, purceo qil auoit perduz plusours vaillanz hommes, qi quidoient passer la 40 riuer, par noir.

Et de Babiloigne ou luy Soudan demoere a aler droit entre orient et septentrion vers ceste grande Babiloigne y ad bien xl. iournes a passer par le desert. Et si nest mie cest grande Babiloigne en la terre ne en poair de Soudan, auques est en poair et en la seignurie de Persie; mes il tient¹⁶ de Grant Chan. Ceo est le grant emperour et plus souerainz de tous les parties de la, et est sires del isle de Cathay, des mointes autres isles et de grande partie de Ynde. Et marchist sa terre a la terre Pretre Iohan; et tient tant de terre qil ne sciet les confines,

¹ ilk ilka, MS.; and þat tour conteyned gret contree in circuyt, for the tour allone conteyned x. myle square, C.

² myghte wel passe þere withouten castynge of of hire clothes, C.

³ les langages furent mues, G.

⁴ et larges, S. G.; Et lez contenoit, R.

⁵ Comar, S.; Somar, G.; Samaar, R.; Samar, C.

⁶ en ccc. et lx.—riuer, from R.; om. H.

⁷ il est tenutz, S.; tenus, G.; il le tient, R.

⁸ est, om. H.

⁹ tous les gentz, S.; subgez, G.

¹⁰ et—auxint, om. S. G.

¹¹ qomme ne femme, S.

¹² les le Chaire, G.

¹³ venimouses la enuiron, S. G. R. So C, "alle abouten.

¹⁴ autres—comenceront, om. G.

¹⁵ Sirus (sc. Cyrus), om. S.; Syrus, G.; Cirus, R. C.

¹⁶ soi, S.; soy, G. R.; ceo, H.

myghtier þan þe Sowdan withouten comparisoun. Of his grete state and magestee I think to speke afterwarde, when I com þerto.

In þe grete desertes of Araby es þe citee of Meek,¹ and þare ligges þe body of Machomete full wirschipfully in a temple þat þe Sarezenes calles Musket.² And þis citee es fra Babilon whare the Sowdan dwelles xxxii. day iournees. And 3e sall vnderstand þat þe rewme of Araby es riȝt large; bot it hase þerin many desertes, þe whilk may noȝt wele be inhabit for defaute of water. For þa desertes er so drie and sandy þat þar may na thing grow in þam. Bot þare whare þe land es inhabit þer er riȝt mykill folk. Araby strechez fra þe end of Caldee to þe last end of Affric, and it ioynes apon Ydumee toward Botron.³ þe cheeffe citee of Caldee es Baldak⁴; and of Affric þe cheeffe citee es Cartage, þe whilk Dydo founded, þat was þe wyf of Eneas, first kyng of Troy and seyne of Italy. Mesopotamy also marchez apon þe desertes of Araby; and it es a grete cuntree, in þe whilk es þe citee of Aran, whare Abraham þe patriarch dwelled sum tyme. Of þis citee was þe grete clerk Effrem and Teophill, whilk oure Lady delyuerd oute of þe thraldom of þe fende, as men may fynd writen in þe buke of þe f.18b. Miracles of oure Lady. Mesopotamy lastez fra þe ryuer of Eufrete to þe riuer of Tygre, for betwix þa twa riuers ligges þat rewme. And beȝond Tygre es þe kyngdom of Caldee, þe whilk es a grete cuntree and a large. In þat cuntree, as I said before, es þe citee of Baldak, in þe whilk Caliphes was wont to dwell, þat was pope and emperour of þat folk, þat es at say lord of temperaltee and of spiritualtee. And he was successour of Macomete and of his kynredyn. þis citee of Baldak was sum tyme called Susis,⁵ and Nabugodonosor founded it. þare dwelled Danyel þe prophete, and sawe oft tymes many visiouns of Godd; and þare he interpretid þe kynges dremes. Fra⁶ Saladyn þe Sowdan hiderward hase þe Caliphes bene called Sowdanes.

Babilon þe lesse, whare þe Sowdan dwelles, and þe citee of Caire, þat es negh þerby, er bathe grete citeez and faire. And þe tane of þam es sett apon þe ryuer of Gyon, þat es also called Nilus, and it commes oute of Paradys terrestre. þis ryuer ilka ȝere, when þe sonne entres into þe signe of Cancre, begynnes for to flow, and so

et est⁷ plus grande et plus puissant sanz comparsoun qe ly soudan ne soit. Et de sa puissance et de son estat ieo parleray plus pleinement, quant ieo parleray de la terre et de pais de Ynde.

Item la cite de Methon,⁸ ou Macomet gist, est auxi des⁹ grantz desertz de Arabe. La gist le corps de luy mult honurement en lour temple, qe lez Sarezens appellent Musket. Et y ad de Babiloigne la meindre, ou le soudan demoere, iusques a Methon¹⁰ desuisdit bien xxxii. iournees. Et sachez qe le roialme¹¹ de Arabe est mult grant pais, mes trop y ad de desert et ne poit homme habiter en ceo desert¹² pur defaute deawe. Qar ceo est tote terre zablouse et seche et nest point fructuose, pur ceo qil ny ad point de humiditee. Et pur ceo y ad tant de desert; qar, sil eust des riuers et des fontaignes et la terre fuist si come elle est autre part, elle fuist tot pueplie des gentz auxi bien la come ailours, qar il y ad grande multitude des gentz la ou les terres sunt habitables.¹³ Arabe dure des fins del roialme de Caldee iusques a drenir fyn¹⁴ de Affric, et marchist a la terre de Ydumee¹⁵ vers la fin de Botron. Et en Caldee la maistre cite est Baldak; et Daffric la maistre cite est Cartage, qe Dido la femme Eneas fonda, li quel Eneas fuist de Troges¹⁶ et puis fuist roi de Ytalie. Mesopotamie tient¹⁷ auxi ad desertz de Arabe; et est mult grant pais. En ceo pais est la cite Darrain,¹⁸ ou le pere Abraham demorroit et dont Abraham sen parti par commandement dul Angel. Et de celle cite fuist Affraim,¹⁹ qi fuist vn grand clerc et vn grant doctour; et Theophilus ent fuist auxi, qe nostre Dame sauua del enemy. Et dure Mesopotamie de la riuer de Eufrete iusques au fluie de Tigris, qar elle gist entre celles deux riuers. Et vltre celle riuer de Tigre est Caldee, qest mult grant roialme. En ceo roialme a Baldak dessuisdit soleit demorer luy Califfes, qi soleit estre come emperour et papes Darrabiens, sires de temperil et de spirituel. Et estoit successour de Machometh et de sa H.f.9b. generacioun. Celle cite de Baldak soloit estre appelez Sutiz.²⁰ Nabugodonosor la fonda; et la demora seint Daniel le prophete, et la vist il moine auisioun diuine, et la fist il exposicioun de songes.²¹ Il soleit auoir en temps passez iii. Califfes. Cis Darrabiens et de Caldiens demorroit²² en la cite de Baldak desuisdit; et a Cair delez Babiloigne demorroit le Califfe des Egipcien²³; et au Marrok sur la meer doccroit demorroit le Califfe des Barbariens et de Affricaux. Et maintenant il ni ad plus point de Califfe del temps al Soudan Sahaladin, qar de celle temps le soudan mesmez²⁴ sappella Califfe. Et ont meintenant les Califfes perduz lour noun.

Item sachez qe Babiloigne la meindre, ou le soudan demoere, et la cite de Cair, qest delez, sunt mult grandes cites et multz beles, et siet lune bien pres de lautre. Babiloigne siet sur la riuer de Gyon, autrement appelle Nil, qi vient de Paradis terrestre. Celle riuer de Nil touz les anz, quant le solail entre en signe de Cancre, elle²⁵ commence a croistre, et croist totdiz tant come²⁶ le solail est en Cancre et

¹ Mecca.

² Bagdad.

³ The passage omitted here is given in C., beginning, "And in old tyme þere were wont to be iii. Calyffez, he of Arabye and he of Caldee; and þei dwelled in the cytee of Baldak aboveseyd," and otherwise closely following H.

⁴ as, S.; ou, G.; of the, C.

⁵ ne poet estre habitez ceste desert, S. G.

⁶ de Inde, S.; Dinde, G.

⁷ Daram, S.; de Aram, G.; Araym, C.

⁸ songes, S. G. R.; sompnez, over erasure, H.

⁹ et demorroient, H. R.; cis dez Arabiens et cis de Calde demura, S.; celui des Arrabiens et celui de Caldee demoura, G.

¹⁰ Ethiopiens, S. G.

¹¹ elle—cancr, om. S.

¹² Mosque.

¹³ Susa. Its identification with Bagdad is, of course, an error.

¹⁴ est, om. H.

¹⁵ Musket, S.; Musquet, G.

¹⁶ enhabitez, S.; habitez, G.

¹⁷ Troie, S. G.; Trois, R.

¹⁸ Effrem, S.; Effrey, G.; Effraym, C.

¹⁹ qar de lors li soudan Sahaladin sappella Caliphe et ensi ont il perduz le noun de caliphe, S.; and so G

²⁰ come—grande, om. S.

²¹ El Buseirah, Bozra.

²² Mech, S.; Mechque, G.; Methone, C.

²³ les roialmes, H.

²⁴ darrain flun, G.

²⁵ se extent, S.; sestent, G.

²⁶ Sutys, S.; Sucis, G.; Sutis, C.

it flowes continually als lang as þe sonne es in þat signe and in þe signe of Lyoun. It flowes so þat sum tyme it es xx. cubites depe, and þan it ouerflowez all þe land and oft tyme duse mykill harme to placez þat ligges nere þe ryuer. For þer may na man þat tyme labour aboute tillinge of land, and swa þer falles oft sithes grete derth of corne in þat cuntree by cause of ouer mykill wete. And on þe same þer fallez grete derth, when þat ryuer rysez noȝt bot lytill, by cause of ouer mykil drught. And, when þe sonne entres þe signe of Virgyn, þan begynnes f.19. Nilus to decreesse vntil þe sonne entre in to þe signe of Libre, and þan it haldez it within þe bankes. Þis ryuer, as I said before, comes oute of Paradys and rynnnes thurgh þe desertes of Inde, and þan it synkkes doune into þe erthe and rynnnes so vnder þe erthe a grete cuntree and comes vp agayne vnder a mountayne þat hat Alloche, þe whilk es betwix Inde and Ethiope, as it ware fyue moneth iournees fra þe entree of Ethiope. And þan it rynnnes all aboute Ethiope and Mauritanie and so all þe lenth of Egipte to þe citee of Alexander; and þare it 10 entres in to þe see at þe end of Egipte. Aboute þis ryuer er grete plentee of fewles þat er called in Latyne Ciconie or Ibices.

CHAPTER VII.

[*Of the contree of Egipt; of the brid Fenix of Arabye; of the cytee of Cayre; of the connynges to knowen bawme and to prouen it; and of the gernerres of Joseph.*¹]

THE land of Egipte es lang, bot it es narowe; for men may noȝt inhabit it on brede for desertes, where grete defaute es of water and perfore it es inhabit on length endlang þe forsaid riuer. For þai hafe na moisture bot þat þe forsaid ryuer ministers; for it raynes noȝt þare, bot þe land es ower flowed þerwith certayne tymes of þe ȝere, as I said before. And for þare es na trubling of þe aer thurgh raynes, bot þe aer es þare all way faire and clere withouten cloudes, perfore þer was wont to be þe best astronomyers of þe werld. Þe 20 forsaid citee of Cayre, in þe whilk þe Sowdan dwelles, es besyde þe citee of Babilon, as I talde before, noȝt bot a lytill fra þe forsaid riuer of Nilus toward þe desertes of Surry. Egipte es diuysed in twa parties; þe ta party es

en Leon. Et croist en tiele manere qelle est auscunefoithz si grande qe elle ad bien xx. cubitz de parfond, et fait adonques grant damage des bienz desure terre. Qar homme ne poit adonques laborer les terres pur grant humiditee, et pur ceo il y ad chier temps el pais. Et auxi² quant elle croist poy, il y ad chier temps el pais pur defaute de moisture. Et, quant le solail entre el signe de Virgine, adonques comence la riuere a descroistre petit et petit, si qe, quant le solail entre el signe de Libre, adonques elles entre dedeins ces riuieres.³ Ceste riuere vient corrant de Paradis parmy les desertz de Ynde, et puis fiert en terre et court longtemps et grant pais dessouz terre, et puis ist hors dessouz vne montaigne qe homme appelle Aloch,⁴ qest entre Ynde et Ethiope a v. mois des iournes del entree de Ethiope. Et puis elle enuironnie Ethiope et Morikane,⁵ et vait tot along de la terre de Egipte iusques a la cite de Alisandre a la fyn de Egipte, et la se gitte en la meer. Entour ceste riuere y ad multz des oisax sigoignes,⁶ qils appellent Ibies. 30

CHAPITRE VII.

*Del pais de Egipte; de Fenix Arabie; de la Cite de Chair; de la conusance de basme; et de les greners Joseph.*⁷

EGIPTE est long pais et estreit; qar ils ne se poient enlanger vers le desert pur defaute deaue. Est ly pais assis tot along de celle riuere de Nil. Qar de tant come celle riuere le poit seruir par diluie ou autrement,⁸ et tant come ly floit se poient espandre parmy ly pais, tant est ly pais largez. Qar y ne pluyt point ou poy en ceo pays, ne ils nont point de eawe, si ceo nest de celle riuere. Et pur ceo qil ne pluit point en ceo pais, mes est totdis ly aiers purs et clers, pur ceo ad y bons astronomiens en ceo pais; qar ils H.f.10. ne troeuent nulle nuee qi les empesche. Item la cite de Caire est pluis grande qe celle de Babiloigne, et siet a dessure vers le desert de Sirie vn poy a dessure⁹ la riuere dessuysdite. En Egipte y ad deux parties, la haute qest vers Ethiope, et la basse qest vers Arabe. En Egipte est la

¹ This rubric, though found in C., is omitted in the edition of 1725 and in subsequent reprints, Ch. v. covering Ch. vi.-viii. as here printed.

² et auxi—el pais, om. S. G.

³ Aloth, S. G. C.

⁴ De terra et patria Egipti, S.

⁵ ces (sc. ses) miers, S.; en ses riuies, G.; between theise ryueres, C.

⁶ Moritanez, S.; Moretaine, G.; Morecane, R.

⁷ par—autrement, om. S. G.

⁸ cigoignes, S.; signez, G.

⁹ desoutz, S.; dessoubz, G.; above, C.

betwix Nilus and Ethiopie, and þe toþer betwix Nilus and Arabie. In Egipte es þe cuntree of Ramesses and
 f.19b. þe cuntree of Gesen, whare Iacob þe patriarc and his offspring dwelt. Egipte es riȝt a strang cuntree; and
 many perlious¹ hauens er þerin, for þer lies in ilke a hauen many grete craggess of stane in þe entree of þam.
 Egipte hase on þe este syde þe Reed See, þat rynnes vnto þe citee of Couston. And on þe west syde es þe land of
 Liby, þe whilk by cause of ower mykill hete es barayne and beres na maner of fruyte. On þe south syde es
 Ethiopie, and on þe north es þe grete desertes, þat lastez vnto Surry. And þus is Egipte strang on ilke a syde.
 þe land of Egipte hase on lenth xv. day iourneeȝ and on brede bot thre, withouten desertes. Betwix Egipte and
 þe land þat es called Numid er xii. day iourneeȝ in desertes. þe folk þat wones in þat cuntree er called Numidianes,
 and þai are cristned. Bot þai er blakk of colour; and þat² þai hald a grete bewtee, and ay þe blakker þai er þe
 fairer þam think þam. And þai say þat, and þai schuld paynt ane aungell and a fende, þai wald paynt þe aungell 10
 black and þe fende qwhite. And, if þaim think þam noȝt black ynough when þai er borne, þai vse certayne
 medecynes for to make þam black withall. þat cuntree es wonder hate, and þat makes þe folk þeroff so black.

In Egipte er v. cuntreeȝ, ane þat es called Sahit, anoþer Demeser, þe thridd Resich, and it es ane ile in þe
 riuer of Nilus, þe ferthe es Alisaunder, þe fift es Damiete. þe citee of Damiete was sum tyme riȝt strang; bot
 it was taken twys thurgh Cristen men, and þerfore afterwardeȝ þe Sarezeneȝ kest doune þe walles þeroff and of all
 f.20. þe castelles in þat cuntree. And þai made anoþer citee apon þe see syde³ and called it New Damiete. At þis
 cite of Damiete es ane of þe hauens of Egipte and anoþer at Alisaunder, þe whilk es a strang citee and a wele
 walled. Bot þai hafe na water bot þat commes in cundites fra þe riuer of Nilus. And þerfore, and men withdrew
 water fra þam, þai myght na while endure. In Egipte er bot fewe castelles, for þe cuntree es strang ynogh
 of þe self. 20

In þe deserte of þe land of Egipte a haly hermite mette on a tyme a beste forschapen; for it had þe schappe
 of a man fra þe nauel dunward⁴ and fra þeine vpward þe schappe of a gayte, with twa hornes standand on þe
 heued. þe hermite asked him in Goddes name, what he was; and þe beste answerd and said, "I am a creature
 dedly,⁵ as Godd hase made me, and in þis deserte I dwell and gase to gete my sustinaunce. Wharfore I pray
 þee, hermite, þat þou will pray to Godd for me, þat he þat come fra hauen till erthe for þe saluacioun of mannes
 saule, and was borne of a mayden, and sufferd hard passioun, thurgh wham we all liffe, stirres, and hase beyng,
 þat he hafe mercy on me." ȝit es þe heued of þat beste with þe hornes halden and kepted at Alisaunder
 for a miracle.

terre de Ramasses et la terre de Gessen. Egipte est vn fort pays; qar il y ad mult des mauaises portz pur cause des grantz roches qi sunt
 fortz appasser. En Egipte deuers orient est la Rouge Meer, qi dure iusques a la cite de Coston. Et deuers occident est la terre de Libie, qest 30
 mult sechche terre et poy fructuose, qar elle est trop chaude; et est celle terre appelle Futh.⁶ Et deuers midi est Ethiopie, et deuers bise est
 ly desert, qi dure iusques a Sirie; et ensi est le pais fort a touz cousteȝ. Il y ad bien xv.⁷ iournees de long et puis de ii. tant desert; et ni ad
 qe iii.⁸ iournees de large. Et entre Egipte et Nubie y ad bien xii. iournees de desert. Et sunt les Nubiens Cristiens, mes ils sunt noirs come
 More⁹ pur la grande chaleur de solail.

En Egipte y ad v. prouinces. Lune ad a noun Sahit¹⁰; lautre Demeser¹¹; lautre Resich,¹² qest vne isle en Nil; lautre Alexandre¹³,
 et lautre la terre de Damiete. Celle cite soleit estre mult forte; mes elle fuist deux foithȝ gaineȝ des Cristiens, et pur ceo abaterent puis
 les Sarazins les murs et les forceresses. Et firent vne autre cite puis loinz de la meer, et lappellent la Nouvelle Damiete, si qe nulles
 demorrent a la veille¹⁴ Damiete. La est vn des portȝ de Egipte, et lautre est a Alexandre, qest mult forte cite. Mes ils nont point deawe
 pur boire, si elle ne vient par conduit de Nil, qentre en lour cisternes. Et qi lour housteroit celle eawe, ils ne purroient durer. En
 Egipte y ad poy des forceresses, pur ceo qe le pais est fort de luy memes.

As desertȝ de Egipte¹⁵ encontra vn seint prodhomme heremite vn monstre, auxi come vn homme as ii. grant cornȝ trenchantz en front,
 et auoit cors de homme iusques al vmbrilioun¹⁶ et dessouz auoit le corps come chieure. Et ly prodhomme luy demandoit, qil estoit; et ly
 monstre respondy, qil estoit creature mortelle tiele qe Dieu lauait crie et demorroit en ces desertȝ en purchaciant sa sustinance.¹⁷ Pria al
 heremite qil vousist celluy Dieu prier pur luy, qi pur sauuer le humaigne lignage¹⁸ descendy de ciels et nasqui de la pucelle et passioit et
 mort soeffrist, si qe nous le sauons et par qi nous viuons et sumes. Et vncore est la teste ouesques les cornȝ de ceo monstre a Alexandre pur
 le meruaille. 40

¹ shrewede, C.

² more fer from the see, C.

³ so also C.; meaning "mortal."

⁴ deux, S.; ii., G.

⁵ Damaser, S.; Danceser, G.; Demeser, C.

⁶ ville, S., omitting Damiete; a la vielle, G.

⁷ substance, G.

⁸ and that—black withall; an interpolation, neither in the French texts nor in C.

⁹ the words "dunward" and "vpward" should be transposed.

¹⁰ Fuch, S.; Fusthe, C.

¹¹ Mors, S. G.

¹² Resithe, C.

¹³ de Damiet, S.; de Damiethe, G.

¹⁴ gendre, S.

¹⁵ xl., S. G.

¹⁶ Sahye, G.; Sahythe, C.

¹⁷ lautre Resich—Alexandre, om. S. G.

¹⁸ vmbril, S.; nombril, G.

The Buke of John Maundeuill.

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In Egipte also es a citee þat es called Eliople, þat es als mykill at say as þe citee of þe sonne. In þis citee es a temple round in þe maner of þe temple of Ierusalem. Þe preste of þe temple has writen in a buke þe date of a fewle þat men calles Fenix; and þer es bot ane in all þe werld. And þis fewle liffes fyue hundreth zere; f.20b. and at þe fyue hundreth zere end he commes to þe forsaid temple and apon þe awter he brynnes him self all to powder. And þe preste of þe temple, þat knawes by his buke þe tyme of his commyng, makes þe awter redy and lays þerapon diuerse spicerie and sulphure viue, and stikkes of þe iunipre tree, and oþer thinges þat will sone brynne. And þan the fewle commes, and lightes apon þe awter, and fannez with his wenges ay till þe forsaid thinges be sett on fire; and þare he brynnes him self all till asches. On þe morue þai fynd in þe asches as it ware a worme; on þe secund day þat worme es turned till a fewle perfetely fourmed; and on þe thridd day it flies fra þat place to þe place whare it was wont to dwell. And so þer es neuermare bot ane. Þis ilke fewle betakens 10 oure Lord Ihesu Criste, in als mykill as þer es bot a Godd, þat rase on þe thridd day fra deed to lyfe. Þis forsaid fewle es oft tymes sene ayrand aboute, when¹ þe weder es faire and clere; and þai say þare þat, when þai see þat fewle sore in þe aer, þai sall afterward hafe gude zeres and miry, for þai say it es a fewle of heuen. And þis fewle es na mare þan ane egle of body. He has on his heued a creste as a pacok, bot it es mykill mare þan þe creute of a pacok. His nekke es ȝalow, and his back es ynde colour; his wenges er reed, and his taile es barred ouerthwert with grene and ȝalowe and reed. And in þe sonne he semes wonder faire, for þir er þe colours þat er fairest schewand.

In Egipte er placez whare þe erthe beres fruyt viii. tymes² in þe zere. And þare þai fynd in þe erthe þe fairest smaragdes þat er ower whare; and þat es þe cause þat þai er so gude chepe þare, forby in oþer places. f.21. Also, if it fall þat it rayne anes in þe sumer, þan all þe land of Egipte es full of mysz. At þe citee of Caire 20 þai bring to þe markett men and wymmen þat er of oþer cuntrees borne and sellez þam comounly, as men duse bestes in oþer cuntrees. Also þer es in þe citee of Caire a comoun hous ordaynd and made full of holes,³ as it ware hen nestes; and þider þe wymmen of þe cuntree bringes egges of hennes and geese and dukes, and layes þam in þe nestes. And certayne persones er ordaynd to kepe þat ilke hous and to couer þaim with warme hors dung; and thurgh þe hete of þe hors dung þe egges bringges furth briddes withouten sitting of hen or any oþer fewle. And at þe end of iii. or iiij. wekes þe wemmen commes þat broȝt þider the egges, and beres away þe briddes and bringes þam vp as þe maner of þe cuntree askes. And þus es all þe cuntree replenyscht with swilk maner of fewles. And þus þai do als wele in winter as in somer.

In þat cuntree men selles in a certayn tyme of þe zere lang appels, þe whilk men of þat cuntree callez apples of paradyse; and þai er swete and deliciouse in þe mouthe. And, when men scheres þam in diuerse 30 partys, euermare in þe middes of þam es funden þe figure of þe crosse. Bot þai will be roten within viii. dayes; and þerfore þai may noȝt be caried into ferre cuntrees. The treessez that beres þam hafez lefes of a fute brede

En Egipte est la cite de Eliopole,⁴ cest a dire la cite de solail. En celle y ad vne temple fait reonde a la guise de temple de Ierusalem. Luy preistres de ceo temple ad par escript la date del oysel qad a noun Fenix, qi nest qe vn soul en monde, et se vient la arder sur laulter de ceo temple au chief de v^e ans, qar tant vit il. Ly preistres apparille et met sur cel aulter espices⁵ et soufre vif et autres choses qi legerement enflaument, si qe ly oisel se vient ardoir tot en cendres. Et le primer iour apres lem troue as cendres vn verm; et le secund iour lem troue loisel tot parfait; et le tiercz iour il sen vole. Et ensi ni ad tot dys qe vn oisel soul de celle nature; et vrayment ceo est grant miracle de H.f.10b. Dieu. Et puet homme comparer cel oisel a Dieu, en ceo qe ni ad Dieu fors qe vn soul, et en ceo qe nostre Seignur resuscita le tiercz iour. Cest oisel veit homme souent voler en celles parties. Et nest gairs puis grant dun aigle; et il ad vn crest sur la teste puis grant qe vn pauon, et ad col tout iaune de la colour dun oriel⁶ bien lusant, et le dos de ynde, et les ailes de purpre colour, et la cove reget⁷ de trauers 40 de iaune⁸ et de rouge. Et est tres belle a veoir au solail, qar il tresluyt mult noblement.

Item en Egipte y ad auxi gardins qi portent fruit vii. foitz lan. Et si troue homme en terre mult des belles emeraudes assetz; et pur ceo sunt ils a grant marchee. Item, quant il pluyt vn foitz en estee en la terre de Egipte, adonques deuient le pays tot plein de sores. Item a Chair vent homme comunement hommes et femmes dautre ley, si come lem fait icy des bestes, au marchee. Et si ad y vne meson comune en la cite qest toute plein des petites forneaux; et la portent les femmes de la ville lour oefs des gelincs, de owes et des anettes pur mettre en ces forneaux. Et cils qi gardent la maisoun les coeuerent⁹ par chalour de fiens de cheual sanz geline et sanz autre oysel; et au chief de iii. sismaignes returnent et preignent lour poucinz et les norissent, si qe tot le pais en est plains. Et ceo fait homme en yuerne et en estee.

Item en ceo pais et autre part homme troue pommes longues a vendre en la saison, et les appelle homme pommes de paradyse; et sunt douces et de bon sauour. Et, si vous les copes en plusours parties de trauers, tot dis trouerez en milieu la figure de la crois seignur. Mes elles purissent dedeins les viii. iours; et pur ceo ne puet homme porter de ceo fruit en lontan pais. De celles lem troue bien c. en vne 50

¹ when—fewle of heuen, not in C.

⁴ Cleophe, S. G.; Eliople, R.; Elyople, C.

⁷ roietz, S.; roielee, G.

² vii. tymes, C.

⁵ espinez, G.

⁸ de iaune—noblement, om. S. G.

³ of smale furnes, C.

⁶ oisel, S.; de la—oriel, om. G.

⁹ coyuent, S.; et la maison les coue, G.

and a halfe; and comounly men may fynd a c. of þase appels on a clustre.¹ þare er also oþer appels þat er called Adam appels; and ilke ane of þam hase in þe ta syde a merk of teeth, riȝt as þai ware biten with mannes teethe. þer er also fige treezse þat beres neuer lefes; bot þai bere fruyte on þe bare braunches. And þai er f.21b. called Pharao fyges. A lytill fra þe citee of Caire es a felde whare in bawme growes apon smale brusches, as it ware of a fote height²; and þai er lyke vnto wylde wynes. In þis felde also er vii. welles, whare³ Criste in his ȝouthede was wont for to play him with oþer childer; and þare he schewed diuerse meruailes. þis felde es noȝt so wele closed þat ne men may go in þat will, oute taken þe tyme þat þe bawme growes; and þan þat felde es keped riȝt straytely. For it growes newer whare bot þare, nowþer in þat cuntree ne elleswhare. For, if all men take plantes or slyfynges þeroff and sett þam in oþer placez, þai may wele growe, bot þai sall neuer bere fruyte. The lefes of þe bawme smellis noȝt so wele as þe bawme self duse.⁴ þai cutte away þe deed braunches with⁵ 10 ane instrument made þerfore, bot noȝt of yrne; and þat instrument es called gaylounagon. If þat instrument ware of yrne, it wald corruppe þe vertu and þe kynde of þe treezse, as it has oft bene proued by experience. Men of þat cuntree, what tyme þat felde sall be tilled, getes þam Cristen men for to tille it and to geder it; and elles þa treesz schold bere na fruyte, as þe Sarzenes saise þaim self and oft tymes has bene assayd. þe Sarzenes calles þe treessz þat beres þe bawme Enochbalse; and þe fruyt, þat es lyke vntill hostez, þai call Abebissam. Bot þe liquor þat distilles oute of þe braunches calle þai Oxbalse, þat es at say opobalsamum. Sum men saise þat þer growes bawme in Inde þe mare, in þe deserte þer þe treessz of þe sonne and þe mone spak till grete Alexaunder. f.22. Bot þat place hafe I noȝt sene by cause of þe perlious wayse þertill, and þerfore I can tell na soþe þeroff. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat men may lightly be begyled in þe bying of bawme, bot if þai hafe þe better connyng þerin. For sum selles a maner of gumme, þat es called Turpentyne, and puttes þerto a lytill bawme for to make it smell 20 wele. Sum also puttes⁶ þerto oile of þe tree or of þe beries of bawme and saise it es gude bawme. Sum distilles gariofles, spikenarde and oþer spiceries þat er wele smelland, and þe licour þat es distilled of þam þai sell in steed of bawme; and on þis wyse er many men dessayued, bathe lordes and oþer smaler men. For þe Sarezenes makes swilke sophisticaciouns for to dessayfe Cristen men withall, as I hafe oft tymes witen by experience. Marchandes also and apothecaries puttes þerto oþer sophisticaciouns afterward, and þan es it of lesse valu. Bot, if ȝow list, I sall schew ȝow how ȝe may proue and assay whilk es trewe bawme, and noȝt be dessaued. ȝe schall vnderstand þat balme þat es kyndely and gude es riȝt clere and ȝalow and hase a strang reffaire and a gude. And, if it be thikk, reed or blak, þan es it sophisticate. Also take a litill bawme and lay it on þe lufe of þi hand and hald it

trechche; et si ont grandes foilles de pie et demy de long et larges al auenant. Et troue homme auxi le pome⁷ q̄i ont vn mors al vn des coustes. Et y ont auxi figer, q̄i nont point de foille et portent les figes sur les ramis. Et les appelle homme les figes Pharaon. Item delez 30 Cair au dehors de celle cite est ly champ ou ly baume croist; et vient des petitz arbrasseoux q̄i ne sunt mie pluis hautz q̄e iusques a braier dun homme, et semblent de bois q̄e ceo soit de vine sauage. En champ y ad vii. fontaignes, dount nostre Seignor Ihesu Crist en fist vn de ses piez, quant il aloit iuer ouesques les autres enfantz. Ly champ nest mie si bien clos q̄e lem ne puisse bien entrer; mes en la saison q̄e luy baume y est lem mette de si bons gardes q̄e nul nose entrer. Ceo baume ne croist nulle part fors en cel lieu. Et, combien q̄e homme porte des plaunceons pur plantier autre part, ils croissent bien, mes ils ne fructifient point. Les foilles de baume ne flectrissent⁸ H.f.11. point. Et coupe homme les braunches dun cailou agu ou dun os agu, quant homme les voet tailler; qar, q̄i les tailleroit de fer, il corumperoit sa vertu et sa nature. Luy Sarazins appellent le bois Enochbalse⁹; et le fruit, q̄est come quibibes,¹⁰ ils appellent Abebissam¹¹; et la licour q̄i degoute des branches ils appellent Guybalse.¹² Et fait homme totdis curtiuer ceo baume des Cristiens, ou autrement il ne fructefieroit point, si come ly Sarazins mesmes le dient, qar ils lont souent esroue. Lem dit auxi q̄e ly baume croist en Ynde le maiour en ceo desert ou Alexandre parloit al abre de solail et de la lune; mes ieo nel ay mie veu, qar ieo nay pas estee tant auant, qar y ad trop des perilouses 40 passages. Et sachez qil se¹³ fait bien garder dachater baume, q̄i ne le sciet bien conustre et bien esrouer, qar homme purroit bien de leger estre desceu. Qar ascuns vendent vne gomme,¹⁴ q̄e lem appellent Terebentine, en lieu de baume, et y met homme vn poy de baume ouesque pur donner bon odour. Et ascuns mettent cuire en oile de boys del fruit¹⁵ de baume et dient q̄e ceo est baume. Et ascuns font distiller clous de girofle et spicnard et autres espices bien odorantz, et la licour q̄i sen ist ils appellent baume. Et ensi sunt mult grantz seignurs et autres desceuz et quidont en auoir baume, et ceo nest rienz. Qar les Sarazins le sophistekent pur desceuer les Cristiens, si q̄e iay veu plusours foitz. Et puis luy marchantz et luy apothecairs le sophistekent autrefoitz; et vaut vncore pis. Mes, sil plect, ieo vous moustray coment vous poez assaier et esrouer, a la fin q̄e vous ne soiez desceuz. Vous deuez sauoir q̄e ly naturelles baumes est bien cler et de colour citrin et bien fait¹⁶ odorant. Et, sil est espes ou rouge ou noirastres, il est sophestekes. Item, si vous mettez vn poy de baume

¹ fynden the mountance of a hundred in a bascat to selle, C.

² þat oure Lord Ihesu Crist made with on of his feet, whan he wente to pleyen, etc., C.

³ with a scharp flyntston [caillou aigu] or with a scharp bon, C.

⁴ la pome de Adam, S.; le pommier de Adam, G.

⁵ ethnolibalte, S.; ethnothbalse, G.; enochalse, R.; enonchbalse, C.

⁶ alebisma, S.; abebisma, G.

⁷ se, S. G. R.; ne, H.

⁸ bais oue le fruit, S.; le boiz ou le baume croist, G.

⁹ to a mannes breck girdill, C.

¹⁰ and the leues of bawme ne fallen noughte, C.

¹¹ putten wax [cuire, cire] in oyle of the wode of the fruyt, etc., C.

¹² flaticent, S.; fleurissent, G.

¹³ cucubes, S.; cubes, G.; quybybes, C.

¹⁴ gribalte, S. G.

¹⁵ graine, G.

¹⁶ fort, S. G.

in þe sonne; and, if þou may noȝt endure it na while for hete, it es gude bawme. Take also a litill bawme on þe poynt of þi knyffe and touche þe fire þerwith; and, if it brynne, it es a gude taken. ȝit take a drope of bawme and putte it in a dische or a coppe, and putte þerto gayte mylke; and, if þe balme be gude, alsone þe mylke sall
f.22b. leper.¹ Putte also a drope þeroff in clere water in a pece or in a clene bacyn and stirre þe water and þe bawme togyder; and, [if] þe water be clere after þe stirring, þe bawme es gude, and, if it be thikk and drubly, it es sophisticate. þe gude² bawme also es mykill stranger þan þat þat es sophisticate.

Now hafe I schortly talde ȝow sum what of bawme; and now will I tell ȝow of Joseph bernis, þat er ȝit in Egipte beȝond þe water of Nilus toward þe deserte þat es betwene Egipte and Affric. Þir er þe bernis of Joseph þat ware made for to kepe corne in for þe seuen barayne ȝeres þat ware betakned by þe seuen deed qwhete
eres, whilk kyng Pharao sawe in swefnyng, as þe first buke of Bible telles. And þai er made wonder craftily of
clene hewen stane. Twa of þam er wondre hie and wyde also, and þe remanand er noȝt so hie. Ilk ane of þam
hase a porche at þe entree. Þir ilke bernis er now full of nedders; and men may ȝit see writen on þam
withouten many scripturs of diuerse langagez. Sum men saise þat þai er graues of sum grete men in alde tyme;
bot þe comoun voice es þare þat þai er þe bernis of Joseph, and þat find þai in þaire cronicles. And sothely it es
noȝt likly þat þai schold be graues, in als mykill as þai er voyd within and hase porches before þam and ȝates.
And also graues schold noȝt by resoun be so hie.

In Egipte er diuerse langagez and diuerse letters and of oþer schappe þan er in oþer placez; and þerfore will
I here sette bathe þe letters and þaire sounes and þaire names, þat ȝe may knawe þe difference betwix þa letters
and letters of oþer langagez:—a, Athomanus; b, Binchi; c, Chinok; d, Dynam; e, Em; f, Fiu; g, Gomor;
h, Heket; i, Janiu; k, Karacta; l, Liuzamiu; m, Miche; n, Narme; o, Oldach; p, Pilon; q, Qyny; r, Rou; ȝ
s, Sicheu; t, Thela; v, Vr; x, Xyron; y, Ypha; z, Zarum; thi, Thou.

en vostre palme encontre le solail, sil est bon et fin, vous ne purrez soeffrer vostre main encontre le solail. Item preignez vn poy³ de baume ouesque la pointe dun cotiel et la touchez au feu; et, si larde, cest bon signe. Puis preignez auxi vne goutte de baume et mettez en vn escuelle⁴ ou en vn hanappe ou il ait lait de chieure; et, sil⁵ est droit baume, tantost ly lait acoillera⁶ et prendra. Ou mettez vne goutte en⁷ eawe cler en⁸ vne hanappe dargent ou en vne bascin clere et le mouez forement ouesque eawe clere; et, si le baume est verray, leawe ne troublera mie et, sil est sophestekez, leawe deuendra trouble. Et, si le baume est fin,⁹ il cherra au founz de vessel, auxi come ceo fuist vif argent, qar ly baumes fin est plus peisant¹⁰ deux foithz qe ne soit le sophestekez.

Ore ay ieo parle de baume, si parleray dune autre chose qest au dela Babiloigne vltre le fluuie de Nil vers le desert entre Affric et Egipte. Ces sunt les grainers Ioseph, qil fist faire pur les bledz garder pur les chierz ans. Et sunt de pierre mult bien maceonez.¹¹ Dont
les ii. sunt merueilleusement grantz et hautz; et ly autres ne sunt pas si grantz. Et chescun grainer ad vne porte pur entrer dedeins, vn poy
H.f.11b. hautelette de terre; qar la terre est gaustee et fonde depuis qe les grainers furent faitz. Et par dedeins ils sunt toutz pleinz de serpentz; et
sur ces grainers par dehors ad meintes escriptures des diuerses langagez. Et dient ascuns qe cez sunt sepultures des grantz seignurs de iadys¹²; mes ceo nest mie voirs, qar la comune renomnee est par tote le pais pres et loinz qe cez sunt les grainers Ioseph, et ensi lont ils escript en lour cronicles. Dautre part, si ces estoient tombes, elles ne fuissent mie voide par dedeins, ne il nen eust nulles portes pur entrer dedeins, ne tombes ne fuissent ia faitz de tiel grandesse ne de tiele hautesse. Pur quoi ceo nest mie a croire, qe ceo soient tombes.

En Egipte ils ont auxi diuerses langagez¹³ et diuerses lettres et dautre manere qils nen ont autre part; si vous deuiseray tielles come elles sunt et les nouns coment ils les appellent, au fin qe vous sachez la difference de celles et des autres:—a, Athomis; b, Bunchi; c, Chinok; d, Durani; e, Eui; f, Fui; g, Gomor; h, Heket; i, Ianni; k, Karatta; l, Luzanin; m, Mithe; n, Narm; o, Oldacl; p, Pilon; q, Qyn; r, Yron; s, Sichen; t, Thela; v, Vrmron; y, Yph; et z, Zarm; h, Thouch.¹⁴

¹ anon it wole take and beclippe the mylk, C.

⁴ vessel, S.; vaissel, G.

⁶ acoillera, S.; aquoillere, G.; om. H. R., a blank space being left in both MSS.

⁸ en—clere, om. S. G.

¹¹ mesorez, S.

¹⁴ Athemus, bimchi, chinok, duram, eui, fiu, gomen, heket, janny, karacka, lasamyn, . . . , much, narn, oldach, pylon, qin, yron, sichem, thela, wrmoron, yph, et zarm, thouth, S.; athenius, binchi, chinech, diuau, emy, fui, gemes, heldet, janin, kartha, luzanim, miche, narruin, oldach, pilon, qin, sychem, thela, vy, xylon . . . , yph, zaron, thou, G.; C. follows H. almost exactly.

² This sentence translated literally in C.

⁵ sil, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁹ verreiz soit, S.; est bon, G.

¹² qi de iadys, H.

³ vn poy—Puis preignez, om. S. G.

⁷ en, S. G. R.; de, H.

¹⁰ peisant, S. G.; fin, H. R.

¹³ diuerses langagez, om. H.

CHAPTER VIII.

[*Of the yle of Cecyle ; of the weye fro Babyloyn to the Mownt Synay ; of the chirche of Seynte Kateryne ; and of alle the meruaylles there.*¹]

AR I passe any forþer, I will turne agayne and tell oþer ways þat men may wende til Babilon whare þe sowdan dwelles, þe whilk es at þe entree of Egipte. For many pilgrymes wendes first pider and seyne to þe mount Synai, and so turnes to Ierusalem agayn, as I said before. For first þai make þaire ferrest pilgrimage and þan commes agayneward by haly placez þat er nerre, if all þai be not² of dignitee as Ierusalem es, to þe whilk na pilgrimage may be lyke. Bot, for to make all þaire iournees maste suerly and with leste labour, sum men gas first to þe ferrer placez and seyne to þe placez þat er on þis syde. Now he þat will go first to Babilon by anoþer way mare compendious þan I hafe tald off before fra þis cuntree or fra oþer þat er nere, he may go thurgh Fraunce and thurgh Burgoyne. And it nedes noȝt to tell all þe names of þe citeez and tounes by þe whilk men most go, for þe way es comoun and wele ynogh knawen with all men þat vsez trauaile. Bot þer er many hauens for to schippe at ; for sum schippes at þe cite of Geen, sum at Venice and sailez thurgh þe see Adrias, þat es cald þe Gulff of Venice and partes Italy and Grece on þat syde, and sum wendez to Naples, f.23b. sum to Rome and swa til Brunduse³ and schippes þare, or elles in sum oþer placez whare þai fynd hauens and redy schipping. Also sum wendez thurgh Tuscayne and Campayne and Calabre and Apuyle and þe Iles of Ytaly by Choos,⁴ Sardine and Cicile, þe whilk es a faire ile and a grete. In þat ile es a gardyne with diuerse maners of fruytes ; and þat gardyne es all way grene and full of floures, bathe wynter and sumer. Þis ile es cccl. leeges aboute ; and betwix Cicile and Italy es bot a litill arme of þe see, þe whilk es called Fare.⁵ Þis ile of Cicile es betwene þe see Adriac and þe see of Lumbardie. Oute of Cicile into Calabre er viii. myles of Lumbardy. In Cicile es a maner of nedder, with whilk men of þat land vsez to proue þaire childer, wheder þai be geten in leel spousage or noght. For, if þai be geten in leel spousage, þe nedder will go aboute þam and do þam na harme ;

CHAPITRE VIII.

Del Isle de Cicile ; del chemin de Babiloigne al Mont Synay ; del eglise seinte Katerine ; et les merueilles illeesques.

RE men voil ieo retourner, auant qe ieo procede plus vltre, pur vous deuiser les autres chemins qi tendent mesmes a Babiloigne ou ly soudan demoere, qest al entre de Egipte. Pur ceo qe moitez gentz y uont premerement la et puis au mont de Synay, et puis returnent par Ierusalem, si come ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit. Qar ils accomplissent auant le plus loinz pilrinage et puis returnent par le plus pres, come bien qe le plus pres soit ly plus digne, ceo est Ierusalem, qar nul autre pilrinage nad comparisoun a celluy. Mes, pur tout acomplir plus eusement et plus seurement, vait homme auant a plus loinz qe a plus pres. Donc qi voderait aler a Babiloigne par autre chemin et puis briefment de celles parties doccident qe iay desuis nome ou⁶ des autres parties procheines dycelles, homme vait par France, par Burgoigne, et par Lumbardye. Il ne couient mie a nomer les cites ne les villes de ceo chemin, qar ly chemin est comun et si est scieuz et conuz de moitez nacions. Il y ad plusours portes ou homme se met en meer ; ascuns⁷ se mettent en meer a Ianewe, ascuns a Venise et passent par le meer Adriatike, qest appelle le goulf de Venicienz, qi departe Ytaille et Grece en ce coustee, et ascuns vount a Naples, ascuns a Rome et de Rome a Brandis⁸ et la se mettent en meer, et en plusours autres lieux, ou il y ad des portz. Et vait home par Tuscie,⁹ par Champaigne, par Calabre, par Appuille, et par les islez¹⁰ de Itaille, par Choriscere,¹¹ par Sardinie et par Cicile, qi est molt grant isle et bone. Et en ceste isle de Cicile y ad vne manere de jardin, en quelle y ad mult diuerses fruitz ; et est ly jardin vert et floriez totes les seisouns del an, auxi bien en yuer come par estee. Celle isle tient bien de circuit cccl.¹² lieues Franceois ; et entre Cicile et Ytaille ni ad fors vn petit bracz de meer, qe homme appelle le far de Messine.¹³ Et est Cicile entre la meer Adriatike et la meer de Lumbardie. Et de¹⁴ Cicile en Calabre ni ad qe viii. lieues Lumbardeles. Et si ad en Cicile vn manere des serpentz, par les queux homme assaie les enfans, sils soient bastardz ou de loial mariage. Qar sils soient neez de mariage,

¹ This rubric in C. is omitted in the printed editions.

² Brundisium, Brindisi.

³ ou, S. G. R.; en, H.

⁴ de Thussie, G.

⁵ cent lieues, G.

⁶ "not" an insertion, the sentence originally running "if all þai be of mare dignitee."

⁷ Corsica.

⁸ ascuns—par le mer, om. G.

⁹ islez—molt grant, from R.; om. H.

¹⁰ Mersin, S.; Mersim, G.

¹¹ The Faro; the Farde of Mesycne, C.

¹² Rodes, S.; Grandes, G.

¹³ Choris, S.; Souris, G.; Chorisq, C.

¹⁴ et de—Lumbardeles, om. S. G.

and, if þai be geten in advoutry, þe nedders will stang þam and venym þam. And on þis wise men of þat cuntree þat hase euill suspecioun to þaire wyfes prouez þaire childer, wheder þai be þairs or noȝt. In þis ile also es þe mount of Ethna, þe whilk by anoþer name es called Gebel. Þare er swelghes in þe erthe allway brynnand, and namely in seuen places, oute of þe whilk þer comes flawme of fire of diuerse colours. And by þe chaungeyng of the coloures men of þat cuntree knawes and coniectures wheder it schal be derthe of corne or gude chepe, f.24. wheder þe weder sall be calde or hate, rayne or faire weder; and many oþer thinges þai pronostic and diuines by þe colours of þa flawmes. Fra Italy to þa swelghes er noȝt bot xxv. myle; and þai say þare þat þai er¹ þe entreez and þe ȝates of hell.

He þat wendes by þe citee of Pisane, as sum men duse, whare þer es ane arme of þe see and twa hauens, and enters þe see þare, he schall wende by þe ile of Greff, þe whilk pertenes to þe Ianuenes.² And seyne he aryfes in Grece at citee of Mirrok, or at þe citee of Valon, or at Duraz, þat es þe Dukes of Duraz, or at sum oþer hauens þat er on þa costes of þe see, and swa to Constantinople, and þan by see to þe iles of Grece, and to þe iles of Rodes and of Cipre. And so, for til hald þe riȝt way by see, fra Venice to Constantinople er i^mviii^o and iiiⁱx^x miles of Lumbardy. Fra þe rewme of Cypre men may passe by see to þe porte Iaffe and so, lefyng all þat cuntree on þe left hand, till þe burgh of Alisaunder, þat standes apon þe see syde. In þat citee was Sayne Kateryne heued striken off; and in þat citee was Sayne Marc martird and grauen. Bot afterward þe emperour Leo gert his banes be broght and caried till Venice, and þare ligg þai ȝit. And ȝit es þare at Alisaunder a faire kirk all ouer whyte blaunched; and swa er all þe kirkes of Cristen men þare, for þe paynymes and þe Sarzenes gert blaunche þam on þat wyse to fordo þe paynture and þe ymages þat ware purtraid on þe walles. Þis citee of Alisaunder has in lenth f.24b. 30 furlanges and x. on brede; and it es riȝt a faire citee and a noble. At þis citee the ryuer of Nilus enters in to þe see, as I talde before. And in þat ryuer er oft tymes funden many precious stanes, and of þe tree þat men callez Aloes, þe whilk comes oute of Paradys. A medicinal thing it es for many euils, and it es salde wonder dere. Fra Alisaunder men wendez til Babilon whare þe sowdan dwelles; and it standes apon þe ryuer of Nile. Þis es þe lightest way þat men may wende to Babilon and þe schortest.

Now³ will I tell what way men schall hald fra Babilon to þe mount Synai, whare þe body of Sayn Kateryne lyes. Men behoues passe thurgh þe desertes of Araby, whare Moyses and Aaron ledd þe folk of Israel. And in þat way þer es a well, to þe whilk Moyses ledd þam and gafe þam a drynk off, when þai made murmuracion

ly serpentz vait entour eaux sanz malfaire; et, sils soient auouterous, ly serpentz les morde et les enuenime. Et ensi plusours hommes mariez assaient si les enfans soient lour. Item en celle isle en la montaigne de Ethna, qe homme appelle mont Gibil,⁴ y as les wlcans, qi tot dys ardent. Et y a vii. lieux ardanȝ, qi gettent diuerses flaumes et de diuerses colours. Et par le changement de celles flaumes sciuent les gentz du pais quant il serra chier temps ou bon temps, ou froid ou chaud, ou mol ou sec, et en touz autres maners coment ly temps se gouvernera. Et de Ytaille iusques a ces wlcans nad pas pluis de xxv. lieuez⁵; et dit homme qe ces sunt chymenes⁶ denfern.

Item qi vait par Pise,⁷ si qe ascuns y vont, ou il y ad vn bracz de meer, ou lem⁸ vait as autres portz en celle marchee, et se met homme en meer et passe homme par lisle de Gref, qest as Ianeweis. Et puis ariue homme en Grece au portz de la cite de Miroch, ou au port de Valone, ou a la cite de Duras, qest a Duc de Duras, ou as autrez⁹ portz en ces coustees. Et vait homme iusques a Constantinople; et puis vait homme par eawe al isle de Crete et al¹⁰ isle de Rodes et a Cipre. Et ensi de Venise iusques a Constantinople, a tenir le pluis droit chemin par meer, y ad mil viii^o iiiⁱx^x miles¹¹ Lumbardeles. Et puis de Cipre vait homme par meer, et lesse homme Ierusalem et tot le pais au senestre iusques¹² a Egipte, et ariue homme a la cite Damiete, qi soleit estre mult fort et siet al entre de Egipte. Et de Damiete vait homme a la cite de Alisandre, qi siet auxi sur la meer. En celle cite fuist decollez seint Katherine; et la fuist martirizetz seint Marc leuangelist et enseueliz. Mes ly emperour Leoun¹³ fist porter les ossementz a Venise. Et vncore y ad a Alisandre vne belle esglise, qest toute blanche sanz peintures; et ensi sunt les autres esglise qi furent des Cristiens toutes blanches par dedeins, qar ly paien et luy Sarazins les ont fait blanchir pur defaire les ymages des seintz qi estoient peintz au mures. Celle cite de Alisandre ad bien xxx. stadies de long, mes elle nad qe x. de large. Et est mult bele cite et mult noble. A celle cite se gette la riure de Nil en la meer, si come ieo vous ay autrefoith dit. En celle riure lem troeue multz des pieres precieuses et multz de *lignum aloes*; cest vne manere des bois, qi vient de Paradis terrestre, qest bon en plusours medicines, et si est bien chier. Et de Alisandre homme vait a Babiloigne ou ly soudan demoere, qi siet auxi sur celle riure de Nil. Et cest chemin est pluis court pur aler droit a Babiloigne.

Ore vous dirray ensuiant le chemin qi vait de Babiloigne au mont de Synay, ou seint Katherine gist. Il couient passer par les desertz de Arabe, par quelle desert Moyses mesnoit et conduceoit le poeple de Israel. Et passe homme par la fontaigne qe Moyses fist de sa main en

¹ ben weyes of helle (i.e. "chemins" for "cheminées"), C.

² Greff, þat is at Gene, C. Corfu seems to be meant.

³ Preceded in C. (f. 26) by a rubric omitted in the printed editions, as follows:—"Of the weye that goth from Babiloyne vnto the mownt Synay and of the merueyles þere." The matter, however, is covered by the rubric of ch. viii.

⁴ gebel, S.; gybelle, C.

⁵ miles, S. G.

⁶ chimis, S.; cheminees, G.

⁷ bys, S.; pyse, G.

⁸ ou lem—en meer, om. S. G.

⁹ autrez, R.; om. H.

¹⁰ et al—Cipre, om. G.

¹¹ lieues, G.

¹² et vet homme tut dys par mer iesques, S.; and so G.

¹³ Leoun, om. S. G.

agaynes him by cause of thirst. Forþermare on þe way es anoþer well, þat es called Marrac, whare þai fand bitter water, when þai schold hafe drunken; and Moyses putt þerin a maner of tree, and alssone þe bitternes was away. Fra þeine men schall passe thurgh þis deserte to þe vale of Elym, whare er xii. welles and lxxii.¹ palme treesse berand dates, whare Moyses made þe childer for to loge. Fra þis vale vnto þe mount Synai es bot a day iournee.

Qwha so will go anoþer way fra Babilon to þe mount Synai, him behoues passe by þe Reed See, whilk es ane arme of þe west see,² whare thurgh þe childer of Israel went drye fote, when kyng Pharaon persued þam, f.25. and [in] þe whilk he and all his oste ware drowned. And it es þer anentes vi. myle brade. þe water of þat see es na redder þan oþer water es of þe see ellesqwhare; bot, for þer es mykill reed grauell be þe coste of þe see, þerfore men callez it þe Reed See. And it rynnes in to the marches of Araby and Palestyne. By þis see may men passe mare þan foure day iourneez, and þan þai schall com to þe forsaid desertes and to þe forsaid vale of Elym and so to þe mount Synai. And 3e schall vnderstand þat thurgh þa desertes may na man passe with horsez, for þer er no stablez ne esement for horsez of mete ne of drynk. And þerfor men makes þat pilgrimage with camellez; for þai may aywhare fynd bowghes of treessez in þe way þat þai may ete, for þat fude lufe þai wele, and þai may forbere drink twa dayes or three, and so may noght horsez do. Fra Babilon vnto þe mount Synai er xii. day iournez. Neuerþeles sum hastez þam so fast in þaire iournee þat þai wende it in less tyme.³ And in þis iournee þam behoues hafe with þam sum men þat can speke Latyne⁴ ay till þai cun þe langage of þe cuntree; and so behoues þam hafe in oþer cuntreez toward þase partys. þam behoues also trusse þaire vitailles with þam thurgh þe forsaid desertes, þat þai may liffe with.

þe mount Synai es called þe deserte of Syn, þat es als mykill at say as Brynnand Busk; for þare sawe Moyses 20 oure Lord Godd spekand till him in a busk brynnand. At þe fote of þe mount Synai es founded ane abbay of mounkes, wele enclosed with hie walles and yrne 3ates for drede of crowell wilde bestes and fell þat wonnes in þa desertes. þe mounkes þat wonnes þerin er Arabites and Grekez, and þai er cledd lyke hermytes; and þer es f.25b. a grete couent of þam. þai liffe with dates and rutes and herbes; þai drink na wyne comounly, bot on hegh feste days. þai er deuote men and ledez pure lyf, and liffez in grete abstinence and in grete penaunce. þare es þe kirk of Sayne Kateryne with many lawmpes brynnand. Oile of oliue vse þai als wele for metes as for lawmpes

ces desertz, quant le poeple murmuroit, pur ceo qils ne trouoient de quoi boire. Et passe homme par le fontaigne de Marach, dont leawe estoit primerement amiere; mes ly enfantz de Israel mistrent vn feust⁵ dedeins, et tantoust leawe estoit douce et bone pur boire. Et ensi vait homme par le desert iusques au vale de Elin,⁶ en la quelle valee y ad xii. fontaignes et auoit⁷ lxxii. abres de palme qi portent les dates, les queux Moises troua ouesques les enfantz de Israel. Et de celle vallee ni ad qe vne bone iournee iusques a mont de Synay.

Et qi voet aler par autre chemin de Babiloigne, lem vait par le Rouge Meer, qi est vn bract de la meer oceane; et la Moises passoit 30 oue les enfantz de Israel au trauers tot sec, quant Pharaon roi de Egipte les chaceoit. Elle poet bien auoir vii.⁸ lieues de large. En celle meer fuist Pharaon noiez ouesques tot le houst qil menoit.⁹ Celle meer nest mie rouge au pluis qe vn autre meer; mes en ascuns lieux il y ad grauele rouge, et pur ceo homme lappelle la Meer Rouge. Celle meer court iusques as confins de Arabe et de Palestine. Par celle meer homme vait bien pluis de iiii. iourneis, et puis homme vait par le desert iusques au vallee de Elin,¹⁰ et de la au mont de Synay. Et poez sauoir qe par cest desert nul poet aler as chualx, qar ly chual ne troueroient ne a manger ne a boire. Et pur ceo passe homme par cest desert as camailles; qar ly camaille troeuent bien totdys a manger des arbres et des busshons qil broutent,¹¹ et ieunent bien de boire ii. iours ou iii., et ceo ne pourroient les chualx faire. Et sachez qe de Babiloigne au mont de Synay y ad bien xii. iournees bones. Ascuns y font pluis, et ascuns se hastent et peinent¹² et font meins. Et totdis amesne homme des lathomers,¹³ qi voit aler par ceo pais ou par autre dela, iusques atant qe homme sache la langage. Y couient faire porter par cest desert les necessities pur viures.

Et est ly mont de Sinay appelez le desert Syne,¹⁴ qest a dire Rouge Ardant, pur ceo qe Moises vist nostre Seigneur plusours foitz en fourme de feu sur celle montaigne et auxi en busshon ardant et parla a luy, et ceo fuist au pie de montaigne. La y ad vne abbeie des H.f.13. moignes bien fermez et tres bien encloseez as portz¹⁵ de fer pur paour des beistes sauages. Et sunt ly moignes Arabiens ou Gregois; et y a grant couent et auxi come heremite. Et ne boivent point de vin,¹⁶ si ceo nest as festes principaux, et sunt mult deuoutz et viuent pourement¹⁷ et simplement des ioutes et des dates et font trop dabstinences et de peinances. La est lesglise seint Katerine, ou il y ad mult des lampes ardantz; qar ils ont de oille de oliuere assetz, et pur manger et pur ardoir. Et si en ont grandement par le miracle de Dieu.

¹ lxxii., C.

² the see ocean, C.

³ And sum men maken hem more, and sum men hasten hem and peynen hem and þerfore þei maken hem lesse, C.

⁴ latymers (i.e. interpreters), to go with hem in the contrees and ferthere bezonde, C.

⁵ fruit, G.

⁶ Helym, S. G.

⁷ vi., S. G. C.

⁸ qil menoit, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁹ qil broutent, om. S. G.

¹⁰ hastent et peinent, S. G. R.; houstent, H.

¹¹ Syn, S.; Syon, G.

¹² bien ferme a portes, S. G.

¹³ purement, S. G.

¹⁴ auoit, om. S. G.

¹⁵ Helym, S. G.; Elyn, C.

¹⁶ latimers, S.; latimiers, G.

¹⁷ et boiuent de vyn poi, S.

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brynnynge. þat oile commes to þam as by miracle. For þer commes rukes and crakes¹ and oþer fewles flyand ilk 3ere aboute þat place in grete multitude togyder, als þai suld make pilgrimage in þaire maner; and ilk ane of þam bringes in þaire nebbe in steed of offerand a braunche of olyue² and lefez þam þare, and on þat wise þer es grete plentee of olyuez left to þe sustynance of þe hous. Now, sen it es so þat fewles, þat na resoun can, duse swilk reuerence to þat glorious virgine, wele aght vs Cristen men to visit þat haly place with grete deuocioun. Behind þe hie awter of þat kirke es þe place whare Moyses sawe oure Lord in þe brynnand busk. And, when þe mounkes commez to þat place, þai putte off þaire hose and þaire schone by cause Godd said to Moyses, "Do off þi schone of þi fete, for þe place þat þou in standes es haly erthe." þat place es called þe schadow of Godd. And by syde þe hie awter er iiij. greez to gang vp at to þe toumbe of alabastre whare in þe body of þe haly virgine Sayne Kateryne lyes. þe prelate of þe mounkes schewes þe relyques of þis virgyn vnto pilgrymmes; and with 10
ane instrument of siluer he stirrez þe banes of þe virgine apon ane auter. And þan commez oute a litill oile, as f.26. it ware swete; bot it es lyke nowþer oile ne bawme, for it es mare blakk. Of þis liquour þai giffe a lytill quantitee til pilgrimes; for it es bot lytill þat commes oute. After þat þai schew þe heued of Sayne Kateryne, and þe clathe þat it was wonden in, when þe aungelles broght þe body vp to þe mount of Synai. And þare þai groue it with þat ilke clathe; and 3it es it bludy, and euermare sall be. And þai schew also þe busk þat Moyses sawe brynnand, when oure Lord spakk vntil him. þai schew also many oþer relyques. Ilk a mounke of þe hous has euermare a lawmpe brynnand; and, as it was talde me, when ane abbot dyes, his laumpe gase oute. And in chesyng of anoþer abbot his laumpe lightes by it self whilk by þe grace of Godd es maste worthy to be next Abbot. Ilk ane of þam hase his laumpe, as I said before; and þai wate by þe laumpe when any of þam sall sone dye, for agayne þat tyme will þe laumpe of him þat sall dye giffe litill light. It was talde me also þat, when a 20
prelate es deed and schall be grauen, he þat singes þe hie messe schall fynd in a scrowe before him on þe awter þe name of him þat sall be chosen to be þaire prelate; and I asked þe mounkes if it ware so. Bot þai wald nozt tell me, bot said sum tyme it fell swa; and 3it þai wald nozt say so mykill, before I said þam þat it fell nozt to þam to hald counsaile ne to layne Goddes myracle and his grace, bot for to publisch it and schew it in apperte to excit men til deuocioun. And I said þam ower þat þai did grete synne for to layne it, as me thozt, for þe miracles þat Godd schewes er witness of his grete myght, as David saise in þe sawter. When I had said f.26b. þam swilk wordes, þan at þe first talde þai me þe wordes whilk I talde 3ow before; and mare wald þai nozt graunt me of questiouns þat I asked þam. In þat abbay commes neuer fleess, ne flyes, ne nan oþer swilk vermyn of corrupcioun, thurgh myracle of Godd and of his moder Saynt Mary and of þe haly virgyn Sayne Kateryne.

Qar ly corbeaux et ly corniles et les estourneaux et les autres oisax de pais sassemblent touz les anz vne foitz et volent la, sicome en 30
pelrinage; et chescun porte des ramis ou de raies de oliue³ en son bek en doffrende et les lessent illeoques, de quoi les moignes font goutement⁴ doille. Et ceo est grant miracle. Et puis qe les oiseaux, qi nont point de sen naturel ne de resoun, y uont pur requerre celle gloriouse vergine, bien se deuient pener ly homme de la requere et la aorer. Item deriere laulte de celle esglise est ly lieu ou Moises vist nostre Seignur en busschoun ardant. Et, quant ly moignes entrent en celle lieu, ils se dechauceent totdis, pur ceo qe nostre Seignur dit a Moises, "Deschaucez toy, qar ly lieu ou tu estes est seint." Celle lieu appellent ly moignes Dozeleel,⁵ cest a dire Vmbre de Dieu. Et delez ly grant aulter a iij. degreez de haut est ly fertres de alabastre, ou ly ossementz de seint Katherine gisent. Et ly prelat des moignes moustre les reliques as pelrins, et dun instrument dargent il frote los. Et si en ist vn poy doile auxi come vn suour, qi ne semble oile ne baume, mes est pluie noirastres. Et de ceo il donne vn poy as pelrins; qar il nen ist mie grant quantite. Et il moustre la teste seint Katherine et le drap en quoi elle fuist enuoluepez, qest vncore tot sanglante. Et en ceo drap enuoluepez porteront les anges le corps de luy iusques au mont de 40
Sinay et le enseuelirent ouesques. Et si moustrent le busshoun qi ardoit et ne consumoit point, en quoi nostre Seignur parloit a Moyses, et des autres reliques assetz. Item, quant ly prelat del abbeye est mort, iauoy entenduz qe la sue lampe esteinoit. Et, quant ils elisoient vn 40
autre prelat, sil estoit prodhomme et dignes destre, sa lampe allumoit de la grace de Dieu sanz ceo qe nul nel touchast.⁶ Qar chescun de eaux ad sa lampe; et par lour lampes scient ils bien quant ascun doit morir, qar la lumere commence a changer et affebler. Et sil nestoit nient dignes, elle demorroit esteinte. Et autres mauoient dit qe cil qi chantoit la messe pur le mort, qe apres la messe il troueroit sur laulte le noun en escript de celluy qils deuoient eslire pur prelat; si qe ieo lour demanday a lun et lautre. Mes ne me vouserent rienz dire, tanques ieo lour disoie qils ne deuoient point celer la grace qe Dieu lour fesoit, mes la deuoient publier pur mettre gentz en puis grant deuocioun, et H.f.13b. qils fesoient pecche de celer, ceo me sembloit, qar le miracle qe Dieu ad fait, et fait vncore touz les iours, ces sunt les tesmoignes de sa puissance, si come dit Dauid en le psalter, *Mirabilia testimonia tua, Domine*. Et lors ils me disoient qe lun et lautre⁷ estoit auenuz plusours foitz; et puis ieo ne poay sauoir de eaux. En celle abbeye ny entrent musches, ne muscherons, ne puices, ne autre tiel ordure, par miracle de Dieu et de nostre Dame. Qar il soloit tant auoir des plusours maners des musches et dautres tiels ordures qe les moignes voloient lesser labbeye. 50

¹ the ravenes and the crows and the choughes, C.

⁴ granment, S.; grandement, G.

⁷ S. G. H. R.; lun signe ou lautre; corr. marg., H.

² a braunche of the bayes or of olyue, C.

⁵ Besebel, S. G.; Dozeleel, C.

³ dez rames baiez doliue, S.; des raimes vraiez doliue, G.

⁶ nul estenoit, S.; nul este y eust, G.

For sum tyme þer was so grete multitude of swilke vnclene vermyn þat þe mounkes of þat abbay ware so tourmentid with þam þat þai left þe place and went away fleand þeine by cause of þam vp in to þe mountes. And riȝt so come þe blissed Virgyn and mett þam and badd þam turne agayne to þaire abbay, and þai schuld neuer hafe swilke greuaunce ne disese of þam mare. And þai did as scho bad þam and turned agayne, and neuer after þat day sawe þai in þat abbay flee ne flye, ne na maner of swilk corrupcioun to greue þam. Before þe zate of þat abbay es þe well whare Moyses strake on þe stane with his ȝerde, and it ran of water and sall do euermare.

Fra þis abbay men gas vp on many grecez to þe mount of Moyses; and þer es a kirk of oure Lady, whare scho mett þe mounkes, as I talde before.¹ And vppermare in to þe mount es Moyses chapell, and þe roche þat he fledd in to when he sawe oure Lord. In þe whilk roche es þe prynte and þe fourme of his body; for so fast 10 he thrust his body þerto fleand þat þorow þe myracle of Godd þe fourme of his body [was] left þerin.² And þare fast by es þe place whare oure Lord gafe Moyses þe ten comaundementz of þe lawe writen in twa tables of stane with Goddez awen handes. And vnder a roche þare es a caue, whare Moyses dwelled when he fasted xl. f.27. days and xl. nyghtes. Bot he dyed in þe haly land, and na man wate whare he was grauen. Fra þis mount men gase ower a grete valay till anoþer grete mount, whare þe aungels groue þe body of Sayne Kateryne. In þat valay es a kirk of xl. martirs, whare þe mounkes of þe forsaid abbay synges oft tyme; and þat valay es riȝt calde. And þan men gase vp on þe mount of Sayn Kateryne; and it es mykill hyer þan þe mount Moyses. And þare whare Sayne Kateryne was grauen es na kirk, ne na chapell, ne oþer dwellyng place; bot þer es a hepe of stanes gaderd sammen on þe place þer scho was grauen. Þare was sum tyme a chapell, bot now it es all doune, and ȝit lies þe stanes þare. And, if all it be so þat þe colett of Sayne Kateryne say þat it es all a³ place whare 20 oure Lorde gaffe þe lawe vnto Moyses and þar Sayn Kateryne was grauen, ȝe schall vnderstand þat it es all in a cuntree, or elles in twa steedes þat beres bathe a name. For þai er bathe called Mount Synai, bot it es a grete way betwene þam, and a grete valay and a depe.

Et estoient ia issuz et montez le montaigne pur fuir del lieu, et la lour venoit⁴ nostre Dame au deuant et leur dit qils retournassent et lors en auant nentreroit musche ne autre tiel ordure. Si retournerent ly moignes, et vnqes puis nulle tiel chose ny entra. Item⁵ deuant la porte est la fontaigne ou Moises ferist la pierre et les eawes issirent fors.

De celle abbeye lem monte la montaigne Moises par multz des greez, et la troeue homme primerement vne esglise de nostre Dame, la ou elle encontra les moignes, quant ils enfuioient pur les musches. Et puis haut sur celle mesme montaigne est la chapelle Helye le prophete; et cel lieu ils appellent Oreb, dont seint escripture emparle, *Et ambulauit in fortitudine cibi*⁶ illius usque ad montem Dei⁷ Oreb. Et la deleez est la vigne qe seint Iohan leuuaugelist planta, et homme appelle roisins Staphis.⁸ Et vn poy a dessuire est la chapelle Moises, 30 et la roche ou Moises se fuioit de paour, quant il vist nostre Seigneur face a face. Et en celle roche est empresse la fourme de son corps, qar il se ferist si durement en la roche qe tout le corps enfondra dedeins par miracle de Dieu. Et la deleez est ly lieux ou nostre Seigneur bailla a Moises les x. commandementz de la ley. Et la est la caue dessouz la roche ou Moises demorroit, quant il ieuna xl. iours. Mes il morust en la terre de promissioun, mes nuls homme ne sciet ou il fuist enseuely. Et de celle montaigne homme passe vn grant vallee pur aler a vn autre montaigne, ou seint Katherine fuist enseuelye des angeles nostre Seigneur. Et en celle vallee y ad vne esglise de xl. martirs, et la chantent luy moignes del abbeye souent. Et est celle vallee mult froide. Et puis homme monte sur la montaigne seint Katherine, qest trop puis haut qe nest la montaigne Moises. Et la ou seint Katherine fuist enseuelie ni ad esglise, ne chapelle, ne autre habitacle; mes il y ad vn montaigne des pieres assemblez entour le lieu ou le corps de luy fuist posez des angeles. Il y soleit auoir vn chapelle, mes elle fuist abatue et vncore y gissent les pieres. Et combien qe la colecte seint Katherine die qe ceo soit tot vn lieu ou nostre Seigneur bailla les x. commandementz a Moises et la ou la seinte virgine fuist enseuelie, cest a entendre en vne pais ou en vn lieu portant vn noun. Qar lun et 40 lautre est appelle mont de Synay, mes il y ad grant chemin del vn al altre, et vn grande valle et parfonde perentre eaux.

¹ A passage, Et puis haut—staphis, is omitted here. It is translated literally in C.

² sc. one.

³ Item deuant est le montaigne ou Moyses parla a nostre Seigneur par moltz dez grees, et la troeue, etc., S.; and so G., but with "deuant la porte de la montaigne." Bold. has simply "in hoc monasterio."

⁴ dei, S. G. R.; de, H.

⁵ stafes, S. G.

⁶ þat all his body was dolven withinne, C.

⁷ venoit, S. R.; om. H.; leur vint vne voix, G.

⁸ sibi, H.

CHAPTER IX.

[Of the desert betwene the chirche of Seynte Kateryne and Ferusalem; of the drie tre; and how roses cam first in the world.]

WHEN men has visit þis haly place of Sayn Katerynes and will turne to Ierusalem, first þai take lefe at þe mounkes and recomaundes þam specially to þer praiers. And þase mounkes giffez with gude will vitailles to pilgrimes to passe with thurgh þe desertes toward Surry. And þat lastez nere xiii. day iournez or xiiii. In þa desertes dwellez mykill pople þat men callez Arabienes, Bedoynes and Ascopardes. þai er folk of full euill condiciouns, and full of all maner of wickedness and malice. Housez hafe þai nane bot f.27b. tentes, whilk þai make of skynnes of camelles and oþer wylde bestes þat þai ete, and drinkez water when þai may any get. And þai dwell in placez whare þai may hafe water, as on þe Reed See and oþer placez whare þai find 10 any water. And oft tymes it falles þat, whare men fyndez water a tyme of þe zere, anoþer tyme þer es nane funden; and þerfore make þai na house in a certayne place, bot now here now þare, as þai may fynd water. þis folk, þat I speke off, trauailez noȝt aboute tillyng of land, for þai ete na breed comounly, bot if it be any þat dwellez nere sum gude towne, þat þai may ga to for to gete þam breed. þai roste all þaire flesch, and þe fisch þat þai ete, apon stane thurgh þe hete of þe sonne. And noȝt forthy þai er strang men and wele feightand; and grete multitude þer es of þam. þai do noȝt elles bot chacez wilde bestes, to take þam for þaire sustynaunce. And þai sett noȝt by þaire lyfes; and þerfore þai drede noȝt þe sowdan ne nan oþer prince of all þe werld, þat ne þai will feight with þam, and þai do þam any greuaunce. þai hafe oft tymes foghten with þe sowdan, and namely þat same tyme þat I dwelled with him. Armour hafe þai nane to defend þam with, bot anely a schelde and a spere. þai wynd þaire heuedes and þaire nekkes in a whyte lynnene clathe. þai er riȝt foule folk and crowell 20 and of euill kynde.

After þat men be passed þis deserte command toward Ierusalem, þai com til a citee whilk es called Bersabee, þat was sum tyme a faire citee and a gude and inhabited with Cristen men, and ȝit es þer sum of þaire f.28. kirkes standand. In þat citee dwelled sum tyme Abraham þe patriarke. þis citee founded Bersabee þe wyf of

CHAPITRE IX.

H.f.14.

Del desert entre lesglise Seinte Katerine et Ferusalem; del arbre sech; et coment roses vindrent primes el monde.

RE, puis qe homme ad cez seintz lieux visitez, lem voet retourner a Ierusalem, et lem voet prendre congee des moignes, et se recommande homme a lours prieres. Et puis ils doignent as pelrins de lour vitaille pur passer les desertz vers Surie. Et cils¹ desertz durent bien xiii. iournes. En ceo desert demoerent mult des Arabienz, qe homme appelle Bedoins et Ascopartz.² Ces sunt gentz pleines³ de totes mauaises condicions, et ne ont nulles maisons forsque tentes, qils font des peaux de bestes, come 30 camailles et autres bestes qils mangent. Et la dessouz se couchent et demorrent en lieu ou ils poent trouer del eawe, come sur la Meer Rouge et aillours; qar en ceo desert y ad trop grant defaute deawe. Et souent auient qe la ou homme la troeue vne saisoun lem ne troeue pas vn autre; et pur ceo font ils nulles habitacionz. Ceste gent dont ieo vous parle, ils ne courtiuent ne labourent point la terre, qar ils ne mangent point de pain, si ceo ne soient⁴ ascuns q demorrent pres ascune bone ville, qi y uont et mangent ascune foithz. Et si rostessent⁵ lour char et lour pesshon sur les pieres chaudes encontre le solail. Et sunt fort gent et bien coumbatanz; et tant en y ad de tiel gent qe ceo est sanz nombre. Et ne font rienz, sils ne chaceoient apres les bestes pur manger. Et ne present rienz lour vie; et pur ceo ils ne doutent ne le soudan nautre prince, mes oseroient bien guerroyer oue luy, sil lour fesoit chose qi lour enoiast. Et ont souent guerre au soudan, et nomement en temps qe ieo fuy ouesqe luy. Et ne portent qe vn escu et vne lance sans autres armes. Et enuolupent lour teste et lour col de grant linceal blanc. Et sunt trop felon et orde⁶ et de mauaise nature.

Et quant homme ad passe cest desert en venant uers Ierusalem, lem vient a Barsabee, qi soloit estre mult belle ville⁷ et dilitable des 40 Cristiens, et vnqore y ad ascuns des esglises. En celle ville demorroit longement Abraham ly Patriarch. Celle ville de Barsabee fonda

¹ sils, H. R.³ om. R.⁶ hardytz, S.; ors, G.² Ascopartz, S.; Achopars, G.: Ascopartes, R.; Ascopardes, C.⁴ si ceo nest souent, R.⁷ ville, om. H.⁵ rostant, R.; rostissent, S.; rostissent, G.

Vry, and called it after hir self Bersabee. In þat citee¹ Daid þe kyng gat on hir Salomon þe wyse, þat was kyng of Ierusalem xl. 3ere. And fra þeine gase men to þe vale of Ebron, whilk es fra þeine xii. myle²; and sum callez it þe Vale of Mambre, þat es at say þe Vale of Greeting,³ for als mykill as Adam oure forme fader made his lamentacioun in þat place a hundreth 3ere for þe deed of his son Abel, þat Cayn slew. In Ebron was sum tyme þe cheffe citee of þe Philistienes; and þare dwelled geantz. It was also afterwarde þe citee of prestez þat ware of þe kynredyn of Iudas, Iacob son þe patriarc. And it had swilk a priuilege þat, what man so fledd pider for manslaghter or any oþer forfeture, he myght seurlly dwell in þat citee withouten empeching of any man or any harme takyng. In Ebron Iosue and Caleph and þaire felyschepe come first to aspye how þai myght wyne þe land of promission. In Ebron kyng Daid regned first vii. 3ere and a halfe; and in Ierusalem he regned xxxiii. 3ere and a halfe. In þe citee of Ebron er þe grauez of þe patriarches Adam, Abraham, Ysaach 10 and Iacob, and of þaire wyfes Eue, Sara and Rebecca, and þai er in þe hingand of þe hill. And ower⁴ þaim es a riȝt faire kirke wele bretist aboute, as it ware a castell, þe whilk Sarzenes kepez riȝt wele. And þai haue þat place in grete wirschippe for þe haly patriarches þat lies þare. And þai suffer na Cristen men ne Iews com in f.28b. þare, bot if þai haue special lefe of þe sowdan; for þai hald Cristen men and Iews bot as hundes, þat schuld comme in na haly place. þat place es called *Spelunca Duplex*, or double caue, or double graue, for ane lyes on anoþer. And þe Sarzenes callez it in þaire langage Cariatharbe, þat es to say þe place of patriarches. And þe Iews calles it Arboth. In þat same place was Abraham hous þat tyme þat he sawe, sitand in his dore, þe three men and wirschepid ane, as haly writte witnessez, sayand *Tres vidit et vnum adorauit*,⁵ þat es to say, "He sawe three, and he wirschepid ane." And þare tuke Abraham aungelles in to his hous, in steed of gester. And þare 20 a lytill beside es a caue in a roche, where Adam and Eue ware dwelland when þai ware dryfen oute of Paradys; and þare gat þai þaire childer. And, as sum saise, in þat same place was Adam made; for men called þat place sum tyme þe felde of Damasc, for it was in þe lordschippe of Damasc. And fra þeine he was translated in to Paradys, as þai sai; and afterward he was dryfen oute of Paradys and putt þare agayne. For þe same day þat he was putte in to Paradys þe same day he was dryfen oute; for als sone as he had synned, he was putt oute of þat ioiFULL place. þare begynnes þe vale of Ebron, and it lastez nere to Ierusalem. And þare þe aungell bad Adam þat he schuld dwell with his wyf; and þare þai engendred Seth, of whas lynage oure Lord Ihesu Criste was borne. In þat valay es a felde, where men drawez oute of þe erthe a thing þat men callez Cambille; and þai ete

Barsabee, la femme q̄i fuist à Vrie, en la quelle Daid le roi engendra Salamon ly sage, q̄i fuist roi apres Daid sur les xii. lignes de Ierusalem⁶ et regna xl. ans. Et de la vait homme a la cite de Ebron, q̄i est a ii. bones lieues, q̄est autrement appelez le Valle Mambre, e[t] autrement est appelez le Val de Lermes, pur ceo q̄e Adam ploroit c. ans en celle vallee la mort de son filz Abel, q̄e Caim auoit occis. Ebron soloit estre la principale cite des Philistiens; et la habitoient c. ly geant. Et si fuist la cite sacerdotale de tribu Iuda. Et 30 estoit si franche q̄e homme resceuoit la totes futifs dautre lieu pour lour malfaites. En Ebron Iosue, Calof et lour compaignie vindrent primerement pur espier coment ils purroient gayner la terre de promission. En Ebron regna primerement Daid vii. ans et demy; et en Ierusalem il regna xxxii.⁸ ans et demy. La sunt totes les sepultures des patriarches Adam, Abraham, Isaac, et⁹ Iacob, et de lour femmes Eue, Sarre, Rebekke et Lie,¹⁰ en le declin de la montaigne. Et dessus eaux y ad vne bele esglise, kernele en guise dun chaustel, la quelle ly Sarazins gardent mult curiousement, et ont le lieu en grande reuerence pur les seintz pierres patriarches q̄i la gisent. Et ne lessent Cristien ne Iuy entrer, sil ne ait grace espiciale de soudan; qar ils reputent les Cristiens et les Iuys come chienz, et dient q̄ils ne deuont mie estrin en si seint lieu. Et appelle homme luy lieu ou ils gissent Double Spelonk ou Double Caue¹¹ ou Double Fosse, pur ceo q̄e lun gist au desuis del autre. Et luy Sarazins appellent cel lieu en lour langage Karicarba,¹² cest a tant dire q̄e ly lieu des patriarches. Et ly Iuys appellent cel lieu Arboch.¹³ En cel lieu mesmes estoit la meson Abraham; et la fuist ceo q̄il seoit a son huis et vist iii.¹⁴ persones et adora vn tant soulement, 40 si come seinte escripture tesmoigne en disant, *Tres vidit et vnum adorauit*. La, mesmes lieu,¹⁵ resceut Abraham les anges en son houstel. Et assez pres de cel lieu y ad vne caue en la roche, ou Adam et Eue demoerent, quant ils furent iettez de Paradis; et la engendreront¹⁶ lour enfantz. Et en ceo mesmes lieu fuist Adam creez et fourmez, solonc le dit dascuns; qar homme soloit appeller cel lieu le champ de Damasc, pur ceo q̄il estoit en la seignurie de Damasc. Et de la fuist il translate en Paradiz de delicez, si come ils dient; et apres ceo q̄il fuist chace de Paradis, fuist il la remis. Et celui iour mesmes q̄il fuist mis en Paradiz, ent fuist gettez hors. La commence le val de Ebron,¹⁷ q̄i dure pres iusques a Ierusalem. La commanda ly angel a Adam q̄il cohabitast ouesque sa femme; si engendra Seth, de quel tribu Ihesu Crist nasqui. En celle vallee ad vn champ ou lem entret hors vne chose roigastre q̄ils appellent Cambil, q̄e les hommes mangent en

¹ on the whiche (sc. Bathsheba), C, omitting "on hir" below.

² Vale of Teres, C.

³ Disrael, S. G.

⁴ Isaac et, om. S. G.

⁵ Kariatauka, G.; Karicarba, C.

⁶ Le mesme Abraham, S.; la meismes, G.; "lieu" inserted, H.; om. R.

⁷ de Ebron, om. G.

⁸ And ower—castell, om. C.

⁹ adonques—cite, om. G.

¹⁰ sc. Leah; ou lieu ou decline la montaigne, G.; Lya, C.

¹¹ Arboth, G. C.

¹² ii. gode myle, C.

¹³ The ref. is to Gen. xviii, 1, 2; but see note.

¹⁴ xxxiii., S. G. C.

¹⁵ caue—fosse, om. G.

¹⁶ dieu en trois, G.

¹⁷ engendreront—lieu, om. S. G.

pat thing in steed of spice, and oft tymes þai bere it to sell in þe cuntree aboute. Men may noȝt make þe pitte
f.29. þer þai graue it vpp so depe ne so wyde þat it nes at þe ȝere end full agayne vp to þe brerdes thurgh þe
grace of Godd.

Twa myle fra Ebron es þe grafe of Loth þe neuow of Abraham; and a lytill fra Ebron es þe mount
Mambree, of whilk þat valay tuke his name. And þer es a tree of ake, þat þe Sarzenes callez Dyrpe, and it es of
Abraham tyme. Þis es þe tree þat men callez þe drie tree; and þai say þare þat it has bene fra þe begynnyng of
þe werld, and þat it was allway grene and bare lefes vnto þat tyme þat oure Lord died on þe crosse, and þan it
dried. And so did, as sum men saise, all þe treesse in þe werld, or elles¹ þai failed in þaire hertes and become
holle within, of whilk þer er many ȝit standand in diuerse placez. Sum prophecies saise þat a grete lord of the
west syde of þe werld sall conquer þe haly land with help of Cristen men, and he sall ger syng a messe vnder þat
drie tree, and þan sall it wax grene agayne and bere leefes and fruyt, and thurgh vertu of þat miracle many
Sarzenes and Iews sall be turned to Cristen faith. And forþi þat tree es halden þare in grete prys, and grete
reuerence duse þe folk of þe cuntree þerto and kepez it riȝt bisily. And, if all it be called and es a drie tree,
neuer þe les þer es grete vertu þerin; for, wha so beres any porcion þeroff apon him, he sall neuer be trauelled
with þe falland euill, ne his hors sall neuer be afounded, whils he hase it apon him. And many oþer vertuz has
þat drie tree, and þefore it es halden riȝt precious.

Fra Ebron men gase to Bethleem in halfe a day, for it es bot fyue myle; and it es a faire way and a lykand,
thurgh a playne and a wode. Bethleem es bot a lytill citee and a narow, bot it es wele lang, and it es wele
f.29b. walled all aboute and dyked. And it was called in alde tyme Efrata, as haly writte saise, *Ecce, audiuius*
eum in Efrata,² þat es to say, "Loo, we herd him in Efrata." Toward þe este end of þat citee es a faire kirke
with many kirkelles and toures and wele bretist all aboute; and within þat kirk er xliiii. pilers of marble, grete
and faire. And betwene þis kirk and þe citee es þe Felde *Floridus*; and it es called Felde Florischt for als mykill
as a faire ȝung maiden was blamed with wrang, þat scho schuld hafe done fornicacioun, for whilk cause scho was
demed to be brint in þat place. To þe whilk place scho was ledd and bun by a stake and fagotes of thornes
and oþer wode laid aboute hir; and, when scho sawe þe wodde begynne to brynne, scho made hir praier til oure
Lord þat, as scho was noȝt guilty of þat thing, he wald helpe hir and saue hir, þat it myght be knawen till all
men. And, when scho had þus prayd, scho went in to the fire; and als sone it was oute, and þase braunchez þat
ware brynnand become reed roseres, and þase braunchez þat ware noȝt kindled become whyte roseres, full of

lieu des especes, et la port homme a vendre. Et ne ferra homme ia fosse si parfonde ne si large qe al chief dul an ne soit tot reemplie et
toute ygaule par la grace de Dieu.

Et a ii. lieux de Ebron est la sepulture de Loth, qi fuist filz au frere Abraham. Assez pres de Ebron est ly mont de Mambre, de qy la
vale³ prent soun noun. La y ad vne arbre de cheisne,⁴ qe ly Sarazins appellent Dirp,⁵ qi est de temps Abraham,⁶ qe homme appelle
larbre sechche. Et dit homme qe celle arbre ad la esteie puis commencement de monde et estoit totdys vert. Et foylly iusques a tant qe
nostre Seignur morust en la croiz, et lors il dessecheha. Et si firent totes les arbres qestoient adonques par vniuerse monde, ou ils
dessechcheront,⁷ ou ly coers dedeins fendi et purissoit, et sunt demorez touz voidez et tot creuez⁸ par dedeins, dont il y ad vnqore mointez
H.f.15. parmy le monde. Et dient ascuns prophecies qe vn seignur prince doccident gainera la terre de promissioun ouesques aide des Cristiens et
ferra chanter messe desouz arbre sechche, et puis larbre reuerdira et portera foille et fruit,⁹ pur le quelle miracle moint Sarazins et moint
Iuys se conuerteront a la ley Cristiene. Et pur ceo ad homme larbre en grande reuerence et la garde mult curiousement et¹⁰ cherement.
Et, combien qe y soit sechche, nientmoins y porte grandes vertues; qar qi porte vn poy sur ly il garist de la caduke, et son chial ne poet
estre enfondeez.¹¹ Et plusours autres vertues il y ad, pur quoi homme le tient a precious.

De Ebron homme vait a Bethlehem en demy iour, qi voet, qar y ni ad qe v. lieues; et y ad mult belle chemin par plainz et par bois et
mult delitable. Bethleem est petite cite, longe et estreote et fermez entour ad bonz fossez. Et soloit estre appelez Efrata, si qe le psalter
dit, *Ecce, audiuius eam in Efrata*. Et vers la fin de la cite vers orient y ad mult belle esglise et bien gracieuse, et y ad tours pinacles et
kerneux mult faitisement faitz; et y a dedeins la esglise xliiii. pilers de marbre. Et entre celle esglise et la cite est *Campus Floridus*; et est
appelle Chaump Flory pur ceo qe vne damoiselle pucelle estoit encoulpez a tort, qe elle auoit fait fornicacioun, et la deuoit homme ardoir
en celle place, et furent les espines alumez. Et celle pucelle fist sa prier a nostre Seignur en requirant qe, si come elle estoit sanz coulpe,
il la vosist aider et faire demonstrance deuant touz. Et sur ceo elle entra en feu; et tantoust ly feu estoint et les branches
qestoient ardantz deuindrent rosers vermailles et les branchez qi nestoient vnqore allumeez deuindrent rosers blanches. Et ces furent les

¹ or elles—diuerse placez, om. C.

² Ps. cxxxi. 6., but with "eam."

³ la vale—qe ly, from R.; om. H. R. however reads "cherfne" for "cheisne."

⁴ Sirpe, G.

⁵ Alozoham, S.; alozohin, G.

⁶ et tot creuez, om. S.; et crueux, G.

⁷ et fruit, om. S. G.

⁸ caduc de morsure de cheual, ne quil a seür lui ne peut estre mortfondu, G.

⁹ chein, S.; chaine, G.

¹⁰ chairent, G.

¹¹ curiousement et, om. S.; Lien et chierement, G.

roses. And þase ware þe first rosez and roseres þat any man sawe. And þus was þe mayden saued thurgh þe grace of Godd. Also by syde þe qwere of þat kirk, at þe riȝt syde as men commez dounward xvii.¹ greez, es þe place where oure Lord was borne, þat is now full wele dight and richely depaynted with gold and siluer and azure and oþer diuerse coloures. And a lytil þeine, as it ware three paassez, es þe cribbe of þe ox and þe asse. And besyde þat es a pitte where in þe sterne fell þat ledd þe three kynges till oure Lord; and þaire names ware Iasper, Melchior and Balthazar. Bot² men of Grece callez þam þus, Galgalath, Malgalath, and Seraphy. Þise f.30. three kynges offredd till oure Lord incense, gold and mirre. And þai come þider thurgh myracle of Godd, for þai mette sammen in a citee of Inde, þat men callez Chasak,³ whilk es liii. day iourneez fra Bethleem, and þai⁴ ware at Bethleem þe ferthe day after þat þai had sene þe sterne. Also vnder þe cloister of þis kirke, xviii. greez at þe right syde, es þe Charnell of þe Innocentz, where þaire banes lies. And before þat place where Criste was 10 borne es þe toumbe of sayne Ierome, þat was preste and cardinale, þe whilk [did] translate þe Bible into Latyne oute of Hebrew. And withouten þe kirk es his chaier, where in he satt when he translated þe Bible. A lytill fra þis kirk es anoþer kirk of sayn Nicholas, where oure Lady restid hir when scho was delyuer of hir childe. And, for scho had to mykill mylke in hir pappes, whilk greued hir sare, scho mylked it oute apon þe reed stanes of marble þat ware þare; and ȝit þe spottes of þe qwhit mylk er sene apon þe stanes. And ȝe sall vnderstand þat nere hand all þat dwellez in Bethleem er Cristen men. And þer er faire vynes aboute þe citee and greté plentee of wyne thurgh þe ordynaunce and labouryng of Cristen; for þe Sarzenes laboures noȝt aboute vynes, ne þai drink na wyne. For þaire buke of lawe þat Machomete betuke þam, whilk þai call Alkaron, and sum callez it Massap, and sum callez it Harme, forbides þam to drink wyne. For in þat buke Machomete cursez all þase þat drinkez wyne and all þat sellez it. For sum men saise þat he sloghe anes a gude hermyte, whilk he lufd 20 mykill, in his drunkenness, and þerfore he cursed þe wyne and þaim þat drinkez wyne. Bot his malisoun be f.30b. turned to him self, as haly writte saise, *Et in verticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet*,⁵ þat es to say, "And intill his awen heued his wikkidness schall descend." þe Sarzenes also bringes furth na grysez, ne þai ete na swyne flessch; for þai say it es broþer to man and [þ]at it was forbedd in þe alde lawe. Also in þe land of

primers rosers et les primes roses qe hommes eust vnqes vewez a celle iour. Et ensi fuist la damoiselle deliuee par la grace de Dieu; et pur ceo est celle place appelee Chaump Floriz, qar il estoit touz pleinz de roses floriz. Item deleez le coer⁶ de celle esglise desuisdite a la detre partie, en descendant par xvi. degreez, est ly lieu ou nostre Seigneur nasquy, q̄i est oures mult noblement de marbre et mult gracieusement peinte dor et dazure et dautres coloures. Et la deles a iii. pas est la crache du boef et del asne. Et assez pres est ly poisz ou lesteille cheust qauoit conduit les iii. rois Iaspar, Balthazar et Melchior iusques la. Mes ly luyes appellent les iii. rois autrement en ebreu, qar ils les appellent Appelius,⁷ Amerius et Damasus; et ly Griecz les appellent Galgalath, Malgalath⁸ et Saraphi. Cils iii. rois 30 offrent a nostre Seigneur dor, dencens et de mirre. Et si ne vindrent pas la par iournes, mes par le miracle de Dieu. Qar ils se entretroueront en Ynde en vne cite qad a noun Cassak, qest a liii. iournes de Bethleem, et ils y furent le xiii^{me} iour.⁹ Et si estoit ia le iii^{me} iour qils auoient veu lesteille quant ils se entretroueront en celle cite, et ensi ils furent en ix. iours de celle cite a Bethleem; et ceo fut H.f.15b. grant miracle. Item a dessouz del cloistre de celle esglise par xviii. degreez a la destre partie est ly Charnus des Innocentz, ou leur ossementz gisent. Et deuant le lieu ou nostre Seigneur fuist neez est la tombe de seint Ierome, q̄i fuist presbiteres et cardinalx et translata la Bible et le psalter de ebreu en latin. Et de hors le moustier est sa chaiere, sur quoi il seoit quant il les translata. Et assez pres de celle esglise a xl.¹⁰ toises est vne esglise de seint Nicholas, ou nostre Dame se reposa apres lenfauntier. Et pur ceo qelle auoit trop de lait en ses mamelles et qe y ly fesoit mal, elle en getta illeosques sur pieres rouges de marbre, si qe vnqore sunt les techches blanches sur les pieres. Et sachez qe auqes touz cils¹¹ q̄i demorent a Bethleem sunt Cristiens. Et y a des belles vignes tot entour la cite et grant fuison de vin qe ly¹² Cristiens font faire; qar ly Sarazins ne courtient nulles vignes ne ne boient point de vin. Qar ly liures de lour ley qe Machomet lour bailla, qils 40 appellent Alkaron,¹³ et ly autre appellent Meshaaf¹⁴ et en autre langage lappelle homme Harme¹⁵—et le dit liure lour defend boire de vin. Qar en celle liure Machomet maudit touz ceaux q̄i boient vin et le vin et touz ceaux q̄i le vendent, pur ceo qe vne foith homme luy mettoit sur¹⁶ q̄il auoit occys un heremite q̄il amoit mult pur yueresse, et pur ceo maldit il le vin et les boiantz vin. Mes les maledicions soient a luy mesme retournez, si come Daud dit en le psalter, *Et in verticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet*. Et si ne norissent ly Sarazins nuls porceaux, ne ne mangent point de char de porceaux; qar ils dient qe ceo est frere dul homme, et qe y fuist defendu en veilz testament. Et tignent mout a desesperez touz ceaux q̄i ent mangent. Et auxi en la terre de Palestine nen la terre de Egipte ils ne mangent point¹⁷ ou

¹ xvi., C.⁴ And þai—þe sterne, translated more literally in C.⁷ Appelius—appellent, om. G.¹⁰ lx., S. G. C.¹² qe ly—vin, om. S.; de vin pour ce que lez Sarrazins qui tiennent la loy Machomet ne boient point de vin, qar les liures, G.¹³ Alchoran, S.; alchoram, G.¹⁶ mettoit sur lui, S.; li metoit sus, G.² C. here follows H. literally.⁵ Ps. vii. 17.⁸ Caldalach, S. G.; core, R.¹¹ aucuns de ceulx, G.¹⁴ Messak, S.; Moesach, G.; Mesaphe, C.¹⁷ point, om. H.³ Cassak, C.⁶ clocher, S. G.; core, R.⁹ y furent la iii. iours, S.; y furent a xiii., G.¹⁵ hayme, G.

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Palestyne, ne in þe land of Egipte, þai ete bot lytill veel or beeff, bot if it be so alde þat it may ne mare trauaile ne wirk, noȝt for it es forbedd, bot þai kepe þam for tillyng of land. In þis citee of Bethleem was Daudid kyng borne; and he had syx¹ wyfes, of whilk þe first was called Michol, þe doghter of kyng Saul. He had also many² lemmannes.

Fra Bethleem to Ierusalem er bot twa myle. And in þe way to Ierusalem, halfe a myle fra Bethleem, es a kirk, whare þe aungell said to þe schepherdes of þe birth of Criste. And in þat way es þe tounge of Rachel, Ioseph moder, þe patriarc; and scho died als sone as scho had borne Beniamyn. And þare was scho grauen; and Iacob hir housband sette xii. grete stanes on hir, in takennyng of þe twelfe patriarkes.³ Halfe a myle fra Ierusalem apperde þe sterne agayne to þe three kynges. And in þis way to Ierusalem er many kirkes, by whilk pilgrimes gasse to Ierusalem.

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CHAPTER X.

[*Of the pilgrimages in Jerusalem; and of the Holy Places there aboute.*]

FOR to speke of Ierusalem, ȝe schall vnderstand þat it standes faire amang hilles; and þer es nowþer ryuer ne well, bot þer comes water þerto by cundytes fra Ebron. And I do ȝow to wit þat þis citee was first called Iebus vnto þe tyme of Melchisedech, and seyne was it called Salem vnto þe tyme of kyng Daudid. And he sett þise twa names sammen and called it Iebusalem; and þan come Salomon f.31. and called it Ierusalem, and so es it ȝit called. And aboute Ierusalem es þe kyngdom of Surry; and þare by es þe land of Palestyne, and Ascalon. Bot Ierusalem es in þe land of Iudee; and it es called Iudee for Iudas Machabeus⁴ was prince of þat land. And it marchez estward on þe kyngdom of Araby, and on þe southe syde on þe land of Egipte, on þe west syde apon þe grete see, and on þe north syde apon þe kyngdom of Surry and þe see of Cypre. In Ierusalem was wont to be a patriark, and ercebishopes and bishopes aboute in þe cuntree. Aboute Ierusalem er þir citeez, Ebron at vii. myle, Iericho at vi. myle, Bersabee at viii. myle, Ascalon at

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poi char de veal ne de boef, sil nest si viel qe ne puisse ouerer; non pas qe lour soit defenduz, mes pur ceo qil en ont poi, si les gardent et les norissent pur arer les terres. De celle cite de Bethleem fuist neez le roi Daudid. Li roi Daudid auoit lx. femmes, des quelles la primere auoit a noun Michol. Et si auoit ccc. concubines.

De Bethleem iusques a Ierusalem ni ad qe ii. lieues. Et en chemin pur aler a Ierusalem, a demye lieue de Bethleem, y ad vne esglise ou ly angel denuncia a pastours la natiuitee nostre Seignur. Et en ceo chemin est la tumber de Rachael, qi fuist mere de Ioseph le Patriarch, qi morust tantoust qelle auoit⁵ enfantee Beniamin et la fuist enseuelie de Iacob⁶ son marit. Et mist Iacob xii. grandes pieres sur luy en signe qil⁷ auoit eu xii. enfantz. En ceo chemin mesmez, a demye lieue de Ierusalem, se reapparust lesteille as iii. rois, qi se estoit repose pur Herodes. En ceo chemin y ad multz des esglises de Cristiens, par les quelles lom vait.

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CHAPITRE X.

Des pelrinages en Jerusalem; et des Seintz Lieux la enuiron.

H.f.16. **D**UIS est Ierusalem la seinte cite, bien assise entre montaignes; et si nad riuers ne fontaignes, mes vient leawe par conduit deuers Ebron. Et poez sauoir qe Ierusalem anxienement iusques au temps de Melchisedech estoit appelez Iebus, et puis fuist appelez Salem iusques au temps le roi Daudid. Ly quelle Daudid mettoit ces deus nouns ensemble et lappelloit Iebusalem; et puis Salomon lappelloit Ierosolimie, et puis ad homme appelle Ierusalem. Et entour Ierusalem est le roialme de Sirie⁸; et la delez est la terre de Palestine, et delez Ascolone est la terre de Maritanie. Mes Ierusalem est en terre de Iudee, et [est] appelez Iudee pur ceo qe Iudas Machabeus fuist roi de celle pais. Et marchist deuers orient au roialme de Arabe, deuers mydy a la terre de Egipte, deuers occident a la grant meer, deuers⁹ bise au roialme de Surie et a la mer de Chipre. En Ierusalem soloit auoir vn patriarch, et mult des archeuesques et des euesques en pais. Entour Ierusalem sunt cestes cites:—Ebron a vii. lieues, Iericho a vi. lieues, Barsabee a viii. lieues, Ascalone¹⁰ a xvii. 40

¹ syx, over erasure, E.; lx., C.

⁴ Machabeus, erased, E.

⁷ qil, R.; qelle, S. G. H.

¹⁰ Ascalone—a iii. lieues, om. G.

² ecc., C.

⁵ auoit, om. G.

⁸ Sirie—est en terre de, om. S. G.

³ in tokene þat sche had born xii. children, C.

⁶ deiust, S.; den coste, G.

⁹ deuers—mer de, om. G.

xviii.¹ myle, Iaff at xxvii.,² Rames³ at iii. myle, and Bethleem at ii. myle. And twa myle fra Bethleem, toward þe south, es a kirke of Sayne Markaritot, þat was sum tyme abbot þare, for wham þe mounkes made mykill sorowe at his dying. And ȝit es þare paynting, whare in þe grete dole þat þai made es representid and purtraid,⁴ and it es a piteous thing to behald.

Þis land of Ierusalem has bene in many diuerse naciouns handes, as Iews, Cananez, Assirienes, men of Perse, Medoynes, Massidoynes, Grekes, Romaynes, Cristen men, Sarzenes, Barbarenes, Turkes, and many oþer naciouns. For Criste will noȝt þat it be lang in þe handes of traytours ne synners, be þai Cristen er oþer. And now has mescreauncez halden þat land in þaire handes vii^{xx} ȝere⁵ and mare; bot thurgh þe grace of Godd þai schall noȝt hald it lang.

And ȝe sall vnderstand þat, when men commez to Ierusalem, þai make þaire first pilgrimage to þe kirk 10
f.31b. whare es þe sepulcre of oure Lorde, whilk was sum tyme withouten þe citee on þe north syde; bot it es now closed within þe wall of þe toune. And þer es a full faire kirk all rounde, thekid⁶ wele with leed; and on þe west syde of þe kirke es a faire toure and a strang, fore belles. And in þe myddes of þat kirke es a tabernacle, as as it ware a lytill hous made in maner of half a cumpas, dight riȝt wele and richely with gold and siluer and azour and oþer diuerse colours; and on þe ryght syde þeroff es þe sepulcre of oure Lord. Þis tabernacle es viii. fote lang, and fyue fote wyde, and xi. fote hegh. And it es noȝt lang sen þe sepulcre was all open, þat men myȝt kisse it and touche it. Bot for men þat come þider paynd þam to breke þe stane in pecez or poudre to bere with þam, þarfore þe sowdan has gert make a wall aboute þe graue, þat na man may touche it, bot on þe left syde.⁷ Þat tabernacle has na wyndowes, bot þer es þerin many lawmpes light. Bot ymanges oþer þer es ane before þe sepulcre allway brynnand; and ilk a gude Fridday it gase oute by it self, and on þe Pasch day it 20
lightez agayne by it self þat same hour þat oure Lord raise fra deed to lyf. Also within þat kirk on þe riȝt syde es þe mounte of Caluary, whare oure Lord was done on þe crosse. And þe crosse was sette in a mortays in the roche, þat es whyt of colour and a lytill reed melled þerwith. Apon þe roche dropped blode of þe woundes of oure Lorde, when he was pynd on þe crosse. And þat es now called Golgatha; and men gase vp þerto apon

lieues, Iaffe a xvi., Ramtha a iii. lieues, et Bethleem a ii. lieues. Et a ii. lieues de Bethleem, contre mydy, est lesglise seint Karitot,⁸ qi fuist illosqes abbe, pur qi les moignes mesnoient grant doel, quant il deuoit morir. Et vnqore sunt ils en peinture en la guise qils fesoient de doel adonqes, qest mult pitouse chose a regarder.

Ceste pais de Ierusalem ad estee en mains de mointes diuerses nacions; et souent ad ly pais eut a soeffrir pur le peeche du poeple qi y demoerent. Qar le pais ad estee en mains de touz nacions, come des Iuys, de Cananees, des Assiriens, des Persains, des Medains, des Macedoins, des Griecz, de[s] Romains, des Cristiens, des Sarazins, des Barbariens, des Turks, des Tartariens,⁹ et de mult autres diuerses 30
gentz. Qar Dieu ne soeffre mie longement reigner gentz traitres ne grantz pecchours en celle sainte terre, soient Cristiens, soient autres gentz. Et ore ont ly mescreant tenuz celle terre en lour mains par le space de vii^{xx} ans et pluis; mes ils ne la tendront mie longement, si Dieu plest.

Et poez sauoir qe, quant homme est a Ierusalem, fait le primer pilrinage a lesglise seint Sepulchre, qest a dehors de la cite vers la partie de bise ou de north, mes elle est enuironnez¹⁰ ouesqe la cite. Et est mult belle esglise, reonde et ouerte par dessure et couerte entour de plomb; et y ad mult bele tour haute et forte vers les parties doccident pur pendre cloches.¹¹ Dedeins¹² celle esglise en my lieu y ad vn tabernacle, auxi come vne petite maisoun, ouesqe vn petit¹³ husshelet; et est cest tabernacle fait en fourme de demy compas, mult noblement affaite dor et de azure et dautres colours mult bien aournez. Et en ceo tabernacle¹⁴ a la detre partie est ly sepulcre nostre Seignur. Et contient de long le tabernacle viii. piez et de large v. piez; et si ad le tabernacle xi. piez de haut. Et ni ad pas long temps qe ly sepulcre estoit tot descouert, si qe lem poait toucher et baiser. Mes, pur ceo qe chescun qi y aloit se penoit¹⁵ de prendre de la pierre ou piece ou 40
poudre, pur ceo lad ly soudan fait emmurer, si qe homme ne poet toucher. Mes en la partie senestre del mur de tabernacle, bien le haut
H.f.16b. dun homme, y ad vne pierre, de gros de la teste dun homme, qestoit del seint Sepulcre, et ceste pierre baisent ly pilrins. En ceo tabernacle y a nulles fenestres, mes est enluminez des lampes. Et il ad vne lampe qi pent deuant le sepulcre, qi totbiz ardt; et au venderdy seint elle esteint de luy mesme, et puis reallume le iour de la resurrexioun au tiele heure come nostre Seignur releua de mort en vie. Item dedeins lesglise a la destre partie pres de le coer¹⁶ de la esglise est le mont de Caluarie, ou nostre Seignur fuist mis en la croiz; et est vne roche de blanche colour et vn poy de rouge medlez ouesqes en ascuns lieux. Celle roche est fendue et celle fendure homme appelle Galgatha. La degoutent¹⁷ ly sang des plaies nostre Seignur, quant il fuist penex en la croiz. Et mointe homme a cel Galgatha par degrez. Et la en

¹ xvii., C.

⁴ and ȝit þei ben in moornyng in the wise þat þei maden here lamentacion for him the firste tyme, C.

⁶ covered, C.

⁷ But in the left syde of the walle of the tabernacle is, wel the heighte of a man, a gret ston, to the quantytee of a mannes hed, þat was of the Holy Sepulcre, and þat ston kissen the pilgrymes þat comen þider, C.

¹⁰ esmure, S.; emmure, G.

¹³ baas, S.; bas, G.

¹⁶ clore, S.; cloistre, G.

² xvi., C.

⁸ Kariot, S.; Karicoc, G.; Karitot, C.

¹¹ pur pendre cloches, om. G.

¹⁴ esglise, S. G.

¹⁷ degoutent, H.

³ Ramatha, C.

⁵ xl. ȝere, C.

⁹ des Tartariens, om. S. G.

¹² enclose dedeins, G.

¹⁵ acuns qi y aloient se penoient, S.

- f.32. grecez. And in þat mortays was Adam heued founden aftre Noe flode, in takne þat þe synnes of Adam schuld be boght in þat same place. And abouen on þat roche made Abraham sacrifice til oure Lord. And þare es ane awter; and before þat awter lyes Godfray de Boloon and Bawdewyne his broþer, and oper þat ware Cristen and kynges of Ierusalem. And þare, whare oure Lord was done on þe crosse, es writen in Grew lettres, sayand þus, *Otheos basileon ysmon presemas ergaste sothias oys*; and sum bukez saise þus, *Otheos basileon ymon proseonas ergasa sothias emesotis gis*, þat es to say on Latyn þus, *Hic deus, rex noster, ante saecula operatus est salutem in medio terre*, þat es to say, "Here Godd, oure kyng, before werldes has wroȝt hele in myddes of þe erthe." And also apon þe roche whare þe crosse was fitthed es writen þus, *Gros guist rasis thou pestes thoy thesmoysi*, or þus, *Oyos iustiys basis thou pesteos thoy themosi*, þat es to say in Latyn, *Quod vides, est fundamentum totius fidei mundi huius*, þis es to say, "þat þou seez es þe ground of all þe fayth of þis werld." 10
- And 3e schall vnderstand þat oure Lord when he died was xxxiii. 3ere alde and three monethes. Bot þe prophecy of Daudid saise þat he schuld hafe xl. 3ere are he died, þare he saise on þis wyse, *Quadragesima annis proximus fui generacioni huic*,¹ þat es to say, "Fourty 3ere was I neghbour to þis kynde." And hereby schuld it seme þat haly writte ware noȝt trewe; bot sikerly it es trew ynogh, for in alde tyme men made 3eres of ten
- f.32b. monethes, of whilk þe moneth of Marce was þe first and December þe last. Bot Iulius Cesar, þat was emperour of Rome, gert sette to þise twa monethes, Ianuere and Feuerere, and ordayned þe 3ere to be of xii. monethes, þat es to say of ccclxv. dayes, withouten lepe 3ere, after þe propre course of þe sonne. And perfore, after accountyng of ten monethes to þe 3ere, he dyed in þe fourty 3ere, and after oure 3eres of twelfe monethes he had xxxiii. 3ere and three monethes are he dyed. Fast by þe mount of Caluary, at þe riȝt syde, es ane awter, whare þe piler lyes to þe whilk oure Lord was bounden, when he was scourged. And foure fote þeine er foure stanes,² 20
- whilk all way droppez water; and sum men saise þat þase stanes grette for oure Lordes deed. And nere to þis forsaid awter, in a place vnder þe erthe xlii. grecez depe, fand saynt Helene þe crosse of oure Lord Ihesu Criste, vnder a roche whare þe Iews had hidd it. And þare were founden also oper twa crossez, þat þe twa thefez ware done apon, whilk hang on ayther syde Criste. And saynt Helen wist noȝt witerly whilk was þe crosse þat Criste was done apon; and þan scho tuke ilk ane efter oper and layd þam apon a deed man, and, als sone as þe verray crosse þat Criste was done apon was laid apon þe deed body, þe cors rase fra deed to lyfe. And þare by in þe wall es þe place whare þe foure nayles þat Criste was nayled with thurgh fote and hand ware hidd; for he had twa nayles in his hend and twa in his fete. And of ane of þase nayles gert þe emperour Constantyne make him ane yrne till his brydill,³ þe whilk he vsed ay when he went to bataile; for thurgh vertu þeroff he ouercome his
- f.33. enmys and conquerd many diuerse rewmes, þat es to say Asy þe less, Turkie, Ermony þe less and þe mare, 30

celle fendure fuist troue la teste Adam apres le diluue de Noe, en signe qe les pecches Adam serroient rechatez en ceo mesmes lieu. Et sur celle roche fist Abraham sacrifice a nostre Seignur. Et la y ad vn aultier; et deuant cel aultier gisent Godefroiz de Builloun, Baudin, et autres qi furent Cristiens rois de Ierusalem. Et la, delez ou nostre Seignur fuist crucifiez, est ceo cy escript en gregeois, *Otheos basilion ysmon proseonas ergasa sothias emesotis gis*,⁴ cest a dire en latin, *Hic est⁵ Deus, rex noster, ante secula qui⁶ operatus est salutem in medio terre*. Item sur la roche, la ou la croiz fuist fchie, est escript dedeins la roche, *Cyos nyst ys basys toupisteos they tesmoſy*,⁷ cest a dire en latin, *Quod vides, est fundamentum totius fidei mundi huius*. Et si voile qe vous sachez qe, quant nostre Seignur fuist mis a la mort, il auoit xxxiii. ans et iii. mois. Et la prophecie Daudid dit qil deuoit auoir xl. ans, la ou il dit, *Quadragesima annis proximus fui generacioni huic*,⁸ &c. Et ensi y sembleroit as ascuns qe la prophecie ne fuist veraie; mes lun et lautre est veritable, qar anxienement homme fesoit lan de x. mois, dont Marcz estoit le primers et December estoit ly dreniers. Mes Gaius Ceser, qi fuist emperour de Rome, fist adiouster deus mois, laneuer et Feuerer, et ordeina lan de xii. mois, cest de ccclxv. iours, sanz le Bisexit, solonc le propre cours de solail; et ensi tiegnent touz Cristiens, 40

Si qe solonc lan de x. mois il estoit en quarantisme an si come le prophete dit; et solonc lan de xii. mois il nauoit qe xxxiii. ans et iii. mois. Item pres de mont de Caluarie a destre y ad vn aultier, ou la columpne gist a quoi nostre Seignur fuist liez et flagelles. La delez y ad iiii. columpnes⁸ de pierre qi totbiz degoutent deawe; et dient ascuns qe elles plourent la mort nostre Seignur. Et pres de cel aultier, en vn lieu dessouz terre xlii. degrez de parfond, fuist troue la veraie croiz par le sen seinte Heleine desouz la roche ou luy luyes lauoiert reconduz. Et la mesmez fuist la veraie croiz assaie; qar homme y troua iii. croiz, cest assauer celle de nostre Seignur et celles des ii. larons. Si les fist seinte Heleine assaier sur un corps mort, qi tantoust se releua quant la veraye croiz fuist mise sur luy. Et la delez en mur est ly lieu⁹ ou les iiii. claus nostre Seignur furent resconduz; qar il y auoient ii. es mains et ii. es piez. Et del vn des claus fist

H.f.17. lempereur Constantin vn frein pur son chival pur porter en bataille. Par la vertue de ceo frein il venquy touz les aduersaires et gaigna tote la terre de Asye la moindre, ce est de¹⁰ Turke, de Armenie la petite et la grande, de Surie, de Ierosolomie, Darabe, de Persie, de

¹ Ps. xciv. 10, but with "offensus" for "proximus."

² pilers of ston, C.

³ ergase sothias cis, S.; ergaze sothias gys, G.; ergasa, (R.), om. H.; C. follows H., but gives "ergasa." See note.

⁴ qui, om. S. G.; inserted, H.

⁵ vesseaux, S.; vesiaus, G.

⁶ made a brydill to his hors, C.

⁷ est, om. S. G.

⁸ Cyos nyst basys thou pisteos choi tesmoſy, S.; Cys. nyst. basys. thou. pisteos. thoſ. tehs. moysi, G.; C. follows H.

⁹ ly lieu, R.; lu, over erasure, H.

¹⁰ ce est de, S.; cest, G.; om. H. R. with a blank space.

Surry, Ierusalem, Araby, Perse, Mesopotamy, þe rewme of Halope, and of Egipte, bathe þe ouermare and þe neþer mare, and many oþer landes vnto wele lawe in Ethiope and vnto Inde þe less, þat þan was Cristen for þe mare party. And þare ware in þat tyme many gode haly men and haly hermytes in þase cuntreez, of wham þe buke of *Vitas patrum* spekez. And now fore þe maste party þase landes er in payenes and Sarzenes handes. Bot, when Godd will, riȝt as þise landes er lost thurgh synne of Cristen men, so schall þai be wonnen agayne by Cristen men, thurgh helpe of Godd. In þe middes of þe qwere of þe forsaid kirk es a sercle, in þe whilk Ioseph of Aramathy layd þe body of oure Lord, when he had tane him off þe crosse; and men saise þat þat cumpas es in þe middes of þe werld. And in þat place wascht Ioseph þe woundes of oure Lord. Also in þe kirk of þe sepulcre, on þe north syde, es a place where oure Lord was done in prisoun, for he was emprisouned in many placez. And þare es ȝit a porcioun of þe chayne wharwith he was bunden. And þare he appered first to Mary 10 Mawdelayne, when he rase fra deed to lyfe, and scho wend þat he had bene a gardenere. In þe kirke of þe Sepulcre ware wont to be chanouns of þe ordre of saynt Austyne, and þai had a priour; bot þe patriarc was þaire souerayne. And withouten þe dore of þe kirke, at þe riȝt syde, as men gase vpp xviii. greez, sayd oure Lord till his moder, when he hang on þe crosse, apon þis wyse, *Mulier, ecce, filius tuus*,¹ þat es to say, f.33b. "Womman, loo, þare þi son," and he ment of sayne Iohn þat stode þare by syde. And till him he said, "Loo, þare þi moder." Vppe at þis grece went Criste with þe crosse on his bakk to þe place where he was crucified. And vnder þis grece es a chapell, where prestez synges, bot noȝt aftre oure lawe, bot aftre þaire awen lawe. And all way þai make þaire sacrement of þe awter of breed, sayand þe *Pater noster* and þe wordes of þe sacrement and lytill mare; for þai knawe noȝt þe addiciouns of papez, whilk oure prestez vse for to say at messe. Neuer þe les þai syng þaire messe with grete deuocioun. And þare nere es þe place where oure Lord 20 rested him, when he was wery of bering of þe crosse. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat yntes þe kirk of þe Sepulcre es þe citee maste wayke, for þe grete playne þat es betwene þe citee and þe kirke on þe este syde. And withouten þe walles toward þe est es þe vale of Iosaphat, þe whilk commes euen to þe walles. Abouen þat vale withouten þat citee es þe kirke of saynt Steuen, where he was stened to deed. And þare by syde es þe ȝate whilke men callez *Porta aurea*, þe whilk may noȝt be opned. In at þat yhate come oure Lord Ihesu rydand on Palme Sunday apon ane asse; and þat ȝate opned agayne him, when he come to þe temple. And ȝit er þe steppes of þe asse in thre placez of þe grece of stane. Before þe kirke of þe Sepulcre cc. passez es a grete hospitale of saynt Iohn, of whilk þe hospitalleres hase þaire first fundacion. And to ga toward þe est fra þe

Mesopotamie, du roialme de Halappe, de Egipte, la haute² et la basse, et totes autres regions iusques bien parfonde en Ethiope³ iusques en Ynde la meinour, qi adonques tout auques estoient Cristiens et de bon foy. Et mult y auoit apres cel temps en celle marches des prodhommes 30 heremites, dont ly liueres de la Vie des Pierres emparle. Et maintenant y sont touz Sarazins et paiens. Mes, quant il plerra a Dieu, si come celle terre ad estee perdue par les pecches des Cristiens, auxi serra elle regaigne par la pruesse de eaux, al eide de Dieu. Item en my lieu dul coer⁴ del esglise il y ad vne compas en quel Ioseph Daramathie posa le corps nostre Seignur, quant il lauoit oustee de la croiz, et la mesme ly lauoit ses plaies; et cest compas dit homme estre droitement en my lieu de monde. En lesglise seint Sepulcre vers bise est ly lieu ou nostre Seignur fuist mis en prisoun, qar il fuist emprisonnez en plusours lieux. Et la y ad auxi vne partie de la chaine dont il fuist liez. Et la apparust primerement nostre Seignur a Marie Magdaleyne apres sa resurreccioun, et elle quidoit qe ceo fu vn cortiller. En lesglise de seint Sepulcre soloit auoir Chanoignes del ordre de seint Augustin, et auoient vn priour; mes ly patriarch estoit lour souerain. Deshors les portes del esglise au destre en montant par xviii. degrez dit nostre Seignur a sa miere, "Femme, voila ton filz"; et luy moustra seint Iohan leuangelist. Et puis dit a seint Iohan, "Voila, ta miere." Et celle mesme paroule disoit il auxi en la croiz. Et par ces degrez monta 40 nostre Seignur, quant il porta la croiz sur les espales. Et desouz ces degrez y ad vne chapelle, et en celle chapelle chantent prestres Yndiens, non pas solonc nostre loy, mes solonc la leur. Et totefoiz ils font le sacrement dul aultier de pain,⁵ en disant *Pater noster* et ascuns autres choses ouesques et les paroules dont le sacrement est consacree; qar ne sciuent rienz des addicions qe plusours papes ont fait, mes ils chantent en bone deuocioun. Et assez pres est ly lieu ou nostre Seignur se reposa, qestoit lassez de porter la croiz. Et sachez qe deuers lesglise seint Sepulcre est la cite pluis feble qe autre part pur le grant plain qest entre lesglise et la cite. Et deuers la partie dorient dehors les murs de la cite⁶ est la val de Iosephaz, qi touche⁷ as mures auxi qe ceo fuist vne large fossez. Au dehors de la cite est lesglise de seint Esteuene, la ou il fuist lapidez. Et la delez est la porte dorree, qi ne puit estre ouerte. Par celle porte entra nostre Seignur le iour de *Rami palme* sur vne asnesse; et les portes se oueroient contre luy, quant il voloit aler au temple. Et vncore y pierent ly piez del asnesse en iii. lieux des degrez, qi sunt de mult dure pierre. Deuant lesglise de seint Sepulcre deuers mydy a cc. pas est ly grant hospital seint Iohan de quel les hospitlers ont lour fondement. Et dedeins le palais as malades de cel hospital y ad vi^{xxiii}. pilers de pierre. Et en les murs de la

¹ John xix., 26.⁴ clore, S.; cloistre, G.⁷ qi touche—fossez, S. R.; om. H.² la haute—Ethiope, om. G.⁵ de pain, om. G.³ Egipt, S.⁶ de la cite—fossez, om. G.

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f.34. hospitale es a riȝt fair kirke, þat men callez *Nostre Dame le graunt*. And a lytill þeine es anoþer kirke, þat es called *Nostre Dame de Latynes*. And þare stude Mary Mawdelayne and Mary Cleophe, makand sorow for oure Lord, when he was done to deed, and drawand off þaire hare. In¹ þe forsaid hospitale of sayne Iohn es a grete hous ordaynd for seke folk, and þer er in þat hous vi^{xiiii}. pilers of stane þat beres vp þe hous.

CHAPTER XI.

[Of the temple of oure Lord; of the crueltee of kyng Heroud; of the mount Syon; of Probatica Piscina; and of Natatorium Siloe.]

FRA þe kirke of þe sepulcre, toward þe est, ane aght score passez es þe temple *Domini*, whilke es riȝt a faire hous. And it es all rounde and riȝt hye and wele thekid with leed, and it es wele pauered with whyte marble. Bot þe Sarzenes will suffer na Cristen men ne Iews comme þerin; for þai say þat so foule men schuld noȝt comme in to so haly place. Neuerþeles I come in þare, and in oþer placez whare I wald; for I had lettres of þe sowdan with his grete seele, in þe whilk he commaunded straitely til all his subiectes, þat þai schuld late me see all þe placez whare I come, and þat þai schuld schew me þe relykes and þe placez at my will, and þat þai schuld lede me fra citee to citee, if miste ware,² and benignely ressayue me and all my felaws, and be obeischaunt to myne askynges in all thing þat was resounable, bot if it ware agaynes þe reall dignitee of þe sowdan, or elles agayne þaire lawe. Till oþer þat askes leue of þe sowdan and grace to passe by þe placez before said he giffez comounly bot his signet; þe whilke pilgrimes beres before þam thurgh þe cuntree hingand apon a spere or a rodd, to þe whilke þe folk of þat land dose grete reuerence. Bot to me, by f.34b. cause I was lang in his courte and in his seruice, he didd speciale grace. Till his forsaid signet swilk reuerence þai do, þat, when þai see it passe before þam, þai knele doune þerto, as we do when þe preste passez by vs with þe pyxe.³ And till his lettres also þai do grete reuerence; for, when þai comme till any lorde or til any oþer man, als sone as he seez þam, he inclynes þerto reuerently and ressayfez þam and lays þam apon his heued, and seyne he kissez þam and redez þam kneland and þan proferes him to do all thing þat þe bringer will efter þe tenenour of þam. In þis forsaid temple *Domini* ware wont to be chanouns reguleres; and þai had ane abbot to

maison sanz le nombre desuisdit y a liii. pelers qi sustinent la maisoun. Et de cel hospital, a aler vers orient, y a mult bele esglise, qest appelle Nostre Dame la grande. Et puis y ad vne autre esglise assez pres, qe homme appelle de Nostre Dame de Latins.⁴ La estoient Marie Cleophas et Marie Magdaleyne; et se tiroient par les cheueux, quant nostre Seignur fuist mis en la crois.

CHAPITRE XI.

Del temple nostre Seignur; del crueltee Herodes; del mont Syon; de Probatica Piscina et Natatorio Sylae.

DE le temple *Domini*, qest a viii^{xx} pas del esglise seint Sepulcre vers orient, est tres bele maison, tot reonde, bien large et bien haute, et couerte de plum. Et ad grande place entour sanz nulle maison; et est la place bien pauered par tot de marbre blanc. Et ly Sarazins ne lessent entrer ne Cristiens ne Iuys; qar ils dient qe si ordez gentz ne deiuient entrer ne coucher⁵ en si seint lieu. Mes ieo y entray la, et autre part ou ieo voloie, par vertue des lettres del soudan, en les quels il y auoit especial mandement as touz ses subgitz a moy lesser veoir⁷ touz les lieux et a moy deuiser les lieux et les mesteirs de chescun lieu et a conduire de cite en autre, sil estoit mestiers, et a benignement resceuer moi et ma compaigne et a encliner a touz mes requestes resonables, si elles nestoient grandement⁸ contre la roiale dignitee du soudan ou de sa loy. Et as autres qi luy demandent grace⁹ il ne donne qe son seignal, le quelle ils font porter deuant eux pendant a vne lance; et font les gentz del pais grant honour a cel seignal, sagenoillent si come nous ferreons contre *Corpus Domini*. Et si fait homme pluis grant reuerence sanz comparisoun a cez¹⁰ lettres. Qar ly admiral et ly autres seignurs as queux homme les moustre, auant qils les resceuoient, ils senclinent et puis les preignent et les mettent sur lour testes et puis les baisent et puis les lisent, tot enclinantz et ouesques grande reuerence, et puis se offrent affaire quant qe les portours requirent. En cest temple *Domini*

¹ This sentence in C. is higher up, as in the French texts, and follows H. more exactly.

² þe pyxe, over an erasure, E; and knelen þereto as lowly as wee don to *Corpus Domini*, C.

³ ne coucher, om. S. G. C.

⁴ grandement, om. G.

⁵ si ort lieu, G.

⁶ et qi ne lount deserui, S.; and so G.

⁷ gif it were nede, C.

⁸ vatins, S.; uertus, G.; Latyne, C.

⁹ lesser entrer et lez lieux tous veoir, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ sc. ses.

wham þai ware obedient. And in þis temple was Charlemayne, when þe aungell broght him þe prepuce of oure Lord, when he was circumcised; and afterward kyng Charles gert bere it to Parysch.¹ And 3e schall vnderstand þat þis es noȝt þe temple þat Salomon made; for þat temple lasted bot a thousand cii. 3ere. For Tytus, Vaspasiane son, þat was emperour of Rome, layd ensege vnto Ierusalem for to destruy þe Iews, for þai did Criste to deed withouten leue and ascent of þe emperour. And, when he had taken þe citee, he gert brynne þe temple and cast it doune and destruyd it and tuke all þe Iews and slew of þam elleuen hundreth thowsand; and þe remenaunt he putte in presoun and salde of þam xxx. for a peny, for he had herd tell þat þai salde Criste for f.35. xxx. penys.² Lang after þis þe emperour Iulyan Apostata, whilk renayd and forsuke Cristen fayth, gafe þe Iewes leue to make agayne þe temple in Ierusalem, for þe hatredyn þat he had till Cristen men, if all he ware a Cristen man before. And when þai had made þe temple, þer come ane ertheqwakyng, as Godd wald, þat kest all doune 10 þat þai had made. And seyne þe emperour Adrian, þat was of þaim of Troy, reparaild þe citee of Ierusalem and restored þe temple and made it new agayne in þe maner þat Salomon made it, reall and noble. Bot he wald suffer na Iew com þerin, bot all Cristen men; for, if all it ware so þat he ware noȝt Cristen, he lufed Cristen men mare þan any oþer men, saue men of his awen fayth. And þis emperour gert enclose þe kirk of þe sepulcre with a wall and made it to be within þe citee, þat before was withouten. And he chaunged þe name of þe citee and called it Helyam,³ bot þat name lasted noȝt lang. To þe temple *Domini* duse þe Sarezens grete reuerence, and saise þat þat place es riȝt haly. And, when þai gang in to it, þai do off þaire schone and knelez oft sythez with grete reuerence. And, when my felawes and I sawe þam do so, we didd off oure schoos and thoȝt it ware mare skill þat we Cristen men didd swilke wirschepe þare to at þe reuerence of Godd þan mistrowand. þis temple hase lxiiii. cubites of wydeness, and als many of lenth, and of heyght vi^{xx} and fyfe⁴; 20 and it es within all aboute of pilers of marble. And ymiddez of þe temple es a stage of xxiiii. grece hie, and gode pilers all aboute. þis place callez þe Iews *Sancta Sanctorum*. And in þat place come nane bot all anely f.35b. þe bischope of þaire lawe, when he made þaire sacrificez. And þe folke stude all aboute in diuerse stagez after þat þai ware of dignytee and wirschepe. And þare er in to þis temple foure entreez; and þe dures er of cipresse, craftily made and wele. And within þe est dore oure Lord said, "Here es Ierusalem." And on þe north syde, within þe dore, es a well, bot þare rynnnes na water oute of it, of whilk Haly Writte⁵ spekes þus, *Vidi*

soloit auoir chanoignes regulers et auoient vn abbe, a qi ils obeseoient. En ceo temple estoit Charlemaigne, quant ly angel ly porta le presente⁶ nostre Seigneur Ihesu Crist de la circumcisioun, et il la porta a Ayes⁷ la Chapelle. Et puis Charles ly Chauues le fist porter a Poitiers, et puis a Chartres. Item sachez qe cel nest mie mesme cel temple qe Salamon fist; qar ceo temple ne dura qe mil cii.⁸ ans. Qar Titus, le filz Vespasien, lempereur de Rome, qi tenoit la siege entour Ierusalem pour desconfire les Iuys, pur ceo qils auoient mis nostre 30 Seigneur a mort sanz conge del emperour, quant il auoit pris la cite, il ardy le temple et labatist; et prist totes les Iuys et mist xi^m⁹ et les autres il mist en prisoun et les vendy a seruitute xxx. pur vn denier, qar il disoit¹⁰ qils auoient achatez Ihesu Crist pur xxx. deniers, et il ferroit¹¹ de eaux meilloure marche qil doneroit xxx. pur vne denier.¹² Et puis vn temps apres dona ly emperour Iulianus Apostata H.f.18. congee as Iuys de reedifier la temple a Ierusalem, pur ceo qil haoit les Cristiens; et si estoit il Cristiens, mes il estoit renoiez. Et quant ly Iuys auoient auques fait le temple, vien vn terremoto, si come il plust a Dieu, et abaty quanqe ils auoient fait. Et puis Adrian lempereur, qestoit de ceaux de Troies,¹³ refist la cite de Ierusalem et le temple en celle mesme guise qe Salamon lauait fait. Et ne voloit qe nulles Iuys demorast, fors soulement Cristiens; qar, combien qil ne fuist Cristien, il amoit pluis Cristiens qe nulles autres gentz apres ceaux de sa loy. Cis emperour fist enclorre et enmurer lesglise de seint Sepulcre ouesques la cite, qauant estoit loinz dehors de la cite. Et voloit changer les nouns de Ierusalem et appellout Helia, mes ceo noun ne dura gaires. Item sachez qe ly Sarazins font mout grande reuerence a ceo temple, et dient bien le lieu estre mult seint, et entrent tot dechaucez et agenouillent souent. Et, quant mes compaignons et moy veismes ceo, nous 40 nous dechauceasmes, et pensasmes¹⁴ qe mout mieus le deuoiems nous faire qe luy mescreantz, si en¹⁵ eusmes grant compuccioun au coer. Ceo temple ad lxiiii. cubitz de large et atant¹⁶ de long, et de haut vi^{xx} cubitz; et y a tot entour des pilers de marbre. Et en milieu du temple y a pluis haute estage de xiiii.¹⁷ degrez de haut et des bons pilers tot entour. Cel lieu Iuys appellent *Sancta Sanctorum*. La ni entroit¹⁸ nulli fors qe luy prelait, qi fesoit le misteire dul sacrifice. Et luy poeple estoit tot entour par diuisions en diuerses estages solonc ceo qil estoient, si qe ils voient touz faire le sacrifice. En cel temple y a iiii. entres, et sunt les portes de si pres bien entaillees. Et dedeinz les portes dorient dit nostre Seigneur, "Yci est Ierusalem." Et en la partie de north dedeins les portes y ad vne fontaigne, mes elle ne court point, de

¹ to Parys into his chapelle; and after þat he leet brynge it to Peyteres [Poitiers] and after þat to Chartres, C.

² *Ælia Capitolina*.

³ prepuce, S. G.; present, R.

⁴ xi. mil, S.; xi. fois cent mil, G.

⁵ et fesoit, S.; et faisoit, G.

⁶ desprous, S.

⁷ et tant de hault et de lonc vi^{xx} cubitez et v, et y a, etc., G.

⁸ la vindroient, S.

⁹ vi^{xx} cubites, C.

¹⁰ a Ayes—fist porter, om. S. G.

¹¹ qar il disoit—deniers, om. S. G.; il disoit, R.; ils disont, H., with erasure.

¹² denier qils nauoient, quant ils achateront Ihesu Crist pur xxx. deniers, S.; qar il disoit quil auoient achate, etc., G.

¹³ et pensasmes, om. S. G.

¹⁴ and he made of hem better cheep, adds C.

¹⁵ See note.

¹⁶ ii., om. G.

¹⁷ si en—au coer, om. S. G.

¹⁸ xxiiii., S. G.; xiiii., C.

aquam egredientem de templo, &c. And on þe toþer syde es a roche, þat men called sum tyme Moriac, bot seyne was it called Bethel, whare þe ark of Godd stude and oþer reliques of þe Iews. Þis ark gert Titus lede with þe reliques vnto grete Rome, when he had discumfit þe Iews. In þat arc ware Moyses tables, wharin þe ten comaundementz ware writen, and Aaron wand, and þe 3erde of Moyses, with þe whilk he departid þe Reed See, when þe childer of Israel passed thurgh it drie fote and kyng Pharao folowed þam. And with þat ilke 3erde Moyses smate on þe drie roche, and þan water come oute rynnand at grete fuysoun. And with þat same wand he didd many wonders. In þe forsaid ark also was a vessell of gold full of manna, þat men callez aungelles fode, with many oþer ournementz and clething of Aaron and of þe tabernacle. And þare was a table of gold, euen sqware, with xii. precious stanes, and a boist of grene iasper with foure figures and viii. names of oure Lord þerin, and vii. candelstiks of gold, and xii. fiolles of gold, and foure encensours of gold, and ane awter 10 of gold, and foure lyouns of gold, apon whilk þai had cherubyn of gold xii. span lang, a cercle with þe xii. signez f.36 of þe firmament,¹ and a tabernacle of gold, and xii.² trumppes of siluer, and a table of siluer, vii. haly lafes, and many oþer reliques and precious thinges þat pertende to Goddes seruice before þe incarnacioun of Criste. And also apon þis roche sleped Iacob, when he sawe aungelles steigh vpp and doune by a stye, and said on þis wyse, *Vere locus iste sanctus est, et ego nesciebam*,³ þat es to say, "Forsothe, þis place es haly, and I wist nocht." And þare held Iacob þe aungell still,⁴ þat chaunged his name and called him Israel. And in þat place sawe Daid þe aungell smytand þe folk with a swerde and seyne puttand it all bludy in þe schethe. And⁵ on þis roche oure Lord sette him, when þe Iews wald hafe staned him to deed, and þe roche clafe in twa, and in þat rift he hidd him; and a sterne come doune and gafe him light. And on þis roche satt oure Lady and lerned 20 hir sawter. And þare oure Lord forgafe synnes to þe womman þat was taken in avoutry. And þare was Criste circumcised. And þare schewed þe aungell þe natiuitee of sayn Iohn Baptist. And þare offerd Melchisedech breed and wyne till oure Lord in takennyng of þe sacrement þat was to come. And þare kneled Daid, prayand til oure Lord þat he wald hafe mercy of him and of his folke; and oure Lord herd his praier. And þare he wald hafe made þe temple; bot oure Lord forbedd him by ane aungell, for he had done treyson, when he slogh Vry, a gude knyght, by cause of his wyf. And þerfore all þat he had ordaynd to þe makyng of þe temple he tuke it to Salomon his son; and he made it. And he prayd oure Lorde, þat all þase þat prayd in þat place

la quelle Sainte Escripiture parle, *Vidi aquam egredientem de templo, &c.* Del autre part du temple y a vne roche qe homme soleit appeller Moriach, mes puis fuist elle appelle Bethel, ou larche de Dieu, oue les reliques des Iuys⁶ estoient, soleit estre pose.⁷ Celle arche ouesques les reliques fist Titus mesner a la grand Rome, quant il auoit desconfist touz les Iuys. En celle arche estoient les tables des x. comandementz et la verge Aaron et la verge Moyses, cum quoy il departe la Mer Rouge, quant ly poeple Israel passa en sek. Et de celle verge il fery la roche 30 et les eawes issiront hors, et de celle verge il fist moutz des meruailles. Et si auoit vn vesseal dor plein de manne, et les vestimentz et les ournementz, et le tabernacle Daron, et vne table quarree dor ouesque xii. pieres precieuses, et vne boiste⁸ de iaspre vert ouesque vii. figures des nouns nostre Seignur dedeins, et vii. chandelers dor, et xii. potz dor, et iiiii. encensers dor, et vn aultier dor, et iiiii. leons dor, sur les queux il y auoit iiiii. cherubin dor de xii. palmes de long, et le cercle des signes du ciel, ouesque vn tabernacle dor, et des trumpe dargent, et vn table dargent, et vii. pain dorge, et totes les autres reliques qestoient auant la natiuite nostre Seignur Ihesu Crist. Item sur celle roche demuroit⁹ Iacob, quant il vist les angeles monter et descendre par vne eschiele et dit, *Vere hic locus sanctus est, et ego ignorabam*.¹⁰ Et la 40 detenoit vn angel Iacob, le quel angel changeoit le noun de Iacob et lappelloit Israel. Et en cel lieu mesmes vist Daid vn angel, qi detrencheoit le poeple dun espeie et le remist tot sanglant en sa gaigne. Et sur celle roche fuist nostre Seignur presentez a seint Simeon. Et sur celle roche precheoit¹¹ nostre Seignur souent au poeple. Et de cel temple il getta les vendantz et achatantz. Et sur cel roche il se mist, quant les Iuys le voleyent lapider, et la roche fendy parmy et en celle fendure fuist il resconduz; et la descendy a luy vne estoile, qi luy allumoit et seruoit de clartee. Sur celle roche seoit nostre Dame et aprist son sautier. La perdonoit nostre Seignur les pecches a la femme qi fuist pris en auouter. La fuist nostre Seignur circumcis. La denuncia le angel a Zacharie la natiuite son filz seint Iohan le Baptistre. Et la lem offrist primerement¹² pain et vin a nostre Seignur en significacioun du sacrement a uenir. Sur celle roche se lessa cheoir Daid en priant nostre Seignur et al angel, qil auoit veu detrencher le poeple, qe nostre Seignur uousist auoir misericorde de luy et de poeple, et nostre Seignur oy sa priere. Et pur ceo voloit il en cel lieu fonder le temple, mes nostre Seignur luy defendii par vne angel, pur ceo qil auoit fait treisoun, quant il fist occire Vrie le pruz chiualer pur couitise dauoir sa femme. Et pur ceo totes les purueiances qil auoit fait¹³ et ordeyne pur faire le temple il bailla a son filz Salamon pur¹⁴ edifier le temple. Et ensi le edifia Salamon et requist a nostre Seignur qe touz

¹ and the cercle of swannes of heuene, C. A confusion between "signes" and "cignes."

² Vere Dominus est in loco isto, et ego nesciebam, Gen. xxviii. 16.

³ The omitted sentences given in C.

⁴ vn boef de iasp vert ouesque, S.; vn brief auec xii. figures des nouns nostre Seignour dedens, et estoit le brief de iaspe vert, G.

⁵ dormi, S. G.

¹² et la offri primerement Melchisedech, S.; and so G.

⁶ des Iuys—reliques, om. S.

¹⁰ nesciebam, S.

¹³ fait, S.; om. H. R.

² ii., C.

⁴ an aungel helde Iacob stille, C.

⁷ soleit estre poser, om. G.

¹¹ precheoit—sur celle roche, om. S. G.

¹⁴ pur—Salamon, om. S. G.

- f.36b. deuotely and with gude hert, þat he wald here þaire praier and graunt þat þai asked riȝtwisely; and oure Lord graunted it. And þerfore Salomon called it þe temple of counsaile and helpe of Godd and of þe grace of Godd. Withouten þe dore of þe temple es ane awter, whare þe Iewes ware wount to offer dowfes and turtils.¹ And in þat temple was þe prophete Zachary slayne. And off a pynacle of þis temple kest þe Iews sayne Iame doune, þe whilk was þe first bischope of Ierusalem. And at þe entree of þis temple es þe ȝate þat es called *Speciosa*, whare² sayne Petre heled þe cruked man and made him for to ga. A lytill fra þis temple, on þe right syde, es a kirk theked with leed, þat es called þe Scole of Salomon. And toward þe south es þe temple Salomon, þe whilk es a full faire place; and it standez in a faire playne and a large.³ And in þat place dwelled knyghtes, þat ware called Templeres; and þat was þe fundacioun of þe Templeres and of þaire ordre. And, riȝt as þar was þare dwelland knyghtes, so was þer chanounes dwelland in þe temple *Domini*. Fra þis temple toward þe este at 10 vi^{xx} pascez in a nuke of þe citee es þe bathe of oure Lord; and in to þis bathe was water wount for to comme oute of Paradys. A lytill þerfra es oure Lady bedd; and nere þare es þe toumbe of saynt Symeon. And withouten þe temple, toward þe north, es a faire kirke of saynt Anne, oure Lady moder; þare was oure Lady consayued. And before þat kirke es a tree þat began to growe þat same nyght. And, as men gase doune fra þat kirke xxii. grecez, lyes Ioachim, oure Lady fader, in a toumbe of stane. And þare besyde him lay sum tyme
- f.37. saynt Anne; bot saynt Helyne gert translate hir to Constantynople. In þis kirke es a well in maner of a cisterne, þe whilk es called *Probatice Piscina*; and it had sum tyme v. entreez. In þat cisterne ware aungels wont to bathe þam and stirre þe water, and, what man so first bathed him þerin after stirring of þe water, he was made hale, what sekenes so he had. And þare was þe man made hale þat was seke xxxviii. zere. And þare oure Lorde said vntil him, *Tolle grabatum tuum et ambula*,⁴ þat es at say, "Take þi bedd and ga." And a lytil 20 þeine was þe hous of Pilate, and also þe hous of Herode, þe kyng þat gert slae þe Innocentz. Þis ilke Herode was a ful wikked man and a fell. For first he gert sla his wyf, whilk he luffed passand all oþer creatures; and for þe grete lufe þat he had till hir, when he sawe hir deed, he went oute of his wittē and so was he lang. Afterward, when he was commen agayne to his wittē by processe of tyme, he gert sla his childer þat he had geten of hir. And þan he gert sla his oþer wyf, and a son þat he had of hir, and his awen moder. And so he wald hafe done his broþer, bot he dyed are he myght com til his purpose. And, when he sawe þat he suld dye,

- cils qī requeroient de bon coer en cel lieu Bethel, qe nostre Seigneur vousist oier lour requeste et les eyder et conseiller de quequnqe iuste cause qil fuist requis en cel lieu; et nostre Seigneur luy ottoira. Et pur ceo lappella Salomon le temple de conseil et dul eyde de Dieu. De hors la porte de cest temple y a vn aultier, ou ly Iuys soloient offrir columbes et turtulers; et maintenant ont les Sarazins fait roies sur cel aultier⁵ pur regarder quelle heure de iour il est ouesqe vne broke⁶ qil y a. Entre cel aultier et le temple fuist Zacharie occys. Et sur le 30 pinacle de celle⁷ temple, qest bien haut, fuist nostre Seigneur porte pur estre tempte del enemy; et de haut de ceo pinacle les Iuys getteront seint Iake a terre, qī fuist le primer euesqe de Ierusalem. Et al entree de temple vers occident est la Porte Specieuse, par la quelle seint Iohan et seint Piere passeront, quant seint Piere par la grace de Dieu fist le contree aler et isser del temple. Et assez pres de cel temple au destre y a vne esglise couerte de plom, qest appelle lescole Salomon. Et de cel temple vers mydy assez pres est le temple Salomon, qest mult beau et siet en vne grande place et bien plaine. En ceo temple demorerent les chualers de temple, qe homme soloit appeller Templers; et ceo estoit lour fondement de lour ordre. Si qe cy demorerent chualers et en temple *Domini* chanoignes regulers. De ceo temple vers
- H.f.19. orient a vi^{xx} pas del angle⁸ de la cite est luy bain nostre Seigneur; en ceo bain soloit entrer leawe de Paradis, et vnqore elle degoute.⁹ Et la delez est le lyt nostre Dame; et assez pres est la tombe seint Symeon. Et de hors le cloistre de temple vers bise est mult bele esglise de seinte Anne, la miere nostre Dame; la estoit nostre Dame conceue. Et deuant celle esglise y a vne arbre grant, qī commença a croistre celle mesmez nuyt. A dessouz celle esglise, en descendant par xxii. degrez, gist Ioachim, le piere nostre Dame, en vne tombe de piere. 40 Et la delez soloit giser seinte Anne sa femme; mes seinte Eleine la fist transporter a Constantinople. Et en ceste esglise y a vne fontaigne en manere de vne cesterne, qest appelez *Probatice Piscina*, qauoit v. entreez. Et celle fontaigne soleient les angeles descendre et baigner dedeins, et ly primer qī se baignoit apres estoit garriez de quecunqe maladie qil eust. La garrist nostre Seigneur ly homme paralatik, qauoit este malades xxxviii. ans, et ly dit, *Tolle grabatum tuum et ambula*. Et la delez estoit la maisoun Pilatus; et assez pres¹⁰ est¹¹ la maisoun Heroudes le roy, qī fist tuer les Innocentz. Cis Heroudes estoit trop malueis et tres cruel. Qar cil fist primerement occire sa femme, qil amoit trop; et pur le grant amour qil auoit en luy, quant il vist quelle estoit morte, il enragea et fuist hors de sen grant piece. Puis reuiet il a luy, et apres il fist tuer ii. filz, grant domiceaux, qil auoit de celle femme. Et puis fist¹² il tuer vne autres de ses femmes et vn grant filz qil auoit de luy. Puis fist il tuer sa propre miere; et voloit auxi tuer son frere, mes il morust sodeinement. Et puis Heroudes

¹ The sentence omitted here, also omitted in C.

² temple of Salomon, þat is right fair and wel pollisscht, C.

³ ont fait les Sarrazins dessus cel autel vn quadran, G.

⁴ de celle—pinacle, om. S.; et de dessus le pinacle les Iu's getterent, etc., G. C. follows H.

⁵ et entre elle deiette, S.; om. G.

⁶ estoit, S. G.

⁷ whare—for to ga, om. C.

⁸ John v. 8.

⁹ crok, S.; croch, G.

¹⁰ en long, S.; en langkt, G.; en langle, R.

¹¹ pres, S. G. R.; prist, H.

¹² puist fist—de luy, om. G.

he sent after his sister and all þe grete lordes of his land, and when þai ware comen, he gert putte all þe lordes in a toure and said vnto his sister he wist wele þat men of his land schuld make na sorow for him, when he ware deed, and þerfore he gert hir swere þat scho suld gere do to deed all þise lordes, als sone as he ware deed, f.37b. and þan schuld all þe cuntree make sorowe at my deed. And þus he made his testament and dyed sone after. Bot his sister fulfilled noȝt his will; for, als sone als he was deed, scho delyuerd þe lordes oute of þe toure and talde þam hir broþer will and lete ilk ane ga where he wald. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þare ware thre Herodes, þe whilk ware wikked men and cruell. He, þis of wham I speke off, was called Herode Ascalonyte; and he þat gert smyte off sayne Iohn Baptist heued was called Herode Antipater¹; and Herode Agrippa gert sla sayne Iame, sayne Iohn broþer þe euangelist, and putte sayne Petre in prison.

Forþermare in þe citee of Ierusalem es a kirk of saynt Sauueour, and þare es þe left arme of sayne Iohn Crisostom, and þare es þe mare party of sayn Steuen heued. And a lytill þeine toward þe south, as men gas to mount Syon, es a faire kirke of sayne Iame, where his heued was smyten off. And þan es þe mount Syon; and þare es a faire kirke of Godd and oure Lady, where scho was dwelland and dyed. And þare was sum tyme ane abbot, with chanounes regulers. And fra þat place was oure Lady borne with þe apostils to þe vale of Iosaphat. Pare es also a stane broȝt till oure Lady by aungelles fra þe mount of Synai; and it es lyke in all thinges to þe roche of þe mount sayne Kateryne. And þare nere es þe gate þat oure Lady went furth att to Bethleem. Also in þe entree of mount Syon es a chapell; and in þat chapell es þe stane, grete and large, with whilk þe sepulcre of Criste was couerd, when he was layd þerin; whilk stane þe three Mariez saw turned vpward and tumbled off þe f.38. graffe, when þai come to þe sepulcre. And þare es a lytill pece of þe piler to þe whilk oure Lord was bunden, when he was scourged. And þare was Annas hous, þat was bischope of þe Iews in þat tyme. And þare es a party of þe burde² on þe whilk Criste made his maundee with his disciples and gafe þam his body in fourme of breed and wyne. And þare denyed Petre oure Lord thryess are þe cokk crewe. Vnder þis chapell, for to ga doune xxxii. greceȝ, es þe place where oure Lord wascht his disciples fete; and ȝit es þare þe vessell þat þe water was in. And þare nere es þe place where sayne Steuen was grauen. And þare es ane awter, where oure Lady herd aungelles syng mess. þare apperde Criste first to his disciples after his resurreccioun, and þe dures sperde,³ and said vnto þam, *Pax vobis*. And on þe mount Syon apperde Criste to sayne Thomas and bad him fele his

fist touz les mals qil poait; et, quant il vient vers la fin et il senti bien qil ne poait eschaper de sa maladie, il enuoia quere sa sorour et touz les grantz seignurs del pais. Et, quant ils furent la, il fist touz les seignurs mettre en vne tour et dit a sa soer qil sauoit bien qe homme ne ferroit el pais de doel pur sa mort, et pur ceo il la fist iurer qelle ferroit couer toutes les testes a cez grant seignurs tantost qe seroit mort, si qe⁴ tote la pais ferroit grant doel a sa mort, qar autrement ne serroit il point ploreȝ. Et ensi fist il son testament. Mes sa soer ne laccomplist mie; qar, tantoust qil fuist mort, elle deliura les seignurs de la tour et les enuoia a lour mesons et lour dit coment son frere auoit ordeigne de eaux. Et si⁵ ne fuist mie le rois ploreȝ, si come il quidoit estre. Et sacheȝ qil y auoit en cel temps iii. Heroudes de grant renoun pur lour cruelte. Cis Heroudes, dont iay parle, fuist Heroudes Escalonite; et cis qi fist couer le chief seint Iohan le Baptistre fuist Heroudes Antipa; et Heroudes Agrippa fist tuer seint Iakes et fist mettre seint Piere en prison.

Item pluis auant en la cite est lesglise seint Sauueour. La est le bracz sinistre de seint Iohan Crisostome et la pluis grande partie de H.f.19b. chief seint Esteuene. Del autre part en la rue deuers mydy, auxi come lem vait deuers le mont Syon, est lesglise de seint Iake, la ou il fuist decolles. Et de celle esglise vi^{xx} pas est le mont Syon. La est vne bele esglise de nostre Dame, ou elle demourroust; et la morust. La soloit auoir vn abbe⁶ et chanoignes regulers. Et de la fuist elle portee des apostres iusques au val de Iosephaz. La est la pierre qe ly anges porteront a nostre Dame del mont de Synay; et est droitement de tiel colour come la roche de seinte Katherine. Et la delez est la porte ou nostre Dame sen issy a aler vers Bethleem. Item al entre de mont Syon est vne chapelle; et en celle chapelle est la pierre, grande et large, de la quelle le seint Sepulcre fuist couert, quant Iosep Daramathie auoit mis nostre Seigneur dedeins, la quelle pierre les iii. Maries virent tres tournee, quant elles vindrent le iour de la resurreccioun au monument et troueroient langel qi lour dit qe Ihesu Crist estoit ia releue de mort a vie. La y a auxi vne pierre, en pareie⁷ delez la porte, de la columpne a quoi nostre Seigneur fuist flagelle. Et la fuist la maisoun Anne, qi fuist euesqe des Iuys en cel temps. Et la fuist nostre Seigneur examineȝ la nuyt et flagelle et feru et traite⁸ vileinement. Et la mesmes le⁹ renoia seint Piere troiz foithez auant cok chantant. Et la mesmez y a vne partie de la table sur quoi nostre Seigneur cena ouesqe ses disciples, quant il lour dona sa char et son sang en fourme de pain et de vin. Et dessouz celle chapelle par xxxii.¹⁰ degrez est le lieu ou nostre Seigneur laua les pieȝ a ses disciples; et vnqore est ly vesseaux ou leawe estoit. Et la delez cel vessel fuist enseueȝ seint Esteuene. Et la est laultier ou nostre Dame oy les anges chanter messe. La apparust primerement nostre Seigneur a ses deciples apres sa resurreccioun as portes closes et lour dit, *Pax vobis*. Et en mont Syon apparust nostre Seigneur a seint Thomas lapostre et ly fist taster¹¹ ses playes al

¹ Antypa, C.

⁴ si qe—sa mort, om. S.

⁷ vne piece de pariet, S.; vne piece de perrois, G.

⁹ il, H.

² table, C.

⁵ et si—estre, om. S. G.

⁸ tormentes, S.; tourmentes, G.; scourged and smytten and

¹⁰ xxxiii, S. G.

³ the gates enclosed, C.

⁶ vn beal abbeie, S.; vne belle abbaye, G.

¹¹ tastes, H.

woundez; and þan trowed he first and said, *Dominus meus et Deus meus*. In þe forsaid chapell behind þe hye awter ware all þe apostils togyder on Whitsonondy, when þe Haly Gaste descended on þam in likness of fyre. And þare made Criste pasch with his disciples; and þare sleped sayn Iohn þe euaungelist in oure Lordes knee¹ and sawe slepand many priuee thinges of heuen.

þe mount Syon es within þe citee, and it es sumwhat hyer þan oþer placez of þe citee. And þe citee es stranger on þat syde þan on anoþer syde; for at þe fote of mount Syon es a faire castell and a strang, þe whilk þe sowdan gert make. On mount Syon was kyng Daudid and Salomon and oþer many grauen. And þare es þe f.38b. place whare sayne Petre grette full tenderly, when he had forsaken Criste. And a lytil þeine, as it ware a fynger stane cast, es anoþer chapell, whare oure Lord was demed to deed; and þare was Cayphas hous. Fra þis chapell, toward þe est, a vii^{xx} passez es a depe caue vnder a roche, whilk es called *Galilea Domini*²; and þare hidd sayne Petre him after þat he had denyed Criste thrys. Betwene temple Salomon and þe mount Syon es þe place whare oure Lorde raised þe mayden fra deed to lyfe. Vnder þe mount Syon, toward þe vale of Iosaphat, es a well, þat men callez *Natatorium Syloe*. þare was oure Lord waschen after þat he was baptized; and þare he made þe blynd to see. þare also was þe prophete Ysai grauen. A lytill þeine, euen ouerynentes þe forsaid well, es ane ymage of stane of alde werk, whilk Absalon gert make; and it es called Absalon hand. And a lytill þeine es þe tree on whilk Iudas hanged him self, when he had salde Criste. And þan es þe synagog whare þe bischope of þe Iewes and þe Pharisenes come sammen to hald þaire counsailes agaynes Ihesus. And þare Iudas kest þe xxx. penys before þam and said, *Peccauī, tradens sanguinem iustum*,³ þat es to say, "I hafe synned, betrayand rihtwyse blude." And on þe toþer syde of mount Syon, toward þe south, a stane cast es þe felde þat was boght with þase xxx. penys; and it es called þare Acheldemak, þat es to say, þe Felde of Blude. In þis felde er many grafez of Cristen pilgrimes; for þare ware pilgrimes wont to be grauen. þare er also many kirkes and chapelles and hermytages, whare hermytes ware wount for to dwell. And a c. pascez þeine, toward f.39. þe este, es þe charnell of þe hospitale of sayne Iohn.

A myle fra Ierusalem, toward þe west, es a fayre kirke, whare þe tree growed of whilk þe Haly Crosse was made. And twa myle þeine es a faire kirke, whare oure Lady mette with Elizabeth, when þai ware bathe with

oeptisme iour apres sa resureccioun. Et lors primes luy creioit⁴ seint Thomas et dit, *Dominus meus et Deus meus*. En celle chapelle mesme pres de le grant aulter seioient luy apostres le iour de Pentecost, quant luy Seint Espirit descendy sur eux en fourme de feu. La celebra nostre Seignur la pasqe ouesqe ses desciples; et la dormy seint Iohan leuungelist sur la pectrine Ihesu Crist et vist en dormant moultz des secretz celesteaux.

Ly mont de Syon est dedeinz la cite et est vn poy plus haut qe lautre part de la cite. Et si est la cite plus forte a celle couste qe de nulle autre; qar au pie de mont Syon y a vne chaustel bele et fort, qe le soudan fist faire. En mont Syon furent enseueliz le roi Daudid et le roi Salomon et plusours autres rois Iuys de Ierusalem. Et la est ly lieu ou li Iuys voloient iecter ius le corps nostre Dame,⁵ quant les apostres porteront le corps pur enseueler en val de Iosephaz. Et la est le lieu ou seint Piere ploroit mult tendrement apres ceo qil auoit H.f.20. renoie nostre Seignur. De⁷ celle chapelle desuisdite au iette dune piere y a vne autre chapelle, la ou nostre Seignur fuist iuggez au mort. La estoit lors la maisoun Cayphas. De celle chapelle a aler vers orient a vii^{xx} pas est vne caue parfonde desouz la roche, qest appelle la Galilee nostre Seignur. La se rescondy seint Piere, quant il auoit renoie nostre Seignur. Item entre le mont Syon et le temple Salomon est ly lieu ou nostre Seignur resuscita la pucelle en la maisoun son piere. Desouz le mont Syon vers le val de Iosephaz y a vne fontaigne qest appelle *Natatorium Siloe*. La fuist nostre Seignur laue apres la baptisme. La fist nostre Seignur leueugle⁸ veoir; et la fuist enseuely Ysaie le prophete. Item al endroit⁹ de Natatoire Siloie y a vne ymage de piere danxiene oueraigne, qe Absolon fist faire; et pur ceo appelle homme la main Absolon. Et assez pres est vnquore larbre de Sohur,¹⁰ ou Iudas se pendy, pur desesperance de ceo qil auoit vendeu et trahiz nostre Seignur. Et la delez est la sinagoge ou les euesques des Iuys et ly Pharisenz venoient ensemble et tenoient lour conseil; et la getta Iudas les xxx. deniers deuant eux et disoit qil auoit pecche au trayre nostre Seignur.¹¹ La delez fuist la maison des apostres Philipp¹² et Iacob Alphei. Et del autre part de mont Syon vers mydy, outre¹³ la vallee le iect dune piere, est Acheldemach, cest a dire le Champ de Sang, qi fuist achatez pur les xxx. deniers, pur les queux nostre Seignur fuist venduz. En ceo champ y a multz des tombes des Cristiens; qar homme soloit enseueler pelrins mortz. Et si ad multz des oratoires et des chapelletes et des hermitages,¹⁴ ou y soloient demorer des hermites. Et au dela vers orient a c. pas est ly charner del hospital de seint Iohan, ou homme soloit mettre les ossementz des mortz.

Item de Ierusalem vers les parties doccident a vne lieue y ad vne bele esglise, ou larbre de la Croiz cresseoit. Et a ii. lieues de la y ad vne bele esglise¹⁵ auxi, ou nostre Dame encontra et salua Elizabeth sa cosyne, la miere seint Iohan le Baptistre; et estoient¹⁶ ambedeux

¹ breeste, C.

⁴ crut, G.

⁵ Seignur, et la fut nostre Dame quant, S.; and so G. C. follows H.

⁷ La est cel chapel ou nostre Seignur fust iugge a mort. A gette dun piere de la estoit la meson de Cayphas, S.; la est vne chapelle au get dune piere ou, etc., G.

⁸ lez aveugles, S.; les angrez, G.

¹¹ peccauī tradens sanguinem iustum, S.

¹² entre, S. G.

¹⁶ et estoient—seint Iohan, om. S. G.

² the Galylee of oure Lord, C.

⁶ Deus meus et Dominus, H.

⁹ entre, S.; streighte from, C.

¹⁰ Iohel, Iacob et Alphei, S.; Ihaiele, Iacob et Alphei, G.; C. follows H.

¹⁴ habitaclez, G.

³ Matt. xxvii. 4.

¹⁰ Sehur, S.; Seur, G.; eldre, C.

¹⁵ esglise, om. H.

childe, and sayne Iohn stirred in his moder wambe and did wurschepe till oure Lorde his maker. And þare vnder þe awter es þe place where sayne Iohn Baptist was borne. And bot a myle þeine es þe castell of Emaus, to þe whilk twa of Cristez disciples went after þe resurreccioun; and þare þai knew oure Lord in breking of breed. And¹ twa myle fra Ierusalem es þe Mount Ioy, whilk es a faire place and a lykand; and þare lyes Samuel þe prophete in a faire tounge. And it es called Mount Ioy, for þare may pilgrimes first see to Ierusalem, of whilk sight þai hafe grete ioy and comforth after þaire grete trauaile. Betwene Ierusalem and þe mount of Oliuete es þe vale of Iosaphat vnder þe walles of þe citee, as I said before; and ymides of þe vale es a lytill bekk, þat es called *Torrens Cedron*. And ouer þis bekk lay þe tree þat þe haly Crosse was made off, for a plaunchoure to men at gang on ouer þat bekk. And noȝt bot a lytill þeine es a pitte in þe erthe; and þare in es þe base of þe piler to whilk Criste was bunden þat tyme þat he was scourged. And in þe myddez of þe vale es a kirke of oure Lady; and þare es oure Lady graue. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat oure Lady was, when scho dyed, lxxii. ȝere alde. And þare nere hir grafe es þe place where oure Lorde forgafe sayne Petre all his synnes. And bot a lytill þeine, toward þe west, vnder ane awter es a well þat commes fra ane of þe ryuers of Paradys. And it es for to wit f.39b. þat, þof þis kirke seme now lawer þan þe erthe aboute it, at þe first fundacioun þeroff it was noȝt swa; bot of breking of þe walles of þe citee þat hase fallen doune þe erthe aboute þe kirk es risen, and so it es now hegher þan þe kirk þat at þe first tyme þat þe kirk was made was euen þerwith. Neuerþeles þe comoun opinioun es þat þe erthe es waxen heghe swa of þe self, sen þe tyme þat oure Lady was grauen þare, and ȝit waxez day by day. In þis kirk ware wont to be blakk mounkes, þe whilk had ane abbote. Besyde þis kirk es a chapell, nere þe roche þat es called Gethsemany, where Iudas kissed oure Lorde, when he was taken of þe Iews. And þare left Criste his disciples before his passioun, when he went to pray and sayd, *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste*, that es to say, 20 "Fader, if it may be done, lat þis passioun ga fra me." And ȝit may men see in þe roche þe prynte of oure Lorde hend, þare he thrust þam to þe roche, when þe Iews tuke him. And a stane cast þeine, toward þe south, es anoþer chapell, where oure Lord swette blude. And þare nere es þe tounge of king Iosaphat; of wham þat vale tuke his name, for he was king of þat cuntree.² And a bow schote fra þeine, toward þe south, es a kirk, where sayne

enceintez, et seint Iohan se mouoit³ el ventre sa miere et fist reuerence a son Creatour, qil ne veoit mie vnqore. Et desouz laultier de celle esglise est ly lieu ou seint Iohan fuist neez. Et de celle esglise y ad vn lieue au chaustel Emaux. La auxi se demoustra nostre Seignur a ses desciples apres sa resurreccioun. Item dautre part a ii^o pas de Ierusalem y ad vne esglise ou soloit estre la caue de leoun. Et desouz celle esglise a xxx. degrez de parfond furent enterrez xii. mil martires en temps de roi Cosdroe,⁴ qe ly leoun assembla⁵ touz en vne nuyt par la voluntee diuine. Item de Ierusalem a ii. lieues est le Mont Ioye,⁶ mult bele lieu et mult delicias. La gist seint Samuel le prophete en vne bele tombe. Et appelle homme cel lieu Mont Ioye pur ceo qil doigne ioye as coers des pilrins, qe de cel lieu veioient luy pilrins, qi 30 H.f.20b. vont de cestes parties, primerement la seint cite de Ierusalem. Item entre Ierusalem et le mont Dolyuete est le val de Iosephaz desouz les murs de la cite, si qe iay autrefoiths dit; et en milieu de ceo val y ad vne petite riuere qe homme appelle *Torrens Cedron*, ou le Duite Cedron.⁷ Et par desur celle riuere gisoit larbre de la Croiz; et passoit homme par dessus. Et assez pres dela y ad une fossette en terre ou le⁸ pie de la columpnè est vnqore en terre, la ou⁹ nostre Seignur fuist primerement flagelle, qar il fuist flagelle et traite vilainement en plusours lieux. Item en¹⁰ milieu de Val de Iosephaz est lesglise de nostre Dame; et y a xliiii.¹¹ degrez desouz terre iusques au sepulcre de nostre Dame. Et auoit nostre Dame dage, quant elle morust, lxxii.¹² ans. Et delez le sepulcre nostre Dame y ad vne aultier ou nostre Seignur perdona a seint Piere touz ses pecches. Et la delez vers occident a dessouz dun aultier y ad vne fontaigne, qi vient del flum de Paradys. Et sachez qe celle esglise est mult basse en terre et auques tot dedeinz terre. Mes ieo pense bien qelle ne fuist mie ensi¹³ fondee; mes, pur ceo qe Ierusalem ad estee plusours fois destruit et les murs abbatuz, qe luy murs soient cheuz et tombez en la vallee et 40 qils laient ensi reemplie et la¹⁴ terre enhaucez, et pur ceo est la esglise si basse dedeinz terre. Et nient moins homme dit communement la entour qe la terre est ensi creuee de luy mesmes depuis¹⁵ qe nostre Dame fuist illeosques enseuelie. Et vnqore dient ils qelle croist touz les iours sanz nulle doute. En celle esglise soloient auoir moignes noirs, qi¹⁶ auoient lour abbe. Et pres de celle esglise est vne chapelle delez la roche, qad a noun Gethsemany. La fuist nostre Seignur baise de Iudas, et la fuist pris des Iuys. La lessa nostre Seignur ses desciples, quant il ala orer deuant la passion et pria en disant, *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste*; et, quant il retourna a ses desciples, il les troua dormantz. Et en¹⁷ la roche dedeinz¹⁸ la chapelle y pient vnqore les doys de la main nostre Seignur, coment il sapon¹⁹ a la roche, quant les Iuys luy voloient prendre. Et au dela au iect dune pierre vers mydi y ad vne aultre chapelle, ou nostre Seignur suoit²⁰ gouttes de sang. Et assez pres de illeosques est la tombe de roi Iosephaz, de qi la vallee porte le²¹ noun. Cis Iosephaz fuist roi de celluy pais et fuist conuertuz par vne heremite et²² fuist mult prudhomme et fist mult des bienz. Et au dela, le tret dun arc vers mydy, est lesglise ou seint

¹ The passage, Item dautre—voluntee diuine, omitted here, is given in C.

² si moeueit il, S.; le quel sesmut, G.

³ Yor, S.; Yore, G. But both MSS. have "Mont Ioye" below.

⁴ ou le—en terre, om. S.

⁵ xxiii., S. G.; xliiii., C.

⁶ et la terre enhaucez, om. G.

⁷ et en—coment, om. G.

⁸ suoit, S. G. R.; souont, H.

⁹ and was conuerted by an heremyte þat was a worthi man and dide moche gode, C.

¹⁰ qi Cosdroe le roy fist occire, G.

¹¹ below.

¹² i pert vnqore en terre la ou, S.; en la quele, G.

¹³ lxxiii., S. G.

¹⁴ depuis, S. G. R.; om. H.

¹⁵ desoutz, S.

¹⁶ prent son, S.

¹⁷ mette with, C.

¹⁸ ou le Duite Cedron, om. G.

¹⁹ et pouez scauoir que ou, G.

²⁰ ensi, S.; ainsi, G.; om. H. R.

²¹ qi—abbe, om. S. G.

²² sapuia, S. G.

²³ qi, S.; qui, G.

Iame was grauen and Zachary þe prophete. On þe ta syde of þe vale of Iosaphat es þe mount of Olyuete; and it es called so by cause þare growes many olyues. And it es hegher þan þe citee of Ierusalem, and þerfore fra þeine [may men see] in to all¹ þe stretez of Ierusalem. Betwene þat hill and þe citee es noȝt bot þe vale of f.40. Iosaphat, þe whilk es noȝt full large. Apon þat hill stode oure Lord when he steigh in till heuen; and ȝit may men see þe steppe of his left fote in a stane þat he stode on. And þare was sum tyme ane abbay of black chanouns, bot now es þer noȝt bot a kirk. And a lytill þeine, xxviii. paassez, es a chapell, and þare es þe stane on whilk oure Lord satte and prechid to þe folk, sayand þus, *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum*,² &c., þat es to say, "Blissed be þai þat er pouer in spirit, for þaires es þe kingdom of heuen." And þare he taght his disciples þe *Pater noster*, wrytand þare in þe stane; þe whilk wryting³ schewez ȝit to þis day. And þare nere es a kirk, whare Mary Egipciane lyes in a toumbe. And a lytill þeine, toward þe est, es Bethphage, 10 whare oure Lorde sent twa of his disciplez to fecche him ane asse on Palme Sonounday. A lytil fra þe mount of Olyuete, toward þe est, es a castell þat men callez Bethany. þare dwelt Symon þe leprous, þat herberd oure Lord and his disciples. He, þis Symon, afterwardes was baptized of þe Apostils, and called Iulyan, and seyne made a bischope. þis Iulyan es he þat men callez on for gude herbery. In þat same place forgafe oure Lord Mari Mawdelayne hir synnes; and þare scho wescht his fete with teres of hir eghen and dried þam with hir hare. And þare was Lazare raised fra deed to lyfe, whilk had lyggen foure daies stinkand in graue. And þare was þe hous of Lazare and of Martha his sister. þare also dwelt Mary Cleophe. þis castell es bot a myle fra Ierusalem. And a lytill þeine es þe place whare oure Lord was, when he wepid for þe citee of Ierusalem. And f.40b. þare nere es þe place whare oure Lady gafe sayn Thomas hir gyrdle after hir Assumpcioun. And a lytill þeine es a stane wharon oure Lord satt and preched; and in þe same place he sall appere on þe day of dome. A lytill 20 fra þe mount of Olyuete es þe mount of Galile, whare þe apostels ware all togyder when Mary Mawdelayne talde þam of Cristes rysing fra deed to lyfe. And in mydd way betwene mount Olyuete and mount Galile es a kirk, whare þe aungell talde oure Lady before of hir dying.

Fra Bethany to Iericho er fyue myle. Iericho was sum tyme a faire citee; bot it es destruyd, and so þer es now bot a lytill village. þis citee tuke Iosue thurgh þe miracle of Godd, and kest it doune, and made it euen playne with þe erthe, and commaunded þat it schuld neuer be bigged agayne; and also he weried all þa þat bigged it agayne. Of þis citee was Zacheus, þat þe Gospell spekez off, þat clambe vp in til a sycomour tree for to see oure Lord because he was a lytill man. Of þis citee also was Raab þe comoun womman, þat ressayued þe

Iake et Zacharie le prophetes furent enseueliz. Et a dessus de celle vallee est ly mont Dolyuete, et ad a noun ensi pur ceo qe y croissent multz doliuers. Cele montaigne est pluis haute qe la cite de Ierusalem ne soit, et pur ceo puet homme de celle montaigne veoir auques par 30 totes les rues de la cite. Et entre cel montaigne et la cite ni ad qe la val de Iosephaz, qi nest mie mult large. De cel montaigne vne abbe nostre Seignur as ciels le iour del ascensioun; et vnquore y piert son sinistre pie en la pierre. Et y a la vne esglise, ou il soloit auoir vne abbe et chanoignes regulers. Et pres de illeosques a xxviii. pas ad vne chapelle, ou la pierre est sur quoi nostre Seignur soloit seoir et precher les viii. benureteez, *Beati pauperes spiritu*. Et la il enseigna a ses disciples *Pater noster*, et l'escript en la pierre ouesque son doy. Et assez pres y a vne esglise de seinte Marie Egipsiack; et la elle gist en vne tombe. Et au dela vers orient a iii. trettz dun arc est Bethfage, dont nostre Seignur enuoia seintz Piere et seint Iakes pur quere lasnesse le iour de Ramipalm; et la monta sur lasnesse. Et en descendant del mont Dolyuete vers orient y ad vn chaustel, qad a noun Bethanye. La fuist demorant Symon le leprouz; et la il herbergea nostre Seignur. Et puis il fuist baptizez des apostres et fuist nomez Iulien, et fuist fait euesque. Ceo est cis Iulien qe homme requert qil doint bon houstel, pur ceo qil herbergea nostre Seignur en son houstel. La mesme pardona nostre Seignur les pecches a Marie Magdaleine. La elle ly lauait ses piez de ses lermes et les esuoit de ses chiueux. La ly administroit seinte Marthe; la resuscita nostre Seignur le Lazaer,⁴ qauoit estee 40 mort iiiii. iours, qestoit frere Marie Magdaleine et Marthe. Et la demorroit auxi Marie Cleophe. Ceo chaustel est bien vne lieue loinz⁵ de Ierusalem. Item⁶ en descendant del mont Dolyuet est ly lieu ou nostre Seignur ploroit sur Ierusalem. Et la delez est li lieu ou nostre Dame apparust a seint Thomas apres sassumpcioun et ly dona sa seinture. Et assez pres est la pierre ou nostre Seignur seoit souent et prechcoit; et la mesme serra il au iour de iuggement, si come il mesmes disoit. Item a pres le mont Doliuete est le mont de Galilee, ou luy apostres estoient assemblez, quant Marie Magdaleine leur vient denuncier la resurreccioun. Et en my la voie daler del mont Doliuete al mont de Galilee y ad vne esglise, ou ly angel denuncoit a nostre Dame sa mort.

Item de Bethanie a Ierico nad qe v. lieues. Ierico soleit estre vne bele cite; mes elle est toute destruite, et ore nad qe vne petite viette. Celle cite Iosue prist par miracle de Dieu et par le comandement del angel, et la destruit, et maldisoit touz ceaux qi iames la reedifceeront. De celle cite fuist Zacheus, qi fuist nains,⁷ qi monta sur vne arbre sicamour pur veoir nostre Seignur; qar il estoit si petit qil ne poiast veoir pur les autres gentz. De celle cite Raab, qi fuist femme comune, eschapa soulement ouesque deux de son lignage; qar elle 50

¹ manye of, C.

⁴ Lazar, S.; le ladre, G.

⁷ mamis, H.; namis, R.

² Matt. v. 3.

⁵ vne lieue loinz, om. G., with a blank space.

³ þe whilk wryting—þis day, om. C.

⁶ Item—Ierusalem, om. G.

messangers of Israel, whilk come for to aspye þe cuntree, and feled þam in hir hous amang towes of lyne and said þai ware went oute of þe citee are þe zates ware spered, and afterwards by nyght scho lete þam ouer þe wall of þe citee by a rape and saued þam fra þe deed. Wharfore afterward, when þe citee was wonne, scho was wele rewarded, as scho was wele worthy. For Haly Writte saise, *Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophete, mercedem prophete accipiet*,¹ þat es to say, "He þat ressayuez a prophete in name of me, he schall take hyre of a prophete."

f.41. And þerfore scho had a speciale gift of Godd; for scho prophecied to þe forsaid messangers þat þai schuld wyne all þat land,² and so it befell. And afterward wedded hir Salmon, þat was prince of þe kynredyn of Iuda; and³ of þaire kynredyn by processe of tyme come oure Lady saynt Mary, þe moder of oure Lord Ihesu Criste.

Fra Bethany men gase to þe flum Iordan thurgh deserte; and it es nere a day iournee. Fra Bethany also til a hill whare oure Lord fasted xl. days and xl. nyghtes er sex myle; and men callez þat hill Quarentane. And þare þe fende come to tempte oure Lord and said vntill him þus, *Dic, ut lapides isti panes fiant*,⁴ þat es to say, "Bidd þat þir stanes be breed." Apon þat hill in þat same place was sum tyme a faire kirke; bot now þer es na thing left bot ane hermytage, whare a maner of Cristen men dwellez þat er called Georgienes, for sayn George conuerted þam. And apon þat hill dwelled Abraham a grete whyle. Betwene þis hill and þe flum Iordan rynnes a lytill bekk, of whilk þe water was sum tyme wonder bitter; bot, fra þe prophete Helizeus had blist it, it was swete ynogh and hable for to drink. At þe fote of þis hill toward þe playne es a grete well, whilk rynnes in to Iordan. Fra þis hill vnto Iericho es bot a myle, as men gas dounward to þe flum Iordan. And in þe way as men gase to Iericho satt þe blynd man, cryand, *Ihesu fili David, miserere mei*,⁵ þat es to say, "Ihesu, David son, hafe mercy on me."⁶

auoit recelez et repastez⁷ les messagers de Israel et les auoit garde de peril de mort. Si en eust bon guerdoun, si come dit Sainte Escriptrue, *Qui accepit prophetam in nomine meo, mercedem prophete accipiet, &c.* Et ensi eust elle, qar elle prophetiza a cez messagers en disant, *Noui quod Dominus tradet⁸ vobis terram hanc*; et ensi fuist il. Et puis la prist Salamon le filz Nason a femme; et fuist de lors prodefemme et bien seruoit Dieu.

H.f.21b. Item de Bethanie vait homme au flum Iordan par vne montaigne deserte; et y a pres de vne iournee. De Bethanie vers orient iusques a la grant montaigne ou nostre Seignur ieuna xl. iours y a vi. lieux. Sur celle montaigne fuist nostre Seignur porte; et la fuist il tempte del enemy, qi ly dit, *Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant*. En cel lieu sur la montaigne soloit auoir vne bele esglise; mes elle fuist destruite, si nad ore qe vn hermitage, qe vne manere des Cristiens tignent, qi sont appelez Georgiens pur ceo qe seint George les conuertit. Sur cel montaigne demorroit Abraham grant temps; et pur ceo appelle homme le iardyn Abraham. Et entre le montaigne et cest iardin court vn petit russeu de eawe. Et celle eawe soloit estre amere; mes par la benediccioun de Helize le prophete elle deuient douce et bon pur boire. Et au pie de celle montaigne deuers⁹ la plain y ad vn grant fontaine, qi entre en flum Iordan. De celle¹⁰ montaigne iusques a Ierico, dont iay dessusis parle, nad qe vne lieue en alant vers flum Iordan. Item sur le chemin de Ierico seoit ly oueoglez et crioit, *Ihesu, fili David, miserere mei*; et tantost resceut le veue. Item a ii. lieues de Ierico est¹¹ le flum Iordan; et a demie lieue plus pres¹² est vne bele esglise de seint Iohan le Baptistre, la ou il baptiza nostre Seignur. Et la delez est la maisoun Ieremie le prophete.

¹ Matt. x. 41.² and fro þat tyme was sche a worthi womman and serued God wel, C.³ Mark x. 47.⁴ repost, S.; repos, G.⁵ De celle—Iordan, om. S.⁶ et a dela vn lieu plus pres, S.; et au dela plus pres vne lieue, G.⁷ Josh. ii. 9.⁸ The passage omitted here is given in C., following H. literally.⁹ tradidit, S. G.; tradet, C.¹⁰ est, S. G.; et, H. R.¹¹ Matt. iv. 3.¹² deinz, S.

CHAPTER XII.

[Of the Dede See, and of the flom Jordan; of the hed of seynt John the Baptist; and of the vsages of the Samaritanes.]

f.41b. **T**HREE myle fra Iericho es þe Deed See. Betwene Iericho and þat see es þe cuntree of Engaddy. And þare growed bawme sum tyme; bot it was translated fra þeine in till Egipte, whare ȝit þe treessez þat þe bawme growez on er called þe vynes of Engaddy. On þe ta syde of þis see, as men commes doune fra Araby, es a hill of Moabites, whilk es called Arnon.¹ Apon þis hill ledd Balach, Beor son, þe prophete Balahaam for to verry þe childer of Israel. þis ilke Deed See departez þe land of Iudee and of Arabie; and it lastez fra Zorea² vntill Araby. þe water of þis see es full bitter and salt þarwith; and, if þe erthe be sprenged þerwith, it sall wax barayne and neuer bere fruyt. þis water chaungez þe coloure oft sythez. þis see castez a thing oute of it whilke men callez asphaltum. And men may find ilk a day on ilke syde of þis see grete lumppez þaroff, ȝa als grete as a hors, casten vp on þe land; and it es lyke pikk. And þerfor sum men callez it þe Lac Asfaltit, þat es to say, þe Lac of Pikke. It es also called a see, for þe greteness þeroff; for it es vii^o and foure score furlanges on lenth and cl. on brede. And it es called þe Deed See for it rynnes noȝt, ne nowþer ebbeze ne flowez, bot standez ay still, and also for it bringes furth ne nurischeze na qwik thing. For it will ressayfe na maner of qwik thing in to it, nowþer man ne beste, fisch ne fewle. And þat hase bene proued; for men hase oft tymes casten þerin misdoers, þat hase bene foringged for þaire trespass,³ and it kest þaim oute agayne alsone. Schippes⁴ may nane ga þeron, bot if þai be wele enoynted with pikk; for þer may na thing þat es deed comme f.42. þeron þat ne it sinkes to þe ground als sone as it commes þeron, bot if it be enoynted with pikk. If men caste in to it a lanterne light, it fletez abouen; and, if it be casten þerin vnlight, alsone it synkez to þe ground. Also, if men cast yrne þerin, it commes vp agayne and fletez abouen; and, if men cast a fether þerin, it synkez to þe grund. And þat es agaynes kynde. And riȝt so for synne agaynes kynde ware fyue citeez, whilk stode þare

CHAPITRE XII.

Del la Mer Morte; del flum Jordan; del teste J. B.; et des vsages de Samaritains el pais.

ET de Ierico a iii. lieues est la Mer Mort. Entour celle mer croist mult dalum et dalketran.⁵ Entre Ierico et cel mer est la terre Dengadde. La soloit croistre balme, mes homme fist traire les arbresseaux et les porta homme plantier a Babiloigne; et vnquore les appelle les vins Dengaddy. Al vne coustee de cel mer, si come lem descent Darabe, est ly mont de Moabitans, ou il y a vne caue qe homme appelle Karna.⁶ Sur ceo mont amesna Balac le filz Boor Balaam le prestre pur escumenger et pur maldire le poeple de Israel. Cel Mer Mort departe la terre de Iudee et Darrabe; et dure cel mer de Zoara iusques a Araba.⁷ Leawe de cel mere est mult amere et salee; et, si la terre estoit mollie de celle eawe, elle naporteroit point de fruit. Et la terre de luy change souent sa colour. Et iette fors del eawe vne chose qe homme appelle asphalt,⁸ auxi grosses pieces come vne chival, touz les iours et a toutes cousteez. Et de Ierusalem iusques a cest mer y ad cc. stadies. Cel mer ad de long diiii^{xx} stadies⁹ et de large cl. stadies. Et est dit Mer Mort pur ceo qelle ne court point; ne homme¹⁰ ne beste qad en luy vie ne purroit morir en cel meer. Et ceo ad estee proue mointefoitz qe homme gettoit dedeinz gentz qe auoient deseruy mort, et demorroient iii. iours ou iiii., mes ils ne poaient morir, qar elle ne reciout¹¹ nulle qe ad en luy vie ne nul purroit boire de eawe. Et qe metteroit fer dedeins, il noeroit¹² par dessure; et qe mitteroit vne plume dedeins, elle irroit au founz. Et cez sunt choses contre nature. Et auxi estoient les cites illeosques perduz pur pecche contre nature. Et si croissent arbres delez qe portent pommes tres beles et de bele colour a regarder et toutes mauers par semblant, mes qe les brusera ou trenchera parmy, il ne trouera dedeins qe cendres en signe qe par corouce de Dieu les cites et la terre estoient ardz del feu denfern. Ascuns appellent cel mer le Lach Dalfetide, autre le Flum de Diable, et autres le Flum Puant, qar leawe est orde et puante. En cel mer fondirent les v. cites par irour de Dieu, cest

¹ mount of þe Moabytes, where there is a cave þat men clepen Karua, C.

² that han disserved to ben dede, C.

³ dalkan, S.; dalkoran, G.; moche alom and of alkatran, C.

⁴ Drabo, S.; Arrabe, G.

⁵ v^oiiii^{xx}, S.; ciiii^{xx}, G.; iiii^{xx}, R; fyue hundred and foure skore, C.

¹¹ retient, S.; recoipt, G.

² Soara, C. The same as Segor.

⁴ schippes—to þe ground, not in C. or French texts.

⁶ Kama, S.; Karua, G. R. C.

⁸ aspak, S.; asphalt, G. R. C.; aspalim (?), H.

¹⁰ ne recoipt point ne homme, G.

¹² veneroit, S.; venroit, G.

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sum tyme, sunken and fordone, þat es to say Sodom and Gomorre, Aldama, Sobeym and Segor. Bot Segor at þe praier of Loth was saued for þe mare party, for it stude on a hill; and ȝit in clere weder men may see of þe walles þeroff abouen þe water. Nere þis see dare na man dwell, ne drink of þe water þeroff. Sum men, as I said before, callez it þe Lac Asfaltit, and sum þe Fendez Lac,¹ sum þe Stynkand Flum, for þe water þeroff es stynkand. By þis see syde growez tressez þat berez appels faire of coloure and delitable to behald; bot, when a man brekez þam or scherez þam, he fyndes noȝt in þam bot aschez and poudre and coles, in taken of þe vengeaunce þat Godd tuke on þa fyue citeez and þe cuntree aboute þam, brynnand þaim with þe fire of hell. At² þe riȝt side of þis see was Loth wyf turned intil a salt catte,³ because scho loked behind hir agaynes þe bidding of þe aungell þat tyme þat Godd fordidd þe forsaid citeez. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat Loth was Aram son, þe whilk Aram was Abraham broþer; and Sara, Abraham wyf, and Melcha, Nachor wyf, ware Loth systers. Sara what tyme þat
f.42b. scho bare Ysaach was fourscore ȝere alde and ten. Abraham also had anoþer son, þat hight Ismael; and he was circumcized when he was xiiii. ȝere alde. Bot Ysaach was circumcized when he was viii. days alde; and þai ware bathe circumcized on a day.⁴

þe flum Iordan rynnnes into þe Deed See; and þare it endez, for ferrer rynnnes it noȝt. And it es bot a myle fra a kirk of sayne Iohn Baptiste toward þe west, whare sayne Iohn baptized oure Lord; and þare vsez Cristen men to bathe þam comounly. And a myle fra Iordan es anoþer water, þat men callez Iaboth, whilk Iacob passed ouer, when he come oute of Mesopotamy. þe flum Iordan es na grete water, bot it es riȝt plentifous of fisch; and it commez fra þe mount Liban of twa welles þat springes vp þare, of whilk þe tane hat Ior and þe toþer Dan; and of þir twa welles takez it þe name. And it rynnez thurgh a cuntree þat es called Maran,⁵ and seyne thurgh þe see of Tiberias and vnder þe hilles of Gelboe; and þare es a faire playne on ayther syde þe
ryuer. þe mount of Lyban lastes on lenth to þe deserte of Pharan; and þai departe þe kyngdom of Surry and þe cuntree of Fenice.⁶ Apon þir hilles growez cedres wonder hye, and þai bere lang appels, whilk er als grete as a mannes heued. þe flum Iordan departez Galilee and þe land of Ydumee and þe land of Betron; and in sum

assauoir Sodome et Gomorre, Aldama, Seboym et Segor, pur le pecche de sodomie qi en elles regnoit. Mes Segor par la priere de Loth fuist garde grande piece; qar elle seoit a dessouz vne montaigne. Et vnqore y piert elle en partie dessouz leawe, et vist homme les murs, quant il fait clier temps et paisible. En celle cite Loth demorroit vn poy de temps, et la fuist il enyuere de ses files et se choucha ouesque elles et⁷ engendra Moab et Amon. Et la cause les files enyueroient lour piere pur luy faire coucher ouesque elles si fuist, pur ceo qelles ne veoient nully la entour forsque soulement lour piere, elles quidoient qe Dieu eust destruit tot le monde, ensi come il auoit les cites delez elles et si come il fist par le fluie de Noe, et pur ceo voloient elles coucher ouesque lour piere pur auoir lignee, si qe le monde fuist ariere puplie par elles, qar elles quidoient qil nen eust pluis homme en monde. Et sil neust estee yuerez, il ne se fuist mie couche ouesque elles. Et la montaigne a dessure de Segor homme appelloit adonqes Edom, et puis lapelloit homme Seyr,⁸ et puis Ydumee. Item a la destre partie de
cel Mer Mort demorra la femme Loth tot droit come vne piere sael,⁹ pur ceo qelle gardoit deriere luy, quant les cites fonderent en abisme. Cis Loth fuist filz Aram le frere Abraham, et Sarra la femme Abraham et Melcha¹⁰ la femme Nachor estoient sorours de dit Loth. Et celle Sarra auoit iiii^{xx} dis ans, quant Isaac fuist engendre. Et Abraham¹¹ auoit ia vn aultre fitz Ismael, qi auoit xiiii. anz, qele il auoit engendrez en Agar sa chambrere. Et, quant Isaac auoit viii. iours, Abraham le fist circumcure et Ismael ouesque, qi auoit xiiii. ans; pur quoi luy luys, qi sont estraitz¹² de Isaac, se font circumcure a viii. iours, et les Sarazins, qi sunt estraitz¹³ de Ismael, se font circumcure a xiiii. ans dage.

Dedeins la Mer Morte court¹⁴ le flum Iordan; et la se piert,¹⁵ qar ne court pluis en outre. Et ceo est a vne lieue del esglise seint Iohan le Baptiste vers occident, vn poy a dessouz de la ou les Cristiens se baignent comunement. Et a vne lieue de flum Iordan est la riuere Laboth,¹⁶ la quelle Iacob passa, quant il venoit de Mesopotamie. Ceo flum Iordan nest pas mult grant riuere, mes elle ad des bons
H.f.22b. pesshons; et vient de mont Liban de deux fontaignes qi sont appelez Ior et Dan; et de celles fontaignes print elle soun noun et sa
naissance. Et passe par vn lac¹⁷ qest appelle Maron; et puis passe par le mer de Tiberie et passe desouz les montaignes de Gelboe. Et y ad mult bele valee dune coustee et del autre de la riuere. Et vont les¹⁸ montaignes de Liban tot de long iusques au desert Pharan. Celles montaignes departent le roialme de Surie et le pais de Phenicie. Sur ces montz cresceont arbres de cedre tres hautz, qi portent pommes longes; tiels y a auxi grosses come la teste dun homme. Ceo flum Iordan departe la terre¹⁹ de Galilee et la terre de Ydumee et la terre

¹ the Flom of Devels, C.

² The passage about Lot and his daughters, omitted here, is given in C, which in other respects also closely follows H.

³ dwelleth ȝit the wif of Loth in lyknesse of a salt ston, C. The reading "salt catte" is probably unique!

⁴ Wherefore the Jewes þat comen of Ysaaces lyne ben circumcyded the viii. day and the Sarrazines þat comen of Ysmaeles lyne ben circumcyded whan þei ben xiiii. ȝeer of age, add C.

⁵ et—si fuist, om. S. G.

⁶ Mechea, S.; Mychea, G.

⁷ qont escript, S.

⁸ la mer de Laboth, S.; la mer de both, G.

⁹ la terre de Galilee et, om. G.

¹⁰ a lake, þat is clept Maron (Merom), C.

¹¹ Syer, S. G.; Seir, R.

¹² et Abraham—engendrez, S.; and so G.; om. H. R.

¹³ court, and "et" after "Iordan," om. S. G.

¹⁴ par le lache, S.; par larche, G.

¹⁵ Phenicia.

¹⁶ seal, S.; vne pierre du ciel, G.

¹⁷ qount escript, S.

¹⁸ sc. perd.

¹⁹ et vient dez, S. G.

place it rynnez vnder þe erthe vntil a faire playne þat men callez Meldan,¹ and þare es Iordan rȳt brade. In þat playne es þe sepulcre of Iob. In þis flum was Criste baptized of sayne Iohn; and þare was herd þe voice of þe fader sayand, *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo michi bene complacui*, þat es to say, "Here es my son þat I luffe, of wham I am wele payd. Heres him." And þare þe Haly Gaste descended on him in likness of a douffe²; and so was þare at his baptizing all þe Trinytee. Thurgh þat flum Iordan passed þe childer of Israel drye fote; and þai sett grete stanes in myddes of þe water in taken of þe miracle. Also in þat flum Naaman of Siry bathed him seuen sythes, and he was clensed of lepre and made fisch hale.³ Aboute þe flum Iordan er many kirkes, and cristen men dwelland at þam. And a lytill þerfra es a citee þat es called Hayla,⁴ þe whilk Iosue enseged and tuke. Bezond Iordan es þe vale of Mambree, and it es rȳt a faire vale. Also twa myle fra þe hill þat I spakk off before, whare oure Lord fasted xl. days and xl. nyghtes, toward Galile es a hie hill and vp on þat hill ledd þe fende oure Lord, and schewed him all þe kyngdommes of þe werld and said vntill him, "All þis," quod he, "salle I giffe þe, with þi þou will falle down and adoure me."

And ȳe sall vnderstand þat for to ga fra þe Deed See estward oute of þe marche of þe land of promission es a strang castell and a faire, standand on a hill þat men callez Carras, þat es to say Mount Real.⁵ þis castell gert Bawdewyne make, þat was king of Ierusalem⁶ and conquerde all þat land, and inhabited it with Cristen men. And vnder þat castell es a faire toune, þat men calles Soboch, wharin many Cristen men dwellez suerly ynogh vnder tribute. Fra þeine men gase to Nazareth, wharoff oure Lord had his o toname. And fra þeine to Ierusalem es iii. day iourneez. And men gase thurgh þe cuntree of Galile thurgh Ramathaim Sophim and by þe hilles of Effraym, whare Helchana dwelt and Anna, Samuel þe prophete fader and moder. þare was Samuel borne; bot he was grauen on þe Mount Ioy, as I said before. And þan commes men to Sylo, whare þe arke of Godd was keped vnder Hely þe preste of þe lawe. And þare made þe folk of Ebron sacrifice till oure Lord. And þare spak oure Lord first vnto Samuel. And þare nere, at þe left syde, es Gabaon and Rama Beniamyn, of whilk Haly Writte spekez. Fra þeine men gase to Sychem, þat by anoþer name es called Sychar; and it es in þe cuntree of Samary, and it es x. myle fra Ierusalem. Sum men callez it Neopolis, þat es to say þe new citee.

de Betron.⁷ Elle court a desouz terre vne piece iusques a vn bele plain et grant, qe homme appelle Meldan en Sarazinois, ceo est a dire Foire ou Marchee en Romancz, pur ceo qil y a souent foire en ceo plain. Et la deuient leawe grant et large. En ceo plain est la tombe⁸ Iob. En ceo flum Iordan Dieu fuist baptize; et la voiz de Piere fuist oye en disant, *Hic est filius meus dilectus, &c.* Et ly Seint Espirit descendy sur luy en fourme dune columbe; et ensi a ceo baptisme fuist tote la Trinitee. Et parmy ceo flum passerent les filz de Israel tot au sek; et y mettoient pieres en milieu, en signe de miracle de ceo qe leawe estoit retraite. Item en ceo flum Iordan Naaman de Sirie se baigna, qestoit mult riches homme et fuist mesel,⁹ et tantoust fuist garriz. Enviroin le flum Iordan sunt multz des esglises, ou y demoerent multz des Cristiens. Et assez pres est la citee¹⁰ de Hayla, la quelle Iosue assailly et prist.¹¹ Item de la montaigne, dont iay desuis parle, ou nostre Seignur ieuna xl. iours, a ii. lieux loins vers Galilee, y a vne mult haute montaigne, ou luy enmy porta nostre Seignur la terce foithe pur tempter et ly moustra tot le plain de pais et ly dit,¹² "Tot ceo qe tu voiez, ieo te dorra, mes tu cheiez a terre et moy aorez."

Item de la Mer Morte a aler vers orient hors de marches de la terre de promissioun y ad vn fort chaustel et beal en la montaigne, qad a noun Carak¹³ en Sarazinoiz, cest a dire roialment¹⁴ en Franceis. Ceo chaustel fesoit faire vn roi de France Baldewin, qauoit conquis celle terre, et y mist des Cristiens pur garder le pais; et pur ceo fuist il appelez Mont Roial. Et desouz y ad vne ville qad a noun Sobach. La entour demoere grande multitude des Cristiens desouz tribut. De la vait homme a Nazareth, de la quelle nostre Seignur portout le surnoun; et iusques la y a iii. iournees. De Ierusalem lem vait par la prouince de Galilee, par Ramatha, par Sothim,¹⁵ et par la haute montaigne de Effraym, ou Elcana et Anne, la miere Samuel le prophete, demoeroint. La nasqu cis prophete, et apres sa mort il fuist enseueliz a la Mont Ioye, si come ieo vous ay dit. Et puis vait homme a Sylo, la ou larche Dieu ouesqe les reliques fuist garde longement desouz Helie le prophete. La fesoit le poeple de Ebron sacrifice a nostre Seignur; et la rendoient ils lour voutz; et la parla Dieu primerement a Samuel et luy reuela¹⁶ la mutacioun dul ordre de preste et le misteire¹⁷ de sacrement. Et assez pres au sinistre est Gabaon et Rama et¹⁸ Beniamin, dont les scripture emparle. Et puis vait homme par Sichem, autrement appelle Sichar. Ceo est en la prouince de Samaritanz.¹⁹ Et y ad mult bele valee et mult fructuose; et y ad vne bele cite et bone, qe homme appelle Neopole. Et iusques la y a vne iournee de Ierusalem.

¹ Meldan in Sarmoyz, þat is to seye feyre or markett in here langage, be cause þat þere is often feyres in þat playn, C.

² a colver, C.

³ toke his hele, C.

⁴ Ai. "Hayla" (Haylla, C.) seems to represent "*Hay la quelle*" of the French text.

⁵ France, C.

⁷ Botron, S.; Bothron, G.

⁹ leprous vz mesel, S.; mesiaux, G.; meselle, C.

¹⁰ leglise la cite, G.

¹¹ prist. Item entre (outr, G.) le flum Iordan est la vale de Mambre molt beal vale, S. G.; om. H. R.

¹² dit, *Hec omnia tibi dabo, si cadens in terra adoraveris me*, ceo est a dyre en franceys, S.

¹⁴ Roialmont, S.; roialmont, G.; roialment, R.

¹⁵ Sophim, S.; Sophin, G.

¹⁷ le misteire, om. G.

¹⁸ et, om. S. G.

¹⁹ After this in S. G. follows the sentence "et soloit—abbatue" below.

⁵ Carak en Sarmoyz, þat is to seye Ryally, C.

⁶ le temple, S. G.

¹³ Carrac, S.; Carach, G.

¹⁶ releua, G.

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Pare fast by es Iacob well, whare oure Lord spak to þe womman Samaritane. And þare was sum tyme a kirk; bot it es now destruyd. Pare be syde þat well gert Ieroboam kyng of Israel make twa calfez of golde, and sent þe tane of þam to Dan and þe toþer to Bethel, and comaunded þe folk þat þai schuld wirschepe þam in steed of goddes. A myle fra Sychar es a citee þat men callez Luza,¹ whare Abraham dwelled sum tyme. And a lytill þeine es þe sepulcre of Ioseph Iacob son, þat gouerned Egipte; and fra Egipte ware his banes broght and grauen þare. In þe citee of Sychem was Dyna Iacob doghter rauyst; for wham hir breþer sloghe mykill of þe folk of þat citee. A lytill fra þat citee es þe mount Garisym, whare þe Samaritanes makes þaire sacrificez. In þat hill f.44. schuld Abraham hafe offerd his son Ysaach til oure Lorde. And þare nere es þe vale of Dothaym. And in þat vale es þe cisterne, wharin Ioseph was casten of hys breþer before þai salde him to þe Ismaelites; and it es twa myle fra Sychar. Fra þeine men gase to a citee of Samary þat es called Sebaste²; and it es þe chieff citee of þat cuntree, and it standez amanges hilles,³ as Ierusalem duse. Bot þat citee es noȝt now so grete as it was sum tyme. Pare was sayne Iohn Baptist grauen betwene twa prophetez, þat es to say Helizeus and Abdias. Bot he was heueded in þe castell of Macheron beside þe Deed See; and his disciples bare him to Sebaste. And þare gert Iulyan Apostata take his banes and brynne þam, for he was emperour þat tyme; and þe askes of him ware casten in þe wynd. Bot þe finger with whilk sayne Iohn schewed oure Lord, sayand, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, &c., myght noȝt be brynt. Þis fynger sayne Tecle þe virgyn gert bere in to mountes⁴; and þare es done grete wirschepe þerto. In þat place was sum tyme a faire kirke; bot now it es destruyd, and many oþer kirkes also þat ware þare. Pare was þe heued of sayne Iohn closed in a wall. Bot þe emperour Theodosius gert take it oute; and he fand it lapped in a clathe all blody. And so gert he bere it to Constantinople; and þare es ȝit þe ta half þeroff, and þe toþer half es at Rome in þe kirke of sayne Siluestre.⁵ And þe vessell whare in his heued was layd, when it was smyten off, es at Geen, and men dos grete wirschepe þarto. Sum men saise þat sayne Iohn heued es at f.44b. Amyas in Pykardy; and sum saise þat it es þe heued of sayn Iohn þe bischope. I wate noȝt; Godd wate. Fra Sebaste to Ierusalem er xii. myle. And betwene þe hilles of þis cuntree es a well þat chaungez his

La est la fontaine ou nostre Seigneur parla a la femme Samaritane. Et soloit la auoir vne esglise, mes elle fuist abbatue. Delez celle fontaine fist Roboas faire deux veals⁶ dor et les fist aorrer, et mist lun a Dan⁷ et laltre a Bethel. Et a vne lieue de Sichar est la cite de Luze. En celle cite demorroit Abraham vne piece du temps. Sichem est a x.⁸ lieues de Ierusalem, et est appelle Neopole, ceo est a dire cite nouelle. Et assez pres est la tombe Ioseph le filz Iacob, qi gouerna Egipte; qar ly Iuys apporterent ses os de Egipte et les enseuilrent illeokes. Et la vont ly Iuys souent en pilrinage a grant deuocioun. En celle cite fust Dyne la file Iacob rauie, pur quoi les freres en occistrent mointe persone et en firont trop de mal a la cite. La delez est ly mont de Garasoun,⁹ ou luy Samaritanz font lour sacrifice. En ceo mont voloit Abraham sacrifier son filz Isaac. Et la delez est ly vale de Dotaym.¹⁰ Et est la cisterne ou Ioseph fuist iette de ces freres auant qils ly vendissent; et ceo est a ii. lieues de Sichar. De la vait homme a Samarie, qe homme appelle maintenant Sebaste; et ceo est la chief cite de celluy pais, et siet entre montaignes, si come Ierusalem fait. En celle cite fuist ly sieges de x. tribuitz de Israel. Mes la cite nest mie maintenant si grande come elle soloit estre. La fuist enseuely seint Iohan le Baptistre entre ii. prophetes Heliseus et Abdian. Mes il fust decollez en chaustel de Macherym¹¹ pres de la Mer Morte; et puis fuist il translate de ses disciples et enseuelyz a Samarie. Et la fist Iulianus Apostata desenfourir ses ossementz et ardoir, qar il estoit adonques emperour; et fist gettee les cendres au vent. Mes le doy de quel il moustra nostre Seigneur, en disant, *Ecce, agnus Dei*, ne poait ardoir, auques demora tot entier. Cel doy fist seinte Tecle virgine porter entre¹² les montz¹³; et la fait¹⁴ homme grant feste. A Sebaste, en celle lieu mesmez, soloit auoir vne bele esglise; et plusours autres y auoient, mes elles sont totes abbatuez. La estoit le chief seint Iohan le Baptistre enclose dun mur. Mes lempereur Teodose le fist trere; et le trouua enuoluee en vn drapeal tot sanglant. Et ensi fist le porter a Constantinople; et vnquore est a Constantinople tote la derere partie de la teste, et la deuanterisme partie iusques a machoueres dessouz est a Rome en esglise de Seint Siluestre, ou il ad de noinaignes cordelers. Et H.f.23b. est vnquore tot bruille, ensi qe demy ars,¹⁵ car cel emperour Iulien desuisdit de sa mauuestee fist ardoir celle partie ouesques les autres os, et vnquore y piert; et fuist ceste chose esprouee par papes et par emperours. Et les machoueres par dessouz, qi se¹⁶ tiegnent au mentoun, et vne partie des cendres et luy platealx, ou sa teste fuist mise, quant elle fuist coope, sont a Ianewee; et en font les Ianewais grant feste. Et si font auxi les Sarazins grant feste de luy. Ascuns dient qe le chief seint Iohan est a Amyas¹⁷ en Pikardie; et autres dient qe cest le chief de seint Iohan leuesqe. Ieo ne say; Dieu le sciet. Mes quelle part qe homme le face honour, le bon seint Iohan le print a gree. De celle cite Sebaste iusques a Ierusalem y ad xii. lieues. Et entre les montaignes de cel pais y ad vne fontaine, qi iiii. foithez lan

¹ cytee of Deluze (sc. cite de Luze), C.

⁴ in to the hille of Sebast, C.

⁵ C. adds, "where ben nonnes of an hundred orders (the translator mistaking "cordelers" for "c. ordres"), and it is ȝit all broylyl as þough it were half brent. For the emperour Iulianus aboueseyd, of his cursedness and malice, let brennen þat partie with oþer bones, and ȝit it scheweth."

⁶ vesseux, S.; veaux, G.

⁹ Garizim, S.; Guarizim, G.

¹² oultre, G.

¹³ brulez et ensi demoere come il fut ars, S.; brulez ainsi comme il demora quant le corps fu ars, G.

¹⁷ Amiens, G.

² gon men to Samarye, þat men clepen now Sebast, C.

⁷ lun a nom Adam, G.

¹⁰ Dothaim, S. G.

¹¹ montz a Sebaste, S., omitting "a Sebaste" below.

³ betwene þe hille of Aygnes (entre montaignes !), C.

⁸ vi., S.

¹¹ Macherim, S.; Machemin, G.; Macharyme, C.

¹⁴ fit, S.; en fist, G.

¹⁶ se, S. G. R.; ceo, H.

coloure foure tymes in þe 3ere. For sum tyme it es grene and sum tyme reed, sum tyme truble and sum tyme clere; and men callez þat well Iol. þe folk of þat cuntree er called Samaritanes, and þai ware conuerted and baptized thurgh þe apostels. Bot þai hald noȝt þe apostels techinges, and so þai er fallen in errours and haldez a secte by þam self and a lawe diuerse fra þe lawe of Cristen and of Iewes, Sarzenes and Payenes. Neuerþeles þai trowe in a Godd, and saise þer es nane bot he, þat made all and all schall deme. þai kepe þe fyue bukes of þe Bible efter þe letter, and vse þe sawter as þe Iews duse. þai say þai er verray Goddes childer and better luffed with Godd þan any oþer men. þaire clething also es diuerse fra oþer men, and þaire heuedes þai wende in a reed lynnen clathe to be knawen fra oþer. For þe Sarzenes lappez þaire heuedes in whyte, and Cristen men þat dwelles þare in blewe, and Iews in ȝalow clathe. For þare dwellez many Iews, payand tribute as Cristen men duse. And if ȝe will witt what kyn lettres þe Iews vse, here ȝe schall fynd þam sette all redy 10 and þe names of þe lettres also, as þai call þam:—Aleph, Beth, Gymel, Deleth, He, Vau, Zai, Heth, Theth, Ioth, Caph, Lameth, Mem, Nun, Sameth, Ain, Fe, Sade, Coph, Res, Sen, Tau.¹ Now will I sette þe figures of þe lettres þat þai vse. . . .

CHAPTER XIII.

[Of the prouince of Galilee, and where Antecrist schall be born; of Nazareth; of the age of oure Lady; of the day of doom; and of the customes of Jacobites, Surryenes; and of the vsages of Georgyenes.]

f.45. **F**RA þis cuntree þat I hafe spoken off men gase to þe playne of Galilee and lefes þe hilles on þe ta syde. Galile es a cuntree of þe land of promissioun; and in þat cuntree es þe citee of Naym and þe citee of Capharnaum and of Corozaim and of Betsayda, whare sayne Petre and saynt Andrew was borne.² And at Corsaym sall Antecriste be borne. Bot sum men sayse he schall be borne in Babiloyne, and þerfore 20 saise þe prophecie þus, *De Babilonia exiet Coluber, qui totum [mundum] deuorabit*, þat es to say, "Of

change sa colour. Ascunfoithez y change en vert, ascunfoithez rouge, vne foithe clere, autrefoithez trouble. Et appelle homme celle fontaigne la fontaigne Iol.³ Les gentz de celle pais, qe homme appelle Samaritanie, furent conuertez et baptizez par les apostres. Mes ils nont mie bien tenuz lour doctrine, et totefoithe tiegnent ils loy par eaux mesmes, variant des Cristiens, Sarazins, Iuys et Paienz.⁴ Ils croient bien en vn soul Dieu, et dient bien qil ne ad qe un soul Dieu, qi tot crea⁵ et tot iuggera; et tiegnent⁶ la Bible solonc la lettre et vsent le psautier, si come les Iuys font. Et dient qils sont droitz filz de Dieu et entre totes gentz les pluis amez de Dieu, et qe lour est proprement le heritage qe Dieu promet a ses amez. Et ont auxint diuers⁷ habit a regard dautre gent; qar ils enuolupent lour testes dun lynceal rouge a la difference dautres. Et les Sarazins le enuolupent dun drap blanc, et les Cristiens qi demorrent el pais dun drap bleu ou ynede, et les Iuys dun drap iaune. En cel pais demorrent multz des Iuys paiantz tribut, si come font les Cristiens. Et si vous veulez sauoir les lettres qe les Iuys vsent,⁸ elles sont tielles, et sont les nouns si come ils les appellent escript par desouz:—a, aleph; b, beth; g, gymel; d, deleth; 30 h, he; u, vau; z, zay; e, ey; th, thet; i, ioh; k, kaph; l, lampd; m, mem; n, num; s, sameth; e long, ey; f, ffhe; p, sade; c, coph; r, ffyr; o, son; t, thau.

CHAPITRE XIII.

De la prouince de Galilee, et ou Antecrist naistra; de Nazareth; del age nostre Dame; del iour de iuggement; et de les coustumes de Jacobitz Siriens.

H.f.24. **D**E ceo pais de Samaritans, dont ieo vous ay parle, homme vait as plains de Galilee et lesse homme les montaignes a vne part. Et est Galilee vne des prouinces de la terre de promissioun; et en celle prouince est la cite de Naym et Capharnaum, Chorosaim et Bethsaida. De celle Bethsaida furent neez saint Piere et saint Andreau. Et a iiii. lieux est Chorosaim; et a v. lieux de Chorosaim est la cite de Cedar, dont le psalter emparle, *Et habitau⁹ cum habitantibus Cedar*. En Chorosaim naistra Antecrist, si come ascuns le dient. Et autres dient qil serra neez en Babiloigne, pur ceo qe le prophete dit, *De Babilone Coluber exiet, qui totum mundum* 40

¹ Over these letters are placed those of the English alphabet in regular order from a to y, excluding j and w. The forms of the Hebrew characters are too corrupt to be worth reproducing.

⁴ H. R. add "et Samaritains."

⁷ dignifie, G.

² The sentence omitted here is translated in C.

⁵ qi crea ciel et terre et tout crea, S.

⁸ dez Iewes qi la et autre part demurent, S.; and so G.

³ Iob, S. G. C.

⁶ croient, S. G.

⁹ habitabam, G.

Babiloyne sall a nedder¹ comme, þat sall deuoure all þe werld." And he þis antecriste sall be nurischt in Bethsaida, and he sall regne in Corozaym; and þerfore saise Haly Writte of þaim þus, *Ve tibi, Corozaym! Ve tibi, Bethsaida! Ve tibi, Capharnaum!* þat es to say, "Wa be to þe, Corozaym! Wa be to þe, Bethsaida! Wa be to þe, Capharnaum." Also þe Cane of Galilee es þare, iiii. myle fra Nazareth; and þare was sayn Symon borne. þare also did oure Lord þe first miracle at þe wedding of Architriclyne,² when he turned water in to wyne. In þe marchez of Galilee betwene þe mountaynes was þe arch of Godd taken. And on þe toþer syde es þe hill of Endor in Hermon.³ And a lytill þeine Barach, Abymalech son, and þe prophetisse Debbora ouercome þe oste of Ydumee, when Cisara þe kyng was slayne thurgh Iabel, Aber wyf, as tellez þe Byble. And in þat same place f.45b. Gedeon and ccc. men with him discoumfit three kynges, þat es to say Zeb, Zebee, and Salmana, and pursued ouer þe flum Iordan and slew þam and þaire folk for þe maste party. Fyue myle fra Naym es þe citee of Iesrael, þe whilk also es called Zaraym. Of þat citee was Iesabel, þe wikked qwene, þat gert sla vnriȝtwisely Naboth for his vynezarde. A lytill fra þis citee es þe felde of Mageddo, whare þe kyng of Samary slewe Iosias þe kyng of Iuda, þe whilk efterward was broght to þe mount Syon and grauen þare. Also a myle fra Iesrael er þe mountes of Gelboe, whare kyng Saul and Ionathas his son and a grete noumer of þe childer of Israel ware slayne in bataile. Wharfore kyng David weried þe forsaid mountes.⁴ And a myle þeine, toward þe este, es a citee þat men callez Citople or Bethsaym. Apon þe walles of þat citee hinged þe Philistenes þe heued of kyng Saul.

Fra þeine men gase thurgh þe playne of Galile to Nazareth, whilk was sum tyme a grete citee; bot now þer es noȝt bot a lytill village, and it es noȝt walled aboute. In Nazareth was oure Lady borne, bot scho was consayued at Ierusalem. Of Nazareth tuke oure Lord his to name. And þare wedded Ioseph oure Lady, when scho was xiiii. ȝere alde. And þare þe aungell Gabriel grette oure Lady, sayand þus, *Aue, gratia plena!* 20 *Dominus tecum*, þat es to say, "Hayle, Mary, full of grace! Godd es with þe." And in þat same place es a chapell, bigged by syde a piler of a kirk þat was þare in alde tyme; and þare es grete offering of Cristen f.46. pilgrimes.⁵ Þis chapell gers þe Sarzenes kepe riȝt straitely by cause of auantage of þe offerandes. And þare er wonder euill Sarzenes, and mare cruell þan er in any oþer place; for þai hafe destruyd all þe kirkez þat ware

deuorabit. Celle Antecrist serra norez en Bethsaida et regnera en Capharnaim.⁶ Et pur ceo dit lescription, *Ve tibi, Chorosaim! Ve tibi, Bethsaida! Ve tibi, Capharnaum!* Et totes cez villes sont en la terre de Galilee et la Cane de Galilee auxint, qi est a iiii. lieues de Nazareth. De celle cite fuist Symon Cananeus, et la femme Cananee, de la quelle le saint Euuangelie emparle. La fist nostre Seignur le primer miracle as noeces architriclin,⁷ quant il conuerti leawe en vin. Et en la fin de Galalee montaigues fuist larche Dieu prise. Et del autre part est le mont Hendor,⁸ ou Heremon. Et la entour vait le rusheu de *Torrens Cison*,⁹ qi autrement est appelez le Torrent Raduum.¹⁰ La delez Barac¹¹ le filz Abimelech, ouesqe le filz Delbore la prophetesse, venquy lost de Ydumee, quant Cisera le roi fuist occis de Gebel la femme 30 Aber, et chacea vltre le flum Iordan par force del espeie Zeb et Zebee et Zalmana, et la les occist. Item a v. lieues de Naym est la cite de Iezrael, qi autrement est appelez Zarim,¹² de la quelle cite Lexabel¹³ la mauaise roigne estoit, qi tolle la vigne Naboch par sa force. Pres de celle cite est le champ Magede,¹⁴ en quelle le roy Ioras fuist occis de roy de Samarie, et puis fuist translate et enseuey en mont Syon. Et a vne lieu de Iezrael sunt les montaigues de Gelboe, ou Saul et Ionathas, qi estoient si beals, morierent.¹⁵ Pur quoi Seint Escripiture les maldit,¹⁶ en disant, *Montes Gelboe nec ros nec pluia, &c.* A vne lieue del mont de Gelboe contre orient est la cite de Scitople,¹⁷ qest appelez Bethsain. Sur les murs de celle cite fuist la teste Saul pendue.

Puis vait homme par la montaigne delez les plains de Galilee iusques a Nazareth, qi soloit estre vne grant cite et bealle. Mes ore nad qe vne petite villette a meisons¹⁸ espanduez de cea et de la, et nest mie mureez; et siet en vne petite vallee, et y a montaigues tot entour. La nasqui nostre Dame, mes elle fuist engendrez a Ierusalem. Et pur ceo qe nostre Dame nasqui a Nazareth, pur ceo porta nostre Seignur le surnoun de ceste ville. La prist Ioseph¹⁹ nostre Dame a femme, qi nauoit qe xiiii. ans dage. La salua langel Gabriel nostre Dame, en 40 disant, *Aue Maria, gracia plena! Dominus tecum*, en lieue dun grant aultier dune²⁰ belle esglise, qi soloit estre, mes elle fuist tot abatue. Et ad homme fait vn petit caseu delez vn piler de celle esglise pur resceiure les offrendes des pilrins. Et les Sarazins le gardent mult curiousement pur le profit qils ont. Et sont trop mauoisez Sarazins et trop cruelz, puis qen autre part; et ont destruitz totes les esglises.

¹ a worm, C.² sc. architriclinus, the governor of the feast, John ii. 8.³ mownt Hendor or Hermon. And þere about goth the broke of *Torrens Cison*, þat somtyme was clept the broke Radumu, C.⁴ cursed hem, as holy writt seyth, *Montes Gelboe, nec ros nec pluia, &c.* (ii. Sam. i. 21), þat is to seye, "ȝee hilles of Gelboe nouþer dew ne reyn com vpon ȝou," C.⁵ And this salutacioun was don in a place of a gret awteer of a faire chirche þat was wont to be som tyme, but is now all downe; and men han made a lityll resceyt besyde a pylere of þat chirche for to resceyue the offrynges of pilgrymes, C.⁶ Corosaym, G.; Capharnaum, S. (over an erasure), C.⁷ architriclin, S. R.; archedeclin, G.; architriclyn, C.⁹ Cedron, S. G.¹⁰ Radium, S. G.; Radaum, R.⁸ Endor, S.; Antor, G.¹² Iaraim, S.; Zaraim, G.¹¹ est Barac, with "qi" before "venquy" below, S.; and so G.¹⁵ fut mys a mort, S.; Saul Ionathas demouroit qui estoit si biaux, G.¹³ Iesabel, S.; Lexabel, G.; Laxabel, R.¹⁶ Cicople, S. G.; Cytople, C.¹⁴ Madago, S.; Madogo, G.; Magede, C.¹⁸ En mesme cel lieu estoit vn grant auter et vn beal esglise, mes, S.; et ou lieu du grant autel, ou vne belle esglise soloit estre, mais, G.¹⁹ a meisons—vallee, om. G.²⁰ nostre seignur Ioseph, H.

wount to be þare. And þare es þe well of Gabriell, whare oure Lord was wont to bathe him, when he was zung; and at þat well was he wount to fecche his moder water; and þare was scho wount to wasch his clathez.¹ Fra Ierusalem to Nazareth er iii. day iourneez. And þare was oure Lord nurischt. Nazareth es als mykill at say as Floure of Gardyne; and it may wele be called so, for þare was nurischt þe Floure of Lyf, þat es to say oure Lord Ihesu Criste. And twa myle fra Nazareth, in þe way as men gase to þe citee of Acon,² es þe citee of Sephor. And halfe a myle fra Nazareth es þe leep þat oure Lord leped fra þe Iews, when þai ledd him apon a hie roche to hafe casten him downe and slayne him; bot he passed thurgh þam and leped till anoþer roche, whare his steppes er 3it sene. And þerfore saise sum men, when þai hafe drede of thefez, þis verse þat es writen here, *Ihesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*,³ þat es to say "Ihesus furth passand 3ode thurgh þe middes of þam." And þai say also þir versez of þe sawter buke, "*Irruat super eos formido et pavor in magnitudine brachii tui, Domine. Fiant immobiles, quasi lapis, donec pertransiat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertransiat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti*,"⁴ þat es to say, "Fall on þaim drede in þe greteness of þine arm, Lord. f.46b. Be þai vnmouand as a stane vnto þat tyme þat þi folk passe, Lord, vnto þi folk passe, whilk þou boght." And when þis es said, a man may ga seurlly withouten lettyng. And 3e schall vnderstand þat oure lady saynt Mary, when scho bare Criste, was of xv. 3ere elde, and with him scho was in erthe xxxiii. 3ere and iii. monethes. And after his passioun scho liffed xxiii. 3ere, and so scho liffed in þis erthe lxxii. 3ere and three monethes.

Fra Nazareth to þe mount Thabor es iii. myle, and it es a faire hill and a hie. And þare was sum tyme a toune and many kirkes, bot now þai er all destruyd. Bot 3it þer es a place þat þai call þe Scolle of oure Lord, whare he teched his disciples þe priuetez of heuen. And at þe fote of þat mount Melchisedech, þat was kyng of Ierusalem and Goddes preste, mette Abraham in þe commyng doune fra þat mount, when he come fra þe descomfiture of his enmys. And on þat hill oure Lord transfigured him self before Petre, Iames and Iohn, whare þai sawe him spekand with⁴ Moyses and Helyas. And þerfore said Petre, *Bonum est nos hic esse. Faciamus hic tria tabernacula*,⁵ þat es to say "It es gude to be here. Late vs make three tabernacles." And Criste bad þam þat þai suld tell na man þat visioun vnto þe tyme þat he ware risen fra deed to lyfe. And apon þat same hill and in þat same place apon þe day of dome sall foure aungels blawe þaire bemes⁶ and raise all þat er deed vnto f.47. þe lyf. And þai schall com in body and saule before Godd þe souerayne Iugge in þe vale of Iosaphat, to take þaire dome apon Pasch day, in þe tyme of Cristes resurreccioun. For, as doctoures saise, þe same tyme þat he

La est la fontaine Gabriel, ou nostre Seigneur se soloit baigner, quant il estoit petit. De celle fontaine il porta eawe souent a sa miere; et en celle fontaine elle lauait souent les drapelez de soun enfant Ihesu Crist. Et de Ierusalem iusques la y ad iii. iourneis. A Nazareth fuist nostre Seigneur norez. Nazareth est a dire Flur de Iardyn; et a bone cause est il appelez flour, qar la fuist noriz le Flour de Vie, ceo fuist Ihesu Crist. A ii. lieues de Nazareth est la cite de Sephor,⁷ par le chemin qi vait de Nazareth a Acon. Et a demie lieue dela Nazareth est le saut⁸ nostre Seigneur; qar les Iuys le mesneront sur vne roche haute pur iecter a val pur ly occire, mes Ihesu passa parmy eaux et sailly sur vne autre roche. Et ly pies⁹ y pierent vnquore en la dite roche. Et pur ceo dient ascuns, quant ils se doutent des larons en chemin ou des enemys, *Ihesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*, en memoire¹⁰ qe, ensy qe nostre Seigneur passa parmy les cruelz Iuys saluement et les eschapa, ensi seurement puisse homme passer les perils¹¹ des larons. Et puis dit homme cez ii. versz del psalter ter foiz, *Irruat super eos formido et pavor in magnitudine brachii tui, Domine. Fiant immobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertranseat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti*; et puis passe homme sanz encombrement. Et sachez qe nostre Dame enfanta en xv^e an, et conuorsa oue soun enfant xxxiii. ans et iii. mois; et apres la passioun nostre Seigneur elle vesqui xxiii.¹² ans.

Item de Nazareth lem vait al mont Thabor, ou il nad qe iii.¹³ lieues, qest mult bele montaigne et bien haut, ou il soloit auoir vne ville et des esglises plusours, mes elles sont totes destruitz. Mes vnquore y ad vn lieu qe homme appelle Lescole Dieu, ou il soloit enseigner ses disciples et lour diuisoit les secretz celestieus. Al pie de celle montaigne Melchisedech,¹⁴ qi fuist roi de Salem, qore ad a noun Ierusalem, et si fuist auxi preste—en declin de celle montaigne il encontra Abraham, qi reuenoit de la bataille, quant il auoit occis Amalech. En cel montaigne se transfigura nostre Seigneur deuant saint Piere, saint Iohan, et saint Iake. Et la visrent ils espirituellement Moyses et Helye les prophetes delez eaux; et pur ceo disoit saint Piere, *Domine, bonum est nos hic esse. Faciamus hic tria tabernacula*. Et la oierent ils la voiz du Piere qi dit, *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo michi bene complacui*. Et lour defendy nostre Seigneur, qa nully deissent celle auisioun iusques a tant qil fuist releuez de mort en vie. En celle montaigne et en celle mesme lieu au iour de iuggement sonneront iii. anges iii. trompes et resusciteront toutes les persones qi mort ont soeffry, puis qe le monde estoit creez, de mort a vie. Et vendront en corps et en H.f.25. alme al iuggement deuant la face nostre Seigneur el val de Iosephaz. Et serra cis iuggement le iour de Pasqe a tiele heure come nostre Seigneur se releua¹⁵ de mort a vie a la¹⁶ resurreccioun; et serra le iugement comence a tiel heure come nostre Seigneur descendy en

¹ clowtes, C.⁴ sawghe gostly, C.⁷ Sohor, G.⁹ ou ses pees, S.; ou les piez, G.; et ly pieres, H.; et ly piers, R.¹¹ Puis homme poet passer le peril, S.; et puis len peut passer le peril, G.¹³ iii., S. G.; iiiii., C.¹⁶ a la—seigneur, om. G., with "et" before "descendi."² Luke iv. 30.⁴ Matt. xvii. 4.⁸ saut, R.; sanc, S.; sault, G.; sang, H.¹⁴ Melchisedech—montaigne, om. S. G.³ Exod. xv. 16.⁶ trompes, C.¹⁰ en memoire—seurement, om. S. G.¹² xvi., S. over an erasure.¹⁵ se releua—seigneur, from R.; and so S.; om. H.

went till hell and heried it, þe same tyme sall he spoile þe werld and take his frendes and lede þam to ioy withouten end, and dampne þe wikked til ay lastand payne.¹

Also a myle fra þe mount Thabor es þe mount Hermon; and þare was þe citee of Naym before þe 3ates of whilk oure Lorde raised þe widow son fra deed to lyfe. Also three myle fra Nazareth es þe castell of Saffra, whare Zebedeus and Alpheus childer ware borne. And seuen myle fra Nazareth es þe mount Cain; and vnderneath it es a well, whare Lamech slew Cayn with ane arowe, supposing he had bene a wylde beste.² Fra Saffra gase men to a citee þat es called Tyberias, þe whilk standez apon þe see of Galile. And, if all it be called a see, neuerþeles it es na see ne arme of þe see, bot a staunke of fresch water; and it es nere a hundreth furlanges lang and fourty on brede, and þer er many gude fischez þerin, and it commes oute of Iordan and rynnez thurgh þe myddes of þe citee.³ And it es riȝt profitable for þe cuntree. And þare þare it and Iordan partes es a 10 grete brigg, by þe whilk men wendez oute of þe land of beheste in to þe land of Basan and in to þe land of Gerassen, þe whilk marchez apon Iordan.

And fra þeine may men wende to Damasc on three days, thurgh þe cuntree of Traconye,⁴ þe whilk lastez fra Hermon to þe see of Galilee, þe whilk also es called þe see of Tyberias or þe Staunkes of Genasareth. And f.47b. þis diuersetee of names it hase of þe citez þat standes þer apon. Apon þis see 3ode oure Lord drie fote, when he said to Petre, *Modice fidei, quare dubitasti?*⁵ þat es to say, "þou man of litil faith, whi had þou doute?" And þat was when he went to Criste on þe water, and was in poynt to drowne, and Criste take him by þe hand and said þe wordes þat I said before. And also Criste apperde til his disciples after his resurreccioun fischand in þis see and filled þaire nettes full of fisch, and þai broȝt him parte of a roste fisch and a hony cambe. In þis see also fished Petre and Andrew, Iames and Iohn, when Criste called þam and bad þam folow him, and þai allsone 20 left schippe and nettes and folowed him. In þis cite of Tiberias es þe tabil on whilk oure Lord ete with his disciples after his resurreccioun, of whilk etyng Haly Writte saise þus, *Cognouerunt Dominum in fractione panis*,⁶ þat es to say, "þai knew oure Lord in breking of breed." Besyde þis citee es a hill whare oure Lord fedd v^m men with fyue laues and twa fisches. In þis citee also a wikked man on a tyme kest a brynnand fyrebrand

enfern et le despoillea. Qar a tiele heure il despoillera le monde et mesnera ses amez en gloire, et lez⁷ autres condempnera as perpetuels peines. Et adonques chescun auera soun loer, solonc ceo qil auera deserui, ou bien ou mal, si la grande misericorde de Dieu ne vait a deuant de sa iustice.

Item a vne lieue de mont Thabor est le mont Heremon. La fuist la cite de Naim. Deuant la porte de celle cite resuscita nostre Seignur le filz a la femme veue, qi nauoit pluis enfantz. Item a iii. lieues de Nazareth est le caustel Saffra, dont le filz Zebedee et le filz Alpheus y furent. Item a vii.⁸ lieues de Nazareth est le mont Kayn; et desouz y ad vne fontaigne. Et delez celle fontaigne Lamech le 30 piere Noe occist Kayn dune saiette, qar cis Kayn aloit parmy les ronces et les busshons come vne beste sauage. Et auoit ia vesqui de temps Adam iusques au temps Noe, et ensi vesquy pres de m^m ans. Et fuist cis Lamech tot oueogle de violerne.⁹ De Saffra vait homme a la mer de Galilee et a la cite de Tiberie, qi siet sur celle mer. Et, combien qe homme appelle le mer, ceo nest pas mer ne bracz de mer, qar ceo nest qe vn lac deawe douce, qi tient de long c. stadies et de¹⁰ large xl. stadies.¹¹ Et si ad deins multz des bons pesshons. Et court ly flum Iordan parmy. La cite¹² nest pas mult grande, mes il y ad des bons bainz. Et la ou le flum Iordan se parte de celle mer de Galilee y ad vn grant pont, par ou homme passe de la terre de promissioun a la terre du roi Baasan et a la terre de Gerasseaux, qi sont enuiron le flum Iordan et le commencement de la mer de Tiberie.

Et de la poet homme aler a¹³ Damasce en iii. iours par¹⁴ le regioun de Traconyde, la quel regioun dure de mont Heremon iusques a la mer de Galilee ou le mer de Tiberye ou la mer de Ienazar, ceo est tot vn mer; ceo est¹⁵ cel lac qe ieo vous ay dit, mes il change ensi son noun pur les nouns des citez qi seont delez. Sur cel mer passa nostre Seignur a pie sec; et la releua il seint Piere, qi estoit auques noie 40 dedeinz la mer, et luy dit, *Modice fidei, quare dubitasti?* Et apres sa resurrexioun nostre Seignur apparust sur cel mer a ses disciples et lour commanda a pesschier et reempli tot le rethe des grosses pesshonz. En cel mer nagea nostre Seignur bien souent; lappella il seint Piere, seint Andreau, seint Iake et seint Iohan le filz Zebedee. En celle cite de Tiberie est la table sur quelle nostre Seignur mangea ouesqe ses disciples apres sa resurrexioun, et ils le¹⁶ connoissoient el breser del pain, dont le Euuangelie emparle, *Et cognouerunt eum in fractione panis*. Et pres de celle cite de Tiberie est la montaigne ou nostre Seignur saula v. mil persones de v. pains et ii. pesshons. En celle cite homme

¹ and þanne schall euery man haue after his dissert, ouþer gode or euyll, but ȝif the mercy of God passe his rightwisnesse, adds C.

² For this Kaym wente þorgh breres and busshes as a wylde best. And he had lyued fro the tyme of Adam his fadir vnto the tyme of Noe; and so he lyuede nygh to m^m ȝeer. And this Lamech was all blynd for elde, C.

³ and hathe with in him gret plentee of gode fische, and renneth in to flom Iordan. The cytee is not full gret, but it hath gode bathes with in him, C.

⁴ Trachonitis.

⁵ et lez—soun loer, from R.; and so S. G.; om. H.

⁶ et de—stadies, om. G.

⁷ de, G.; and so S., over an erasure.

⁸ lui, S.; le, G.; se, H. R.

⁹ Matt. xiv. 31.

¹⁰ ii., G.

¹¹ statides, H.

¹² a, G.

¹³ Luke xxiv. 35.

¹⁴ veillesse, S.; viellesce, G.

¹⁵ parmi la cite et, S. G.

¹⁶ est, om. H.

at oure Lord for to stirre him til ire and hitt him on þe heued, þe whilk brand efterwardes hitt on þe erthe and stakk still þerin and growed, and by process of tyme it wex a grete tree, and zitt it growes þare.¹ Also at þe heued of þis see of Galile, toward þe north, es a castell [þat] es called Sephor nere Capharnaum, and in all þe f.48. haly land es þer noght a stranger castell þan it es. In þat castell es a gude litil toune, whilk hase þe same name þat þe castell hase.² And in þat castell was saynt Anne oure Lady moder borne; and þare was þe hous of Centurio. þat cuntree es called *Galilea Gentium*, and it fell in þe lote³ of Zabulon and of Neptalim. And as men commez fra þis castell at xxx. myle es þe citee of Dan, þe whilk also es called *Cesarea Philippi*; and it standez at þe fote of þe mount Liban, whare þe flum Iordan begynnez. And þare also begynnez þe land of beheste and lastez vnto Bersabee in lenth for to ga fra þe north toward þe south, and it es nere ix^{xx} myle. And on brede it lastes fra Iericho to Iaffe, and þat es fourty myle of þe mylez of Lumbardy, or of oure cuntree, 10 for þai er bath ane. Bot I speke noȝt of leeges of Fraunce, Gascoyne, Prouince, or Almayne,⁴ whare þai hafe grete myles.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe Haly Land es in Surry. For Surry lastez fra þe desertes of Araby vnto Cicil, þat es to say Ermony þe mare, for to ga fra þe south to þe north; and fra þe este syde to þe west syde it lastez fra þe grete desertes of Araby vnto þe west see. Bot in þis rewme of Surry er many rewmes contende, þat es to say Iudee, Palestine, Galile, Sem Cecil and many oþer cuntreez. And in þat cuntree and many oþer aboute it þer es swilk a custom þat, when twa rewmes er at were and owþer party ensegez citee, toune or castell, f.48b. þan, in steed of messangers to ga betwene þe partys, þai ordayne dowfes for to bere lettres, and bindez þam aboute þe nekkes of þe dowfes, and þan þai late þam flie furth; and þai, thurgh comoun custom and vsage þat þai er wont vnto, fliez to þe toþer party, and when þe letters er tane fra þaire neckes þai flie agayne whare þai ware 20 nurischt.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat amanges þe Sarezenes in diuerse placez þer dwellez many Cristen men vnder tribute, þe whilk vse diuerse lawez and custommes after þe constitucioun and þe ordinaunce of þe rewmes whare þai dwell. Neuerþeles all er þai baptized and trowez in Godd, Fader and Sonne and Haly Gaste. Bot ȝit þai faile in sum articles of oure beleue. þare er sum Cristen men þat er called Iacobynes, þe whilk sayn Iame þe

getta vn tesoun ardant par coruce apres nostre Seignur; et ly chyef fery en terre et reuerdist⁵ et parcreust et deuient vn grande arbre, qi vnquore crest, et est lescorce⁶ charboille.⁷ Item en chief de cel mer de Galilee vers septentrioun y ad vn fort chaustel et haut, qi ad a noun H.f.25b. Saphor et est assez pres de Capharnaum. Dedeinz la terre de promissioun nad⁸ point de si fort chastel. Et si y ad mult bone ville dessouz, qad aussi a noun Saphor. En cest chaustel seinte Anne, la meer nostre Dame, fuist neez; et a desouz fuist la maisoun centurioun. Ceo pais est appellez la Galilee des Gentz, qi fuist baille as tribuits de Zabuloun et de Neptalim. Et en retornant de cest chaustel a xxx. miles 30 est la cite de Dan, qest autrement appelez Bellynas ou Cesaie Philippoun, qi siet au pie de la montaigne de Liban, ou ly flum Iordan commence. La commence la terre de promissioun, et dure iusques a Bersabee de long, en alant vers bise iusques vers mydy; et⁹ contient bien ix^{xx} miles. Et de large ceo est de¹⁰ Iericho iusques Iaffe; et elle contient bien xl. miles, a compte miles de Lumbardye ou de nostre pais, qi sont auxi petites. Ces ne sont mie lieues de Gascoigne, ne de Prouince, ne Dalemaigne, ou il y ad grandes lieues.

Et sachez qe la terre de promissioun est en Syrie. Qar ly roialme de Syrie dure de les desertz de Arabe iusques a Cilicie,¹¹ ceo est Armenie la grande, cest assauer de mydy vers bise; et dorient vers occident dure de les grantz desertz de Arabe iusques a la mer doccident. Mes en ceo roialme de Syrie y ad le¹² roialme de Iudee et plusours autres prouincez, come Palestine, Galilee, Cilicie,¹³ a mult dautres. En ceo pais et as autres pais par de la ils ont une custume, quant ils aueront guerre et qe homme tient siege entour cite ou chaustel et qils nosent enuoier messingers oueque lettres de vn seignour a autre pur demander socours; ils font faire lettres et les lient au col dune columbe et lessent la columbe voler, et les columbes sont ensi apprises qils le portent tot droit la ou homme les voet enuoier. Qar ly columbes sunt noriz en 40 cel lieu ou ils les enuoient, et ils les enuoient quere por porter lour lettres¹⁴; et les columbes retournent la ou ils sunt norriz. Et ensi font ils comunement.¹⁵

Et sachez qe entre cez Sarazins vne part et autre demoeient multz des Cristiens de plusours maners et de diuersz nouns. Et touz sont baptizez et ont diuerses leyes et diuersez¹⁶ coustumes. Mes touz croient en Dieu le Filz et le Piere et le Seint Espirit. Mes totdyz faillent ils en ascun article de nostre foy. Les vns homme appelle Iacobites, pur ceo qe seint Iake les conuert; et seint Iohan leuangelist

¹ and the bark þere of is all lyk coles, adds C.

² Galilee of folk þat weren taken to tribute, C.

³ reuerdist, S. R.; rauerdit, G.; reuersit, H. with an erasure.

⁴ charbonneuse, G.

⁵ de, S. G.; om. H.; a, R.

⁶ Sem Cilicie, S.; Sem Cilicie, G.; lytill Cilicye, C.

⁷ leyes et diuersez, om. S.

⁸ and þere is a gode toun benethe, þat is clept also Saphor, C.

⁹ myles of Gascoyne, ne of the prouynce of Almayne, C.

¹⁰ nad—chastel, om. S.

¹¹ Cicilie, S.; Cilicie—iusques a, om. G.; Cecyle, C.

¹² enuoient pur quere lettres, S.

¹³ le corps, S.

¹⁴ et, om. S. G.

¹⁵ la mer et le, G.

¹⁶ noriz vount ils ensy comunement, S.

apostel conuerted, and sayn Iohn þe evaungelist baptized þam. And þai say and affermez þat confessioun suld be made all anely to Godd and noȝt to man. For þai say Godd bad neuer þat a man schuld schryfe him till anoþer man, and þerfore Daudid saise in þe sawter, *Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo*,¹ þat es to say, "Lord, I sall schryfe me to þe in all my hert." And in anoþer place he saise þus, *Delictum meum tibi cognitum feci*,² þat es to say "Lord, to þe I sall make aknawen my trespas." And also he saise þus, *Deus meus es tu, et confitebor tibi*,³ þat es to say, "þou ert my Godd, and to þe I sall be schriften." And ȝit he saise in anoþer place, *Quoniam cogitacio hominis confitebitur tibi*,⁴ þat es to say, "For thoght of man sall schryfe to þe." For þai say f.49. þat a man schuld all anely ask him forgifnes wham he trespast to. Bot Godd ordayned neuer, ne na prophete, as þai say, þat a man suld schew his synnes til any bot all anely to Godd. And þerfore þai alege þe auctoritez of þe sawter þat I talde ȝow before. þai say also þat saynt Austyne and sayne Gregore and oþer doctours affermez þe same. For saynt Austyne saise on þis wyse, *Qui scelera sua cogitat et conuersus fuerit, veniam sibi credat*, þat es to say, "Wha so knaweȝ his synnez and es turned, he may trowe to hafe forgifnes." And sayn Gregore sayse on þis maner, *Dominus potius mentem quam verba considerat*, þat es to say, "Oure Lord takes mare hede to thoȝt þan to word." Saynt Hilari also saise, *Longorum temporum crimina in ictu oculi perient, si corde nata fuerit contempcio*,⁵ þat es to say, "Synnez þat er done of lang tyme sall perisch in twynkelyng of ane egh, if despyng of þam be borne in a mannes hert." Swilk auctoritez þai alege in þaire awen langage and noȝt in Latyne; and for þir auctoritez þai say þat men schall schryfe þam all anely to Godd and noȝt to man. And þerfore, when þai will schryfe þam, þai make a fyre besyde þam and casteȝ þerin encense, and, when þe reke gase vp, þai say, "I schryfe me to Godd and askez forgifnes of my synne." And, noȝt forþi in alde tyme þis was þe maner of schryfing, bot sayn Petre, and oþer apostels þat come seyne, thurgh gude skille has ordaynd þat men 20 sall schryue þam to pretez, þat er men as þai er. For þai considred þat men may giffe na gude medecyne to a f.49b. man þat es seke bot if þai knawe þe kynde of þe sekeness; and riȝt so a man may gyffe no couenable penaunce bot if he knawe þe qualitee and þe quantitee of þe synne. For a maner of synne es mare greuou þan anoþer, and in sum place mare þan in sum oþer, and in sum tyme mare þan in sum oþer; and þerfore it es nedefull þat a man knawe þe synne with þe circumstaunceȝ þat sall enioyne couenable penaunce.

Oþer Cristen men þer er þat er called Surrianeȝ. þai hald a lawe in meen betwene vs and þe Grekez. And þai late þaire berdes grow as þe Grekez dus, and makes þe sacrement of þe awter of soure bred as þe Grekez duse, and vseȝ þe lettres of Grewe,⁶ and schryfeȝ þam as þe Iacobynes duse. Also þer er oþer þat er called

les baptiza. Ils dient qe homme doit faire sa confessioun a Dieu seulement, non pas a homme; qar a cely homme se doit rendre coupable contre qi il mesprint, ne Dieu ne ordeigna⁷ ne deusa vnqes en escript ne par prophecie qe⁸ homme se confessat a autre qe a Dieu, si come 30 ils dient et si come Moyses lescrip en la bible. Et pur ceo dit Daudid en le psalter, *Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo. Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci*.⁹ *Deus meus es tu, et confitebor tibi, quoniam cogitacio hominis confitebitur tibi*. Qar ils sciuent tote la bible et le psalter, et pur ceo ils allegent ensy la lettre. Mes ils ne allegent pas les autoritez ensy en latin, mes en lour langage mult apertement. Et dient bien qe H.f.26. Daudid et ly autres prophetes le dient. Et nientmoins seint Augustin et seint Gregory dient:—Augustin, *Qui scelera sua cogitat et conuersus fuerit*,¹⁰ *veniam sibi credat*. Vnde Gregorius, *Dominus potius mentem quam verba respicit*. Et seint Hillare dit, *Longorum temporum crimina in ictu*¹¹ *oculi*¹² *pereunt, si cordis nata fuerit compunctio*. Et pur tieles autorites ils dient qe a Dieu doit homme regehir ses malfaitz, en soi rendant coupables et en criant mercy et em promettant soy amender. Et pur ceo, quant ils veullent se confesser, ils preignent feu et mettent delez eaux et iettent poudre dencens dedeins; et en le fumee ils se confessent a Dieu et crient mercy. Et verite est qe ceste confessioun est primitiue et naturelle. Mes ly seintz pieres apostoilles qi sunt depuis venez ont ordeigne affaire confessioun a homme et par bone resoun. Qar ils ont regarde qe nulle maladie puet estre curee, ne bone medicine ne poet estre donee, si homme ne sciet la nature¹³ del mal; et auxi 40 ne poet homme doner medicine¹⁴ conuenable, qi ne sciet la qualitee de fait. Qar vn mesme pecche est pluis grief a vn qe vn autre et en¹⁵ vn lieu et en vn temps qen vn autre. Et pur ceo couient homme sauoir la nature del fait¹⁶ et sur ceo doner penance.

Il y ad des autres qi sont appelez Suriens. Cils tieignent¹⁷ la creance entre nous et les Gregeois. Et portent touz barbez, si come ly Grecz font; et font le sacrement dun pain leuez. Et en lour langages ils vsent des lettres Sarazins; mes solonc les misteires del esglise ils vsent lettres Gregeoises. Et font lour confessioun, si come les Iacobitz. Il y ad des autres qi sont appelez Georgiens, qe seint George

¹ Ps. ix. 2.⁴ Ps. lxxv. 11.⁶ And in here langage þei vsen lettres of Sarazines; but after the misterie of holy chirche thei vsen lettres of Grece, C.⁸ vnqes ne leȝ prophetes auxi qe, S. G.¹¹ *mutu*, for "*in ictu*," G.¹⁴ penance, S. G.¹⁷ moiennent, G.² Ps. xxxi. 5.⁵ *compunctio*, C.⁹ *feci et iniusticiam meam non abscondi*, S.¹² *oculi*, om. H.¹⁵ et en—autre, om. S. G.³ Ps. cxvii. 28.⁷ ne ordeigna, om. S.¹⁰ *fuerit*, om. H.¹³ matiere, G.¹⁶ feant, S.

Georgienes, whilk sayn George conuerted; and him þai honoure and wirschepes before all oþer halowes. And all þai hafe þaire crownes schauen, þe clerkes rownde and þe lawed men foure cornerd. And þai hald þe lawe of Grekez. ȝit es þare anoþer of folk, þe whilk er called Cristen men of gyrdils, for þai er gyrdid as frere menoures er. Sum also er called Nestorienes, sum Arrianes, sum Nubienes, sum Gregorienes,¹ sum Indynes, whilk er of Prestre Iohn land. All er þai called Cristned men; and many of þe articles of oure beleue þai hald and vse, bot neuerþeles in many poyntes þai vary fra vs and fra oure faith. All þaire variaunce ware to mykil to tell.

CHAPTER XIV.

[*Of the cytee of Damasce; of iii. weyes to Ferusalem, on be londe and be see, another more be londe than be see, and the thridde weye to Ferusalem all be londe.*]

f.50. **S**EN I hafe talde ȝow of many maners of men þat dwellez in cuntrez beforesaid, now will I turne agayne 10
to my way and tell how men sall comme fra þase cuntreez vnto þise cuntreez agayne. Qwha so will
comme fra þe land of Galile þat I spakk off before, he schall ga by Damasc, whilk es a faire citee and
full of gude marchandise. And it es three iournez fra þe see, and fra Ierusalem fyue iournes. Bot þai cary
marchandise apon camels, mules, dromedaries and hors, and oþer maner of bestez; and þase marchandisez er
brought by see fra Inde, fra Persy, fra Caldee, fra Ermony, and fra many oþer regiounes. Þis citee founded
Eleazar of Damasc, þat was þe son of þe steward² of Abraham þe patriarch, and þerfore was þe citee called
Damasc after his surname; for he wend to hafe bene lord of þat cuntree after Abraham, for Abraham þat tyme
had noȝt geten his son Ysaac. In þat place slew Cayn his broþer Abel. Besyde Damasc es þe mount Seyr. In
Damasch er many welles, bathe within þe citee and withouten; and þer er also many faire gardyns rȝt plentifous
of fruyte. Þer es nower whare swilke anoþer citee of gardynes and of fruyte. In þat citee also es wonder 20
mykill folk, and it es wele walled aboute with a dowble wall. In þat citee also dwellez many phisiciens; and
þare vsed sayn Paule sum tyme þe craft of phisic, before þat he was conuerted, and sayne Luc was his disciple to

conuerted. Et ly adoerent plus qe touz les autres seintz de Paradys; et luy appellent totdiz en lour aide. Et vindrent de roialme de George. Cestes gentz ont tous corounes reses; luy clerz les portent reondes, les laicz lez portent quarrez. Et cils tiegnent la loy Cristiene, si come font lez Griecz, des queux ieo vous ay autrefoithz counte. Des autres y a qe homme appelle Cristiens de la ceinture, pur ceo qils sont ceintz par dessure. Et y a autres qe homme appelle Nestoriens, des autres Arriens, des autres Nubiens, des autres Gregeois, des autres Yndiens, qi sont de la terre Prestre Iohan. Et touz cils ont plusours articles de nostre foy, et as autres ils sunt variantz. Et de la variance serroit trop longe chose a cômpter; si me lesseray a tant sanz plus parler.³

CHAPITRE XIV.

De la cite de Damasce; de iii. voies a Ferusalem, vne par terre et par mer, lautre plus par terre qe par mer, et la terce tot par terre. 30

H.f.26b. **R**E puis qe vous ay devise ascune partie des gentz qi demoerent en ces termes, voil ieo retourner a mon chemin pur retourner par deca. Donques qi voet retourner de la terre de Galilee, dont ieo vous ay parle, a reuenir par deca le homme revient par Damasce, qest mult bele cite et mult noble,⁴ et plaine de touz marchandises. Et est a iii. iournes loins de la mer et a v. iournes de Ierusalem. Mes sur camailles, sur mules, sur chiuax, sur dromedaires, et sur autres bestes lem meigne les marchandises iusques la. Et viegnent les marchandises par mer de Ynde, de Persee, de Caldee, de Armenie et de moutz dautres regions. Celle cite fonda Heliseus Damascus, qi fuist vadlet et despenser Abraham auant qe Isaac fuist neez. Et quidoit estre heir de Abraham, et il noma la ville par son surnoun Damasce. Et en celle place ou Damasce fuist fondee occist Caim son frere Abel. Et delez Damasce est le mont Seyr.⁵ En celle cite⁶ y a grant fuison des fontaignes, et dedeins la cite et dehors, et moutz des bealx iardins et diuersez fruitz. Nulle autre cite purroit estre comparez a celluy des bealx iardins et des beaux abbatementz. La cite est grande et mult bien pupplie; et est⁷ murree au doubles murs. Et si ad multz des phisiciens, et seint Paul mesme fuist la phisicien pur les corps garder en sannette, auant qil fuist conuerted; 40

¹ summe of Grees, C.

⁴ et mult noble, om. S. G.

⁷ et est—doubles, om. S.

² þat was ȝoman and despenser, C.

⁵ Schir, S.; Schyr, G.

³ si men tairai a tant, G.

⁶ cite, om. H.

lere phisic, and many oþer ma. For in þat citee held he scole in þat science, bot efterwardes he was a phisiciene of saules. In Damasc was he conuerted and dwelled þerin three days and three nyghtes, and nowþer ete ne f.50b. drank ne sawe na sight with his bodily eghen, bot in spirit he was rauscht intill heuen, whare he sawe heuenly priuetez. A litill fra Damasc es a castell þat es called Arkes; and it es a gude castell and a strang. Fra Damasc men commes by a place þat es called *Nostre Dame de Sardenake*,¹ fyue myle on þis syde Damasc; and it es apon a roche. And it es a faire place and a delitable, and þer semez, as it ware, a castell, and so þare was sum tyme. And þare es a faire kirk, whare Cristen mounkes and nonnes dwellez. Vnder þe kirk also es a vowte, whare Cristen men dwellez. And þai hafe þare right gude wyne. And in þe kirke behind þe hie awter in þe wall es a table of tree,² on þe whilk ane ymage of oure Lady was depaynted sum tyme, þe whilk oft tymes turned into flesch; bot þat ymage nowe es bot lytill sene. Neuerpeles³ þat table euermare droppez oel, as it 10 ware of oliue; and þare es a vessell of marble vnder þe table to ressayue þe oel. þaroff þai giffe to pilgrimes, for it heles of many sekeness; and men saise þat, if it be keped wele seuen zere,⁴ efterwardes it turnes into flesch and blud.

Fra⁵ Sardenak men commez thurgh þe vale of Bochar, þe whilk es a faire vale and a plentifous of all maner of fruyte; and it es amanges hilles. And þer er þarin faire ryuers and grete medews and noble pasture for bestez. And men gas by þe mountes of Libane, whilk lastez fra Ermony þe mare towardes þe north vnto f.51. Dan, þe whilk es þe end of þe land of repromissoun toward þe north, as I said before. þir hilles er riȝt fruytfull, and þare er many faire welles and cedres and cipressez, and many oþer treesse of diuerse kyndes. þare er also many gude tounes toward þe heued of þir hilles, full of folk.

Betwene þe citee of Arkez and þe citee of Raphane es a riuier, þat es called Sabatory; for on þe Seterday it 20 rynnez fast, and all þe weke elles it standes still and rynnez noȝt, or elles bot fairely. Betwene þe forsaid hilles also es anoþer water þat on nyghtes fresez hard and on days es na frost sene þeron. And, as men commez agayne fra þase hilles, es a hill hier þan any of þe oþer, and þai call it þare þe Hegh Hill. þare es a grete citee and a faire, þe whilk es called Tryple,⁶ in þe whilk er many gude Cristen men, zemaund þe same rytes and custommes þat we vsen. Fra þeine men commez by a citee þat es called Beruch,⁷ whare sayne George slew þe dragoun; and it es a gude toun, and a faire castell þerin, and it es iii. iournez fra þe forsaid citee of Sardenak.

mes apres il deuient phisicien des almes. Et seint Luc leuangelist fuist le disciple seint Paul pur apprendre de phisique. Et la delez Damasce fuist il conuerty. Et apres sa conuersioun il demora⁸ en la cite iii. iours sanz⁹ veoir et manger et sanz boire; et en cez iii. iours il fuist raui as ciels et vist multz des secretz nostre Seignur.¹⁰ Assez pres de Damasce est ly chaustel de Arkes, qest mult fort chaustel. De Damasce homme reuiet par Nostre Dame de Sardenak, qest a v. lieues de cea Damasce et siet sur vne roche. Et y ad mult beau lieu, et 30 semble vn chaustel, qar ceo soloit estre vn chaustel. Et y ad assez beale esglise; et la einz demoerent moignes et nonaynes Cristiens. Et y ad¹¹ vne voute dessouz lesglise, ou y demoerent auxi Cristiens. Et ont la moutz bons vins. Et en lesglise deriere le grant aultier en mur y ad vne table de fuist noirastre, ou lymage de nostre Dame estoit iadys depeinte, qi se conuerty en char; mes meinteignant lymage y piert mult poy. Mes totefoitz de la grace de Dieu la dit table degoute oyle, auxi come oyle dolyue; et si ad vn vesseal de marbre par desoz la table bien lie et bendez de feer pur resceiure loile qi degoute. Et de celle oile homme donne as pilrins qi y viegnent, qar cel oile vient par miracle de Dieu et garrit de plusours maladies. Et dit homme qi garde bien et nettement cel oile qe apres vii. ans elle deuient char et sang.

De Sardenak vait homme par le val de Bochar, qi est mult beale vallee et mout fructuose; et gist entre les montaignes. Et y ad des beals riuieres et des preez et des grandes pasturages pur les beistes. Et vait homme [par] les montaignes de Liban, qi durent Dardenie la H.f.27. grande vers bise iusques a Dan,¹² qest deuers mydy en commencement de la terre de promissoun, si come ieo vous ay desuisdit. Celles 40 montaignes sunt mult fructuouses, et y ad multz de belles fontaignes et de cedre et de cipres et moutz dautres diuerses arbres. Et si ad multz des bons villes et de bien poepliez vers le chief de celles montaignes.

Entre la cite de Arke et la cite de Raphane¹³ y ad vne riuere qe homme appelle Sabataire,¹⁴ pur ceo qelle court fort et rude le samady et les autres vi. iours de la sismaigne elle ne court point ou poy. Et si ad vne autre riuere entre celles montaignes, qi de nuyt gieles bien fort et de iour ne piert nulle gieles. Et en reuenant le chemyn par celles montaignes il y ad vn montaigne grande et haute, qest appelle la Grande Montaigne, ou il y a mult bele cite, qest appelle Tripole. En cele cite demoerent multz des bons Cristiens solonc nostre foy. De la vient homme par Beruch, ou seint George occist le dragoun. Il y a bone ville et bone chaustel et fort, si come ieo vous ay autrefoith dit, et est

¹ Oure Lady of Sardenak, C.

² a table of blak wode, C.

³ Three leaves beginning at this point are lost in C. (after f.53), the lacuna ending at the words "þei ete," p. 64 below. The text in the edition of 1725 is taken from Royal MS. 17 B. xliii. f.46b. The readings of this MS. (B.) are very inferior, and are seldom worth quoting.

⁴ This paragraph not in B

⁵ a zere, B. A confusion of "vn" and "vii."

⁶ Beyrout.

⁷ il ala, G.

⁸ sanz, om. H.

⁹ secres celestiens, G.

¹⁰ et y ad—Cristiens, om. S. G.

¹¹ dair, G.

¹² Raphne, S.; Raphre, G.; Raffane, R.

¹³ Sabatori, S.; Sabbatori, G.

At þe ta syde of Beruch xvi. myle, to comme hiderward, es þe citee of Sydon. At Beruch entres pilgrimes in to þe see þat will comme to Cipre, and þai aryfe at þe porte of Surry or of Tyer, and so þai comme to Cipre in a lytill space. Or men may comme fra þe porte of Tyre and comme noȝt at Cipre and aryfe at sum hauen of Grece, and so comme to þise partyse, as I said before.

- f.51b. I hafe talde ȝow now of þe waye by whilk men gase ferrest and langest to Ierusalem, as by Babilon and mount Synay and many oþer placez whilk ȝe herd me tell off, and also by whilk ways men schall turne agayne to þe Land of Repromission. Now will I tell ȝow þe rightest way and þe schortest to Ierusalem. For sum men will noȝt ga þe toþer; sum for þai hafe noȝt spending ynogh, sum for þai hafe na gude company, and sum for þai may noȝt endure þe lang trauail, sum for þai drede þam of many perils of desertes, sum for þai will haste þam hameward, desirand to see þare wifes and þare childer, or for sum oþer resonable cause þat þai hafe to turne sone hame. And þerfore I will schew how men may passe tittest, and in schortest tyme make þaire pilgrimage to Ierusalem. A man þat commes fra þe landes of þe west, he gas thurgh Fraunce, Burgoyne, and Lombardy, and so to Venice or Geen, or sum oþer hauen, and schippes þare and wendez by see to þe ile of Greff, þe whilk pertenez to þe Ianuenes. And seyne he aryuez in Grece at Porte Mirrok, or at Valoun, or at Duras, or at sum oþer hauen of þat cuntree, and risteȝ him þare and byez him vitales and schippeȝ agayne and saileȝ to Cipre and aryuez þare at Famagost and commeȝ noȝt at þe ile of Rodes. Famagost es þe chieff hauen of Cipre; and þare he refreschez him and puruays him of vitales, and þan he gase to schippe and commeȝ na mare on land, if he will, before he comme at Porte Iaffe, þat es þe next hauen to Ierusalem, for it es bot a day iournee and a half fra Ierusalem, þat es to say xxxvi. myle. Fra þe porte Iaffe men gase to þe citee of Rames, þe whilk es bot a lytill þeine; and it es a faire citee and a gude and mykill folk þerin. And withouten þat citee toward þe south es a kirk of oure Lady, whare oure Lord schewed him till her in three cloudes, þe whilk betakned þe Trinitee. And a lytill þeine es ane oþer citee, þat men calles Dispolis, bot it hight sum tyme Lidda, a faire citee and a wele inhabited; þare es a kirk of sayne George, whare he was heuedid. Fra þeine men gase to þe castell of Emaus, and so to þe Mount Ioy; þare may pilgrimes first see to Ierusalem. At Mount Ioy liggez Samuel þe prophete. Fra þeine men gase to Ierusalem. Beside þir ways es þe citee of Ramatha and þe mount Modyn;

a iii. iournees de Sardenak desuisdit. Delez Beruch a xvi.¹ miles en reuenant est² la cite de Sidon. A Beruch entre homme en mer qi vient³ pur retourner vers Cipre. Ou lem vient par terre iusques au port de Sur ou de Thir,⁴ et de la vient homme en Cipre a poy de temps. Ou lem vient de port de Thir⁵ puis droit sanz aler en Cipre, qar⁶ homme se tort, et ariue lem as ascuns des portz de Grece. Et puis vient homme en cestes parties par les chemyns qe ieo vous ay autrefoitz deuise.

- Ore vous ay ieo parle de chemyn⁷ par quel lem vait primerement a puis ioins, come a Babiloigne et al mont de Synay et as autres lieux, les quelx ieo vous ay deuise par dessus, et par quel chemyn homme retourne vers la Terre de Promissioun. Et maintenant ieo vous voil deuiser le droit chemin pur aler droit a la seinte cite de Ierusalem. Qar mointes y vont a Ierusalem, qi nont entencion de passer outre, ou pur pouerte qils nont de quoi, ou pur ceo qils nount compaignie sufficiante, ou pur ceo qils ne poient endurer la peine, ou qils doutent trop a passer le desert, ou qils se haustent trop de retourner pur lour femmes et pur lour enfantz, ou pur ascuns autres causes resonables. Si vous dirray ieo briefment par ou homme puet aler sanz mettre grandement du temps et sanz faire trop long demoere. Lem vait des parties occidentales, si qe ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit, par France, par Burgoigne, par Lombardie, et al port de Venise ou de Ianewe ou a vn des autres portz en celles marcheas. Et vait homme par mer al isle de Gref, qest de Ianewais. Et puis vait homme ariuer⁸ en Grece au port de Mirok, ou de Valone, ou de Duras, ou a vn des autres portz. Et puis mounte homme a terre pur adresser⁹; et se remet homme assez toust en mer et vait homme droit en Cipre sanz¹⁰ entrer en lisle de Rodes, qar homme lesse Rodes coustee et arriue homme au port de Famagost, qest le principal port de Cipre, ou a Linnety.¹¹ Et puis de rechief lem entre en mer, et passe homme par le port¹² de Thir; et sanz mounter a terre passe homme par mer en coustant touz les portz de ceo coustee iusques a la cite de Iaffe. La est ly puis pres port de Ierusalem, qar de ceo port y ny ad qe vne iournee et demie iusques a Ierusalem, qar y ny ad qe xvi.¹³ lieues. A Iaffe homme arriue et vait par terre a la cite de Rames, qest assez¹⁴ pres de Iaffe; et est mult bele cite et mult delitable et poeplie. Et dehors Rames vers mydy y ad vne esglise de nostre Dame, ou nostre Seigneur se moustroit a luy en iii. vmbres, qi signifient la Trinitee. Et la delez y ad vne autre cite,¹⁵ qad a noun Deoppole¹⁶; et soloit estre appelez Libda. Et est auxi mult bien enhabitez. La y ad vne esglise de seint George, ou il fust decapitez. De la vait homme au chaustel de Emaus, et puis al Mont Ioye, ou Samuel le prophete gist. De cel lieu veoient primerement les pelrins la seinte cite de Ierusalem; et ceo est a deux lieues pres, et puis vait homme a Ierusalem. Delez cest chemin est Ramatha et le

¹ xiii., S. G.

⁴ Triple, G.

⁷ chemin de Ierusalem, G.

¹⁰ sanz—arriue homme, om. G.

¹² le port—par, om. S. G.

¹⁵ autre cite—la y ad vne, om. S. G.

² en, S.; de, G.

⁵ Triple, G.

⁸ a riuer, S.; arriere, G.; en riuer, R.

¹¹ Lymeson, S.; Limacon; G.; Lunetyn, R.; Lamatoun, B.

¹³ xxvi. lieux, S.; xxvi. milles, G.

¹⁶ Diospole, R.

³ vet, S.; veult, G.

⁶ qar—tort, om. S.

⁹ pur soy aesier, G.

¹⁴ qest assez—Rames, om. G.

and þeroff was Matathias, Iudas Machabeus fader, and þare er þe graues of þe Machabeez. Bezond Ramatha es þe towne of Techue, wharoff Amos þe prophete was; and þare es his grafe.

I hafe talde 30w before of þe haly placez þat er at Ierusalem and aboute it, and þerfore I will speke na mare of þam at þis tyme. Bot I will turne agayne and schewe 30w oþer ways a man may passe mare by land, and namely for þaim þat may noȝt suffer þe sauour of þe see, bot es leuer to ga by land, if all it be þe mare payne. Fra a man be entred in to þe see he schall passe till ane of þe hauenes of Lumbardy, for þare es þe best making f.52b. of purueaunce of vitales; or he may passe to Ieen or Venice or sum oþer. And he sall passe by see in to Grece to þe porte Mirrok, or to Valoun, or to Duras, or sum oþer hauen of þat cuntree. And fra þeine he sall ga by land to Constantinople, and he sall passe þe water þat es called Brace Sayne George, þe whilk es ane arme of þe see. And fra þeine he sall by land ga to Ruffynell, whare a gude castell es and a strang; and fra þeine he 10 sall ga to Pulueral, and seyne to þe castell of Synople, and fra þeine to Capadoce, þat es a grete cuntree, whare er many grete hilles. And he sall ga thurgh Turkey to þe porte of Chiutok and to þe citee of Nyke, whilk es bot vii. myle þeine. þat citee wanne þe Turkes fra þe emperour of Constantinople; and it es a faire citee and wele walled on þe ta syde, and on þe toþer syde es a grete lake and a grete riuier, þe whilk es called Lay. Fra þeine men gase by þe hilles of Nairmount and by þe vales of Mailbrins and straitte felles and by þe toune of Ormanx or by þe tounes þat er on Riclay and Stancon, þe whilk er grete waters and noble, and so to Antioche þe lesse, whilk es sett on þe ryuer of Riclay. And þare aboutes er many gude hilles and faire, and many faire wodes and grete plentee of wylde bestes for to hunt at.

And he þat will ga anoper way, he schall ga by þe playnes of Romany costayand þe Romain See. On þat coste es a faire castell þat men callez Florach, and it es right a strang place. And vppermare amanges þe 20 f.53. mountaynes es a faire citee, þat es called Toursout, and þe citee of Longemaath, and þe citee of Assere, and þe cite of Marmistre. And, when a man es passed þase mountaynes and þase felles, he gase by þe citee of Marioch and by Artoise, whare es a grete brigg apon þe riuier of Ferne, þat es called Farfar, and it es a grete riuier berand schippes and it rynnes riȝt fast oute of þe mountaines to þe cite of Damasc. And besyde þe citee of Damasc es anoper grete riuier þat commes fra þe hilles of Liban, whilk men callez Abbana. At þe passing of þis riuier saynt Eustace, þat sum tyme was called Placidas, lost his wyf and his twa childer. Þis riuier rynnes

mont Modin, dont Mathias estoit, q¹ fuist pierre de Machabeus; et la gisent ly Machabee² et ount lour tombes. Item outre Ramatha est la ville de Teuke,³ dont Amos ly prophete fuist; et la est sa tombe.

Et des seintz pilrinages qe homme troeue a Ierusalem ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit, si⁴ men passeray a tant sanz tenir autrefoitz counte, et men retourneray vnqore as autres chemins ou homme vait la pluiz par terre, pur ceaux q¹ ne poent soffir le charoier⁵ de la mer et q¹ 30 aiment mieltz aler par terre le pluiz qils poent, combien qil y ait pluiz de peine. Lem vait, si come ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit, a vn des portz de Lombardye, ou a Ianewe, ou a Venise, et passe en Grece au port de Mirok, ou de Valone, ou de Duras,⁶ ou as autres portz. Et vait homme par terre a Constantinople et passe homme le bracz de seint George, q¹ est vn bracz de mer. Et de la vait homme a Ruffynel,⁷ ou il y ad un fort chaustel, et puis vait homme a Pulueral et puis au chaustel de Synople.⁸ Et de la vait homme par⁹ Capadoce, qest vn grant pais, ou il y ad des grantz montaignes, et vait homme par la Turkye au port de Chieuetout et a la cite de Nike,¹⁰ qest a vii. lieues pres. Celle cite ly Turks tollirent au emperour; et est mult forte cite et de murs et de tours a vn coustee, et al autre coustee y a vn grant lach et y ad vne riuere, qe homme appelle le Lay.¹¹ De la vait homme par les Alpes de Noire Mont¹² et par les vauls de Malebruns¹³ et par le destroit de roches et par la ville de Orymanx,¹⁴ ou par les villes¹⁵ sur Reclay et sur Stancone, q¹ sunt mout bons riuieres. Et puis vait homme a Antioche le menour, q¹ siet sur le Reclay. La entour y ad multz belles montaignes et multz des belles bois, et des bestes sauuaiges grant fuisioun pur chacer et pur desduire. 40

H.f.28. Et q¹ voet aler par autre coustee, il vait par les plains de Romanie en¹⁶ cousteant sur la mer de Romanie. Sur ceo coustee y ad vn bele tour et fort, qe homme appelle Florache¹⁷ Et a dessuire entre les montaignes est la cite de Toursout¹⁸ et la cite de Logumaach¹⁹ et Assere et Marmistre. Et, quant homme est hors des roches et des montaignes, homme vait par la cite de Maresch²⁰ et par Artese,²¹ ou il y ad vn grant pount sur la riuere de Ferne, la quelle riuere homme appelle Farfar, et est mult grant riuere portant nauie et court de mult grant raundoun; et vient des fontaignes et des roches de deuers la cite de Damasce. Il y ad²² vne autre riuere delez Damasce, q¹ vient des montaignes de Liban, q¹ ad a noun Albane. A celle riuere passer perdy seint Eustachie sez deux enfantz, apres ceo qil auoit perdu sa femme, q¹ primerement auoit a noun Placidas. Mes celle riuere passe par le plain Darchados, et puis vait iusques a la Rouge Mer. Des

¹ q¹—Machabeus, om. S. G.

⁴ se, H.; si, R.; dit, si men—autrefoitz, om. S. G.

⁷ Ruffynel—homme a, om. S. G.

¹⁰ Nilz, G.

¹³ Malbrins, S. G.

¹⁶ en—Romanie, om. G.

¹⁹ Longmaach, S.; Longmaich, G.

²² Il y ad—Damasce, om. G.

² ly prophetz Machabez, S.; and so G.

⁵ la flarour, S.; la flaireur, G.

⁸ Sinople, S.; Cinople, G.

¹¹ de Lay, H.; la Lay. S.; le Lay, G. R.

¹⁴ Ermanx, S.; Emanx, G.

¹⁷ Floraich, S.; Florenche, G.

²⁰ Marech, S. G.

³ Douk, S.; Douc, G.; Douke, B.

⁶ ou de Duras, om. G.

⁹ par terre a, G.

¹² Normont, S. G.

¹⁵ islez q¹ sont sur la Reclay, S.; and so G.

¹⁸ Tonisouc, S.; Thonisout, G.

²¹ Artouse, G.

thurgh þe playne of Archades, and so to þe Reed See. Fra þeine men gase to þe cite of Phenice, whare er hate welles and hate bathez. And þan men gase to þe cite of Ferne; and betwene Phenice and Ferne er x. myle. And þare er many faire woddess. And þan men commez til Anthioche, whilk es x. myle þeine. And it es a faire citee and wele walled aboute with many faire toures; and it es a grete cite, bot it was sum tyme gretter þan it es nowe. For it was sum tyme twa myle on lenth and on brede oþer half myle. And thurgh þe myddes of þat citee ranne þe water of Farphar and a grete brigg ower it; and þare ware sum tyme in þe walles aboute þis citee ccc. and fyfty toures, and at ilk a piler of þe brigg was a toure. Þis es þe cheeffe cite of þe kyngdom of Surry. And ten myle fra þis cite es þe porte of Saynt Symeon; and þare gase þe water off Farphar in to þe see. Fra Antioche men gase to a cite þat es called Lacuth, and þan to Gebel, and þan to Tortouse. And þare nere f.53b. es þe land of Channel; and þare es a strang castell þat es called Maubek. Fra Tortouse passez men to Tryple 10 by see, or elles by land thurgh þe straytes of mountaynes and felles. And þare es a citee þat es called Gibilet. Fra Triple gase men til Acres; and fra þeine er twa ways to Ierusalem, þe tane on þe left half and þe toþer on þe riȝt half. By þe left way men gase by Damasc and by þe flum Iordan. By þe riȝt way men gase by Maryn and by þe land of Flagamy and nere þe mountaynes vnto þe cite of Cayphas, þat sum men callez þe Castell of Pilgrimes. And fra þeine to Ierusalem er iii. day iournez, in þe whilk men schall ga thurgh *Cesaria Philippi*, and so to Iaffe and Rames and þe castell of Emaus, and so to Ierusalem.

Now hafe I talde ȝow sum ways by land and by water þat men may ga by to þe Haly Land after þe cuntreez þat þai comme fra. Neuerþeles þai comme all til ane ende. ȝit es þare anoþer way to Ierusalem all by land, and passe noȝt þe see, fra Fraunce or Flaundres; bot þat way es full lang and perlious and of grete trauaile, and perfore few gase þat way. He þat schall ga þat way, he schall ga thurgh Almayne and Pruyss and so to Tartary. 20 þis Tartary es halden of þe Grete Caan of Cathay, of wham I think to speke efterward. Þis es a full ill land and sandy and lytill fruyt berand. For þare growes na corne, ne wyne, ne beenes, ne peese, ne nan oþer fruyt couable to man for to liffe with. Bot þare er bestez in grete plentee; and perfore þai ete bot flesch withouten f.54. breed and soupez þe broo, and þai drink mylke of all maner of bestez. Þai ete¹ cattes and hundes, ratouns and myesse, and all oþer maner of bestez; and, for þai hafe lytill wode, þai dight² þaire mete with dung of bestez dried at þe sonne. Þai ete bot anes on þe day, nowþer prince nor oþer; and ȝit þat anes þai ete bot riȝt lytill. Þai er riȝt foule folk and fell and full of malice. þat cuntree es selden withouten grete tempestez. And in

lieux desuisditz homme vait a la cite de Phemyne,³ ou le lay des chaudes fontaignes est, cez sont baignez chaudz. Et puis vait homme a la cite de Ferne. Et entre Phemyne et Ferne y a mult de beau bois. Et puis vait homme a Antioche, qi est a x. lieux. Celle cite de Antioche est mult bele cite et bien ferme des murs et de tours; qar elle est mult grant cite et soloit estre vnquore plus grande, qar elle soloit 30 auoir ii. lieues de long et demye de large. Et parmy la cite court celle riure de Ferne, ou de Farfar. Et si soloit auer entour les murs cccl. tours; et a chescun piler de pount y auoit vn tour. Ceo est la plus noble cite de roialme de Surie. Et a x. miles de celle cite est ly port Seint Symeon; la se fiert la riure de Ferne en la mer. De Antiochie homme vait a la cite de Laouse, et puis a Gibel, et puis a Tortouse. La delez est la terre de la Chaunlee,⁴ ou y ad vn fort chaustel qe homme appelle Maubok.⁵ De Tortouse homme vait a Triple sur la mer. Et au passer par le destroit des roches est la cite de Gybelet, et puis Berut sur la mer; et puis vait homme a la cite Dacres. Et la y a ii. chemyns pur aler a Ierusalem; ly sinistre vait par⁶ Damasce et par flum Iordan, et ly deistre vait par marine et par la terre de Flagamie et delez lez montaignes iusques a la cite de Cayphas, dont Cayphas fuist sire. Ascuns lappellent Chaustel Pelryn. Et de la y ad bien iii. iournees iusques a Ierusalem. Et vait homme par Cesaire le Philippon et par Iaffe et par Rames et par le chaustel de Emaux et puis a Ierusalem.

Ore vous ay ieo deuise ascuns chemins, et par mer et par terre, par ou homme poet aler a la Seinte Terre de Promissioun. Et, combien 40 qe il y ait plusours autres voies solonc les diuerses parties dont homme mouera, nientmoins cil chemyn et lautre tournent tot ad vne fyn. Il H.f.28b. y ad vnquore vn autre chemyn par ou homme puet aler sanz passer mer tot par terre iusques a Ierusalem de Flandres ou de France en auant; mes ly chemyn est grant et poisant et perilous et de grant peine, et pur ceo poy de gent y uont ceo chemin. Ceo est a aler par Alemaigne, par Bahaigne⁷ et par les autres pais iusques en⁸ Prusee; et puis vait homme par la Tartarie iusques a Ierusalem.⁹ Cest Tartaire respont al Grant Chan, dont ieo parleray apres; qar iusques la dure sa seignurie, et touz les princes de cest Tartaire rendent tribut a luy. Ceo est vne mult cheitiue terre, zabelenouse et poy fructuose; qar il y croist poy des biens, ne ble, ne vin, ne fruit, ne pois, ne feues, mes des bestes y ad grant fuisoun. Et pur ceo ils ne mangent qe char sanz pain, et hument le bruet, et boyuent lait de touz bestes. Et mangent chiens,¹⁰ renardz, lous, chatz et tous autres bestes sauages et priues, et ratz et soris. Et si nont point ou poy des bois; et pur ceo ils se chaufent et cuisent lour viandes des fiens des chiuax et des autres bestes sechchez contre le salail, et princes et autres, et ne mangent qe vne foitz le iour et poy. Et sont trop ordez gentz et de malueise nature. Et en estee par tot ceo pais y cheiont souent tempestes et foudres et tonnoires, et 50

¹ The lacuna in C. ends here.

³ Phemyne ou le lay dez chaudes fontaignes est, S.; Phenice ou le baing des chaudes fontaines est, G.

⁴ Mambek, S.; Mombelz, G.; Mamboch, R.

⁵ iusques, om. S.; par, for "iusques en," G.

² warmen and sethen, C.

⁶ par, om. H.

⁹ iusques a Ierusalem, om. S. G.

⁴ Lachmulos, S.; Lauchinlee, G.

⁷ par Bahaigne, om. S. G.

¹⁰ hens, S.; lions, G.

somer es þer grete thundres and leightens, þat slaez mykill folk and many bestez. And riȝt sodaynely es þare chaungeyng of þe aer, nowe grete calde and now grete hete; and so þare es euill dwelling. þe prince þat gouernes þat land es called Baco, and he dwellez in a citee þat men callez Orda. Sothely þare will na gude manne dwell in þat land; for it es gude to sawe in humbloks and nettles and swilk oþer wedes, and oþer gude nane,¹ as I hafe herd say, for I hafe noȝt bene þare. Bot I hafe bene in oþer landes þat marchez þeron, as þe land of Russy and Nyfland and þe kingdom of Crakow and Lettow and in þe kingdom of Graften and many oþer placez. Bot I wont neuer by þat way to Ierusalem, and þefore I may noȝt wele tell it.² For, as I hafe vnderstanden, men may noȝt wele ga þat way bot in wynter for waters and maracez þat er þare, whilk a man may noȝt passe, bot if he hafe riȝt hard frost and þat it be wele snawen abouen. For warne þe snawe ware, þare schuld na man passe ower þe ysz. Of swilk way schall a man ga iii. day iournez fra Pruyss are 10
f.54b. he comme to þe land of Sarezens habitable, where Sarzenes dwellez. And, if all it be so þat Cristen men ilk a 3ere passe þare, þai cary þaire vitailles with þam apon þe ysz with sleddes and carres withouten wheles³; for þare schall þai fynd nane bot þat þai bring with þam. And, als lang as þaire witailles lastes may þai habye þare and langer noȝt. And, when spyas of þe cuntree seez Cristen men com to werray apon þam, þai rynne to þe tounes and criez riȝt lowd "Kera, Kera, Kera"; and allsone þai aray þam for to kepe þam. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe frost and þe ysz es mykill harder þare þan here; and þefore ilk a man þare hase a stewe in his hous, þare he etez and drinkes. For þare es owtrage calde, by cause it es at þe north syde of þe werld, where comounly es mare intense calde þan in oþer placez, for þe sonne schynez bot lytill þare. And on þe south syde of þe werld es it in sum place so hate þat na man may dwell þare for þe owtrage hete.

occient les gentz meinfoitz et les bestes auxi. Et tot sodeinement fait grant chaud,⁴ et auxi sodeinement fait grant froide; si qe ceo est 20
vne orde pais et malueis et pources. Lour prince qi gouerne le pais, qils appellent Batho,⁵ demoere a la cite de Orda.⁶ Et verayment nul prodhomme ne doit demorren en ceo pais; qar la terre et le pais nest pas digne a enterrer⁷ chiens. Il serroit bon pais a semer de feuchere et de genest et des espines et de rounces; qar a autre chose ne valt la terre reinz.⁸ Nientmoins il y ad de bone terre en ascunes lieux; mes ceo nest mie grandement. Ieo nay point estee par cest chemyn; et si ay estee as autres terres marchisantez a ceste,⁹ come en la terre de Russie et en la terre de Niflan et el roialme de Crako¹⁰ et de Leito¹¹ et en le roialme Daresten¹² et en plusours autres lieus en celle marche. Mes ieo nalay vnqes par ceste chemyn a Ierusalem, pur quoy ieo ne le purroie bien deuier. Mes, si ceste matiere plect a aucun vaillant homme qi ad estee par ceo chemyn, il le poet icy adioster, si ly plect, a la fyn qe cils qi vorreient faire ceo viage par ceo coustee y puissent sauoir quel chemyn il y ad. Qar homme ne poet faire ceo chemyn bonement, si noun par temps dyuerne pur les cheytyues eawes et pur les marrois, qi sont en celles parties, qe homme ne poet passer, sil ne giele durement et sil nad durement neggee par dessure. Qar, si la noif 30
nestoit, homme ne purroit passer la glace, ne homme ne chualx. Il y ad bien iii. iournees de tiel chemyn a passer par Prusse iusques a la terre de Sarazins habitable. Et couient qe ly Cristiens qi y vont par les ans pur combatre a eaux portent totes lours vitailles ouesques a la
R.f.35b. qar la ne troueront ils nulles biens. Et font charoier lour vitaille par dessure la¹³ glace as¹⁴ charioys saunz roez, qil¹⁵ appellent soleiez. Et taunt come lour vitaille dure, ils poient la demurer et nient plus; car la ne troueroient ils qi lour viendra¹⁶ rien. Et quant ly espies¹⁷ voient ly Cristienes venir sour eux, ils current as villes et crient en haute voitz, "Kera, Kera, Kera"; et tantost ils sarment¹⁸ et sasemblent. Et sachez qe y gyle plus fort acez en celez parties qe de sa; et pur ceo ad chescun estiues en sa maysoun, et en tiels estiues ils mangent et fount bosoigne ceo qe ils poient. Qar ceo est as parties septentrionelez,¹⁹ ceo est a dire vers bise, ou il fait viuement froit, qar le solail ne proche poynt ou poy vers cellez parties. Et pur ceo²⁰ en droit septentrion, ceo est²¹ en droit mith²² nort, est la terre si froit qe lem ne purroit habiter. Et, a²³ countrarie, vers la terre de mydy il fait si chaud qe nul homme y purroit habiter pur ceo qe le solail, quant il est souns le mydy, iette soun ray tout droit sour cele partie.

¹ For the lond and the contree is not worthi houndes to duell inne. It were a gode contree to sowen inne thristell and breres and broom and thornes and breres, and for non oþer þing is it not good, C.

² But, ȝif this matiere plesse to ony worthi man þat hath gon be þat weye, he may telle it, ȝif him lyke, to þat entent þat þo þat wolen go by þat weye and maken here viage be þo costes mowen knowen what weye is þere, adds C.

⁴ chaud—grant, om. S. G. The latter MS. begins the sentence "Il y fait," the words "et tout soubdainement" being attached to the sentence preceding.

⁵ Baco, S. G.; Batho, C.

⁸ qar autre chose ne vet rien, S.

¹¹ Letto, S.; Lecto, G.

¹⁴ A leaf is here missing in H., and the text is therefore taken from R.

¹⁶ vende, S. G.

¹⁸ trionelez, R.

²² om. S. G.

⁶ a Orta la cite, G.

⁹ en costet, S.; a costet, G.

¹² Garaston, S. G.; Darassen, R.; Daresten, C.

from R.

¹⁷ li espie, S.; les espiez, G.; ly effess, R.

²⁰ ceo, om. R.

²² et, a—habiter, om. G.

⁷ entrer, S. G. R.

¹⁰ Crabon, S.; Cracon, G.

¹³ par desur claiez sur la, S.; sur cloiez sur la, G.

¹⁵ qil—soleiez, om. S. G.

¹⁸ garnent, S.; se garnissent, G.

²¹ cest est, R.

CHAPTER XV.

[*Of the customes of Sarasines and of hire lawe; and how the Soudan arresond me, auctour of this book; and of the begynnyng of Machomete.*]

FOR als mykill as I hafe spoken of Sarzenes and of paire landes, I will now tell 3ow a party of paire lawe and paire belefe, after þat it es contende in þe buke of paire lawe, þat es called Alkaron. And sum callez it Messaph, and sum Harme, after langagez of diuerse cuntreez. Þe whilk buke Machomete gafe to þam. In þat buke amanges oþer thinges es contende, as I hafe oft tymes redd þerin and sene, þat gude men, when þai er deed, sall ga vnto Paradys and þai þat er wikked sall ga to þe payne of hell. And þis trowez stedfastly all Sarzenes. And, if a man ask þam of whilk paradys þai mene, þai say it es a place of delytez, f.55. whare a man schall fynd all maner of fruytez all tymes of þe 3ere, and riuers rynnand with wyne, mylke and hony, and fresch water; and þai schall hafe faire palaycez and grete and faire housez and gude, after þai hafe disserued, and þase palacez and housez er made of precious stanes, gold and siluer; and ilk a man sall hafe iiii^{xx} wyfes of faire damiselles, and he schall hafe at do with þam ay when him list, and he sall euermare fynd þam maydens. Þis trowe þai all þat þai sall hafe in paradys; and þis es agayne oure lawe. Also þe Sarzenes trowez þe incarnacioun, and gladly will þai speke of þe Virgin Mary and saise þat scho was lerned by¹ þe aungell and þat þe aungell Gabriell said to hir þat scho was chosen of Godd before þe begynnyng of þe werld for to consayfe Ihesu Criste and for to bere him, wham scho bare and scho mayden efter as scho was before; and þis witessez wele þe buke of Alkaron. And þai say þat Criste spak alsone as he was borne, and þat he was and es a haly prophete and a verray in worde and in dede, and meke and ri3twise to all and withouten vice. Þai afferme also þat, when þe aungell grette oure Lady and talde hir of þe incarnacioun, by cause scho was 3ung, 20 scho was gretely aschamed and astonayd of his wordes, and principally, as þai say, by cause of a mysdoer þat was þat tyme in þat cuntree, þe whilk hight Takyna, þat delt with sorcery and thurgh his enchaumentenz feyned him ane aungell and begyled 3ung damyselles oft sythes and lay by þam. And þerfore was Marie fered and coniured þe aungell þat he suld say hir wheþer he ware Takyna or no3t. And þe aungell answerd hir and bad f.55b. hir hafe na drede, for he was verray messenger of Godd. Also paire buke of Alkaroun saise þat, when Mary

CHAPITRE XV.

Des custumes des Sarazins et de leur lay; comment le soudan arresona lautour de ceste escript; et del commencement de Machometh, &c.

RE pur ceo qe ie ay parle dez Sarazins et leur pais, si vous voillez sauoir vn partie de leur ley et de leur creaunce, ieo lez vous deuiseray, solonc ceo qe leur liure, qad a noun Alkaroun,² le deuise. Ascuns appellent ceo liure Meshaff,³ et ascuns lappellent Harme, solonc lez diuerses langagis de pais. Le quel liure Machomet leur bailla. En la quele il est escript entre 30 lez autrez choses, si qe ieo ai souent litz et regarde, qe ly bons irrount en paradys et luy malueis en enfer; et ceo croient toutz Sarazins. Et si homme leur demande⁴ qele paradys ils entendent, ils dient qe ceo est vn lieu de delites, ou homme trouera toutz manerez de fruits en toutz saisons et riueres currauntz de lait et de mel et de vin et de douce eawe; et qe il auera meisons beals et nobles, solonc lez merites dez chescuns, faitz dez perres precieuses et dor et dargent; et qe chescun auera iiii^{xx} et x.⁵ femmes toutz puseles, et auera toutz lez R.f.36. iours affaire a els et tout diz lez trouera puselez. Item ils croient et parlent de la Virgine Marie et del incarnacioun, et dient qe Marie fuist aprise dez aungeles, et qe seint Gabriel ly⁶ dit qe ele estoit preelecte del comencement de mounde, et qe ly denuncia le incarnacioun de Ihesu Crist, et qe ele conseut et enfaunta pucele; et ceo⁷ tesmoigne bien leur liure. Et dient auxi qe Ihesu parla tantoust qe il fuist neez, et qe il estoit seint prophete et verroie en faitz et en ditz et debonere pitous et droiturels et sauns vices nulles. Et dient auxi qe, quant ly aungel denuncia le incarnacioun seint Marie, ele estoit ieouene et eust graunt pour. Qar il y auoit el pais vn echauntour ou sorciour, qi auoit a noun Takina, qi par sez enchaumentenz se fesoit semble a vn aungel et aloit souent cocher ouesques lez pucels. Et si 40 auoit Marie paour del aungel qe ne fuist Takina, et ouesque lez pucels qe il la voucist deseiuoir.⁸ Si le coniura qe il ly disoit sil estoit ce.⁹ Et laungel respoundi qe elle ne eut point de paour, qar il estoit certayn messenger de Ihesu Crist. Item leur liure dit qe, quant elle

¹ taughte of, C.

⁴ leur demande, om. R.

⁷ et ceo—liure, after "mounde" above, S. G.

⁹ ce, S.; se, R.; deist se ce estoit il, G.

² Alkoran, S. G.

³ x^o, S.; x^m, G.; iiii^{xx}, C.

⁸ si cuida quil la vosist deceuoir, G., instead of "et si—deseiuoir."

³ Messak, S.; Meshak, G.; Meshaf, C.

⁶ lay, R.

was delyuer of hir childe vnder a palme tree, scho was gretely aschamed and waped and said scho wald scho ware deed. And alssone þe childe spakk and comforthed hir and said, "Be noȝt affered, for in þe Godd hase his sacrement¹ for þe saluacioun of þis werld." And in many oþer placez witnessez þaire buke of Alkaron þat Ihesu Christ spakk alssone as he was borne. And þat buke saise þat Criste was sent fra Godd all myghty in til erthe for to be ensauple and mirroure til all men. Þat buke also spekez of þe day of dome, how þat Godd schall comme and deme all men; þe gude he sall drawe on his party and glorifie þam in ioȝ withouten end, and þe wikked he sall dampne till ay lastand paynes of hell. Amanges all prophetes þai say þat Criste es þe best, þe worthiest and next to Godd, and þat he made þe Ewangels, in þe whilk es helefull teching and sothefastnes and preching til þaim þat trowes in Godd, and þat he was mare þan prophete, liffand withouten syn, þat gafe sight to þe blynd and heled meselles² and raised men fra deed to lyf and went all qwik in to heuen. And, when þai 10 may get þe Gospels writen, þai do grete wirschepe to þam and namely þe gospell of *Missus est*, whilk gospell þai þat er letterd amanges þam kissez with grete deuocioun, and saise it oft tymes amanges þaire praiers. Þai fast ilk a ȝere a hale moneth, and etez na mete bot at euen, and abstenez þam fra þaire wyfez all þat moneth. Bot þai þat er seke er noȝt constreyned to þat fast. Also þe buke of Alkaron spekez of þe Iewes, and saise þat þai er f.56. wikked and cursen, for þai will noȝt trowe þat Ihesus was sent fra Godd; and þat þai lye falsly on Mary and hir son Ihesu Criste, when þai say þat þai didd him on þe crosse. For þai crucified noȝt Ihesus, as þai say, for Godd take him vp til him³ withouten deed and transfigured þe fourme and þe likness of his body in to Iudas Yscarioth, and him didd þe Iews on þe crosse and wend it had bene Ihesus. Bot Ihesus was taken all qwik, þai say, in til heuen, and so⁴ sall he comme to deme all þe werld. And þis wate noȝt Cristen men; and þerfore þai say þai er noȝt right belefand, when þai trowe þat Ihesu Criste was done on þe crosse. All þir poyntes er contende in þe 20 buke of Alkaron. Þe Sarzenes saise also þat, if Ihesu Criste had bene crucified, Godd þan had done agayne his riȝtwisness for to suffer swilk ane innocent die withouten gylt; and in þat þai say we erre. Neuerþeles in þat erre þai. Þai graunt wele þat all þe werkes of Criste and all his wordes and his techings and his ewaungelles er gude and trewe, and his myracles verray and clere; and þat þe Virgyne Mary was a gude mayden and a haly before þe birth of Criste and efter also and vnwemmed; and þat þase þat trowes perfetely in Godd sall be sauf. And,

auoit enfaunte desouz vn arbre de palme, qe elle auoit hounte de ceo qe elle auoit enfaunt et ploroit et disoit qe elle vousist estre mort. Et tantost ly enfaunt parla et la conforta et dit, "Mere, ne te maie point,⁵ qar Dieu ad en toy rescoundu soun secret⁶ pur la sauueement de mounde." Et en plusours autres lieux dit lour Alkaron qe Ihesu Crist parla tantost qil fuist neez. Et dit auxi ceo liure qe Ihesu Crist fuist⁷ enuoiez de Dieu tout puissaunt pur estre spectacle⁸ et ensauple et signe a toutz hommez. Et parla auxi ly Alkaron del iour de iugement, coment Dieu voudra⁹ iuger toutz maners de gentz [et] lez bones trairra a sa part et les mettra en glorie, et lez malueis 30 condempnera as peines denferne; et entre toutz prophetes Ihesus est ly plus exillent et ly plus pres de Dieu, et qe il fist les Euangelies, en queux il y ad bone doctrine et salubres direccions, charitez,¹⁰ veritez, et predicacion verray a ceux qi croient Dieu; et qil estoit verraye prophete¹¹ et plus qe prophete et viuoit sanz pecche et illuminoit lez auoegles¹² et gariseoit lez meselez¹³ et resussita lez mortz; et qil mounta tout vif¹⁴ a ciels. Et, quant il poient tenir¹⁵ le liure ou les Euangelies nostre Seignur sount escriptes, especialment *Missus est* R.f.36b. *angelus Gabriel*, le quele euangelie ils dient, cils qi sount lettres, souent en lour orisoins, ils¹⁶ luy baisent et honourent en grand deuocioun. Ils ieugnent vn moitz entier en lan et ne mangent qe de noet et [se] gardent de lour femmes toutz les iours de ceo moitz; mes li malades ne sount mye constraintz a ceo ieigne. Et parole auxi cis liure des Iuys, les queux il dit estre malueis, pur ceo qe ils ne voient croier qe Ihesu fuist de part Dieu; et qe ils mentoient fausement de Marie et de son fitz Ihesu Crist, en disaunt qe ils auoient¹⁷ crucifie Ihesu le fitz Marie, car il ne fuist mie crucifie, si come ils dient, ancis le fitz Dieu mounta¹⁸ a luy¹⁹ saunz mort et saunz mechange,²⁰ mez il transfigura sa semblaunce en vn autre, ceo fuist Iudas Scarioth, et celuy crucifierent ly Iuwys et quidoient qe ceo fuist Ihesus. Mez Ihesus mounta a 40 ciels tout vif; et auxi descendra il tout vif pur iuger le mounde. Et pur ceo dient ils qe les Cristienes nount²¹ de ceo cy poynt de conysaunce, et qe ils quident folment et falcement qe Ihesu Crist fuist crucifie. Et dient vncore qe, sil²² eust este crucifiez, qe Dieu eust fait countre sa iustice, quant il suffreit qe Ihesu Crist, qi estoit innocent, fuist mys a mort saunz coulpe. Et en ceste article dient ils qe H.f.29. nous failloms et qe la graunde iustice de Dieu ne purroit²³ soeffrir tiele chose faire a tort; et en ceo falt lour foy. Qar ils confessent bien les oepueres Ihesu Crist estre bons²⁴ et ses paroules et ses dottrines et ses euuangelies estre veritables et ses miracles estre veraiez et la benure virgine Marie estre bone et seinte pucelle, auant et apres la naissance Ihesu Crist, et qe cils qi croient parfitement en Dieu serront

¹ hath hidd in þe his preuytees, C.² sc. le fist Dieu monter, cf. French text; God made him to stye vp to him, C.³ ne tesbahy pas, G.⁴ expectable, G.⁵ prophete qi venoit sanz peche, S.; prophete et que il vint senz pechie, G.⁶ meseaux, S.; mesiaux, G.⁷ et ils, R.⁸ a cieux, S.; es cieulx, G.⁹ cil, R.¹⁰ lepres, C.¹¹ descendu ses secres, G.¹² vendra, S.; venra, G.¹³ pechie, G.¹⁴ vif, S. G.; om. R.¹⁵ nauoient, S.¹⁶ mahain, S.; mehaing, G.; inchange, R.¹⁷ The lacuna in H. ends here.¹⁸ and so—world, om. C.¹⁹ fuist, om. R.²⁰ clartes, G.²¹ lez auoegles, S.; les aueugles, G.; lez aungels, R.; lez angelz, Roy. MS. 20 A. 1.²² trouer, S. G.²³ S. G.; mounter, R.²⁴ nont, S. G.; vount, R.²⁵ vraiez et bonnez, G.

for als mykill as þai ga þus nere oure faith in þir pointes and many oþer, me think þat mykill þe titter and þe lightlier þai schuld be conuerted till oure lawe thurgh preching and teching of Cristen men. þai say þai wate wele and findez by þaire prophecies þat Machometes lawe sall faile, as þe Iewez lawe es failed, and þat þe Cristen lawe schall last to þe werlde end. And, if a man ask þam of þaire beleue and how þai trowe, þai f.56b. answeere and saise, "We trowe in Godd, þat made heuen and oþer thinges of noght, and withouten him es na thing made. And we trowe þe day of dome schall comme, where ilk man schall hafe his mede after his disserte. We trowe also verrailly þat all es sothe þat Godd has spoken thurgh þe mouthes of his haly prophetez, whils þai welk in erthe." Also þai say þat Machomete bad and commaundid in þe buke of Alkaron, þat ilk a man schuld hafe three or foure wyfes. Bot now take þai ma, for sum of þam hase nyne; bot of concubines ilke man takes als many as he may sustene of his gudes. And, if any of þaire wyfes do amisse 10 agaynes hir husband and lat anoþer man lye by hir, þan is it leuefull till hir husband to putte hir away fra him and take anoþer in hir steed; bot him behufez gyffe hir a porcioun of his gudes. Also, when men spekes to þam of þe Trinitee, þai say þai er three Persones, bot noȝt a Godd. For þaire buke of Alkaron spekes noȝt of Trinitee. Neuerþeles þai graunt and sais þat Godd has worde, and elles ware he dumbe; and þat he hase a spirit, and þat elles behufed him be withouten lyf. And, when men spekes to þam of Cristez incarnacioun, how by þe worde of þe aungell Godd sent wisdom in til erthe and lightid in Virgin Mary, and thurgh þe worde of Godd þai þat er deed schall be raised apon þe day of dome, þai say þat all þis es sothe, and all þis þai trowe, and þat Goddes worde has grete vertu, and he þat knawez noȝt Goddes worde he knawez noȝt Godd. þai say also þat Criste was Goddes worde; and so saise þaire Alkaron, þare it saise þat þe aungell spakk to Mary and said, f.57. "Mary, Godd sall send to þe worde of his mouthe, and his name sall be called Ihesu Criste." Also þai say þat 20 Abraham was Goddes frende, and Moyses Goddez forspeker, and Ihesu Criste was þe worde and þe gaste of Godd, and þat Macomete was þe verray messanger of Godd; and of all þir foure Ihesus was þe worthiest and maste excellent. And þus it semez þat þe Sarzenes has many articles of oure trouth, þof it be noȝt perfyte; and þarfore it ware þe lighter to conuerte þam and to bring þam till oure trouth, and namely þase þat er letterd and has knawying of Scriptures. For þai hafe amanges þam þe Euaungelles and þe Prophetes and all þe Bible writen in Sarzene langage. Bot þai vnderstand noȝt haly writte spiritually, bot after þe letter, as þe Iews does; and þerfore saise sayne Paule, *Litera occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat*,¹ þat es to say, "þe lettre slaiez, and þe

saluez. Et, pur ceo qe ils vont si pres de nostre foy, sont ils de legier conuert a Cristiene loy, quant homme lour preche et moustre destinctement la loy de Ihesu Crist et qe homme lour deuise les prophecies. Et auxi dient ils qils scient bien par les prophecies qe la loy Machomet faudra, auxi come ad fait la loy des Iuys qe est faillie, et qe la ley de poeple Cristiene durera iusques au fin de monde. Et, si 30 ascuns lour demande quoi et coment ils croient, ils respondent, "Nous croions Dieu, le Creour de ciel et de terre et des touz autres choses, qe tot fist et sanz luy nest rien fait. Et croions de le iour iuggement, qe chescun auera merite solonc sez faitz. Et croions estre voir tot ceo qe Dieu ad dit par les bouches de touz ses prophetes." Item Machomet commanda en lour liure de Alkaron qe chescun eust ii. femmes ou iii. ou ii. Mes ore preignent iusques a ix., et des concubines tantz come ils purront susteiner. Et, si ascuns de lour femmes mesprent deuers son maritz, il la poet deietter de son houstel et desseuerer de luy et prendre vn altre; mes y couient qil la baille porcion de ses biens. Item, quant homme parle a eaux du Piere et de Filz et de Saint Espirit, ils dient qe y sont iii. Persones et non pas vn Dieu. Qar lour Alkaron ne parle point de la Trinitee. Mes ils dient bien qe Dieu ad paroules, qar autrement serroit il mielt²; et Dieu ad esprit, ceo scient ils bien, qar autrement ne serroit il vif. Item, quant homme parle del incarnacioun, coment, par le paroule del angel, Dieu enuoia sa sapience en terre et soi enombra en la Virgine Marie, et par le paroule serront les mortz resuscitez au iour de iuggement, ils dient qe ceo est voir et qe grant force ad la parole de Dieu. Et dient qe qy ne conust la paroule de Dieu, il ne conust point Dieu. Et dient vnquore qe 40 Ihesu Crist est la paroule de Dieu; et ensi dit lour Alkaron, la ou il dit qe ly angel parla a Marie et ly dit, "Marie, Dieu te euangelizera paroule de sa bouche, et serra son³ noun appelle Ihesu Crist." Et dient auxi qe Abraham fuist amy de Dieu, et Moises fuist purparleres de Dieu, Ihesu Crist fuist la paroule et lesprit de Dieu, et⁴ Machometh fuist droit messager de Dieu. Et dient bien qe de ces ii. Ihesu fuist le pluis digne et le pluis excellent et le pluis grant. Si qe ils ont plusours bons articles de nostre foy et de nostre creance,⁵ combien qils naient loy parfite et foy solonc Cristiens. Et sont de ligier conuertiz touz cils qe sciuent mult de seinte escripture; mes ne la entendent forsque solonc la lettre. Et auxi ne font ly Iuys, qar ils nentendent mie la lettre espiritalment, mes corporelement. Et pur ceo sunt ils persecuteurs de veraiz sages, qe espiritalment lentendent. Et pur ceo dit seint Poul, *Littera enim*⁶ *occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat*.

¹ 11. Cor. iii. 6.⁴ Et—Dieu, S.; and so G.; om. H. R.² muth, S.; muel, G.; muhet, R.⁵ dame, S. R.³ son, om. H.⁶ *Iustum*, for "*Littera enim*," G.

spirit qwikkens." And þerfore þe Sarzenes saise þat þe Iewes er wikked men and cursed, for þai hafe broken þe lawe þat Godd gafe þam thurgh Moyses; and Cristen men þai say er wikked and ill, for þai kepe noȝt þe commaundement of þe Gospell, whilk Ihesus Criste bad þam.

Now will I tell ȝow what þe Sowdan did tell me apon a day in his chaumbre. He gert all men void his chaumbre, bathe lordes and oper þat ware þerin; for he wald speke with me in priuete betweene vs twa. And, when all ware gane furth, he asked me how Cristen men gouerned þam in oure cuntreez. And I said, "Lord, wele; thanked be Godd." And he answerd and said, "Sikerly, nay. It es noght so. For ȝour presteȝ," quod f.57b. he, "seruez noȝt Godd duely in gude liffyng, as þai schuld do. For þai schuld giffe to lewed men ensauple of gude liffyng, and þai do euen þe contrary; for þai giffe þam ensauple of all wikkidness. And þerfore on haly days, when þe folk schuld go to þe kirke to serue Godd, þai go to þe tauerne and occupiez all þe day and perchaunce all þe nyght after in drinkyng and in glotry, as þai ware bestez oute of resoun, þat knawez noght when þai hafe ynoghe. And afterwarde thurgh drunkenness þai fall at grete wordes and feyghtes and flytez till ilk ane of þam sla oper. þe Cristen men also vsez ilkane to begyle oper and falsely to swere grete athes. And þerwith þai er so bolned in pride and vayne glory, þat þai wate neuer how þai may clethe þam, bot now þai vse schort clathes, now syde, now strayte, now wyde".¹ "ȝe schuld," he said, "be symple, meke and sothfast, and almous gerne,² as Criste was, in wham ȝe say ȝe trowe. Bot it es all operwise. For Cristen men er so prowde, so enuyous, so grete glotouns, and so licherous, and þerto so full of couetise, þat for a lytill siluer þai will sell þaire doghters, þaire sisters, ȝa and þaire awen wyfes, to lat men lye by þam. And ilk ane takes oper wyf, and nane haldez his fayth till oper; and so þe lawe þat Criste gaffe ȝow wikkidly and ill ȝe despise and brekez it. And certaynely for ȝour synne ȝe hafe lost all þis land, þe whilk we hafe and haldez. For by cause of ȝour ill liffyng and ȝour synne and noȝt of oure strenth Godd has giffen it intill oure handes. And we wate wele þat, when ȝe serue ȝour Godd duely and wele and plesez him with gude werkes, na man schall mow agaynestand ȝow. We knawe wele also by oure prophecyes þat Cristen men schall recouer þis land agayne in tyme f.58. commyng, when ȝe serue ȝour Godd wele and deuotely. Bot als lang as ȝe liffe, as ȝe do, in wikkednes and in synne, we hafe na drede of ȝow; for ȝour Godd will noȝt helpe ȝow." When I had herd þe sowdan speke þir wordes and many ma whilk I will noȝt tell at þis tyme, I asked him with grete reuerence, how he come to þus mykill knawying of þe state of Cristiantee. And þan he gert call in agayne all þe grete lordes and þe worþi þat he sent furth of þe chaumbre before; and he assigned foure of þam, þat ware grete lordes, for to speke with me.

Item ly Sarazins dient qe Iuys sont malueis, qar ils ont violet la loy qe Dieu lour enuoia par Moyses. Et ly Cristiens sont malueis, si come ils dient, qar ils ne gardent mie les preceptz des Euuangelies qe Ihesu Crist lour deuisa.

Et pur ceo vous dirray ieo ceo qe ly soudan me dit vn iour en sa chambre. Il fist voider sa chambre des totes maners des gentz, sires et autres, pur ceo qe il voloit parler a moy au conseil. Si me demanda, coment les Cristiens se gouverneeront en noz pays; et ly ditz qe bien, Dieu gracies. Et il me dit qe "Verayment qe non fount. Qar voz flamynes ne font conte de Dieu seruir. Ils duissent doner ensample a lay gent de bien faire, et ils lour donent ensample a malfaire. Et³ pur ceo ly communes as iours de festes, quant ils deueroient aler au temple pur lour Dieu seruir, adonques vont ils as tauernes a estre en glotenie tot iour et tot nuyt, et mangent et boient come bestes, qi ne sciuent quant ils ont assez pris. Et auxi touz les Cristiens saforcent en touz maners qils poent de baretter⁴ et deceuoir lun lautre. Et ouesqe ceo ils sont si orgoillous qils ne sciuent coment veister, ore long ore court, ore estroit ore large, ore baundes ore cotealx,⁵ et en touz maners desguise et de corroies⁶ et dautres choses. Ils duissent estre simples et humbles et veritables et almoigners, si come Ihesu fuist en qi ils croient; mes ils sont tot a reuers et tot enclin a malfaire. Et si sont si couetous qe pur vn poy dargent ils vendent leurs filz,⁷ leurs seors, leurs propres femmes pur mettre a luxurie. Et lun forstret la femme al autre, et nul ne tient foy al autre; mes violent tot lour ley qe Ihesus lour auoit baillie et deuise pur lour saluement. Et ensi pur lour pecches ont ils perduz tot cest terre, qe nous tenons. Qar pur lour pecches vostre Dieu les bailla en noz mains, non pas par force de nous, mes pur lour⁸ pecchez. Qar nous sauons bien de voir qe, quant vous bien seruez Dieu et il vous voet aider, nul purroit contre vous. Et sy sauons bien par noz prophecies qe Cristiens regaigneront ceste terre, quant ils seruiront lour Dieu pluis deuotement. Mes tant qils serront de si orde vie come sont ore endroit, nous nauons point de paour de eaux; qar lour Dieu ne les eidera mie." Lors ieo luy demanday coment il sauoit ensi lestat des Cristiens; et il me respondy H.f.30. qil sauoit tot lestat des courtz des princeȝ⁹ Cristienes et lestat de commun par les gentz qil enuoie par totes pais en guise de marchandes des pieres precieuses et dautres choses pur sauoir le couigne de chescun pais. Et me fist adonques repeller les seignurs qil auoit fait issir de la chambre. Si me moustra iiii. qestoient grantz seignurs el pais, qi me deuiseeront noz pais et les¹⁰ autres pais des Cristiente auxi bien qe sils

¹ now long, now schort, now streyt, now large, now swerded, now daggered, and in alle manere gyses, C.

³ Et le quemun, quant il deussent aler, G.

⁵ ore broudez ore couteilles, S.; ore broudes ore court taillies, G.

⁷ sc. filles.

¹⁰ et les—del pais, om. S.

⁴ combatre, S.

⁸ vous, S.; vos, G.; lour, R.; vostreȝ, over erasure, H.

² fulle of almes dede, C.

⁶ et de corroies, om. S. G.

⁹ lestat dez touz le princeȝ, S.

þe whilk rekned me all þe maner of my cuntree and descryued me þe maners of oþer cuntrees of Cristendon als graythely and als verrailly as þai had bene euer ȝit dwelland in þam. And bathe þe sowdan and þai spakk Fransch wonder wele, and þerof I meruailed me gretely. And at þe last I vnderstode þat þe sowdan sent of his lordes in to diuerse rewmes and diuerse landes in gyse of marchandes, sum with precieuse stanes, sum with clathez of gold, and sum with oþer iowelles, þe whilk in swilk maner visitez all rewmes for to asprie þe maners of vs Cristen men and to knawe oure febilnes. And þan me thoȝt grete schame þat Sarzenes, whilk hase nowþer riȝt beleue ne perfite lawe, schuld þus reprove vs of oure inperfitenes and kepez þaire vayne lawe better þan we do þe lawe of Ihesu Criste; and þai þat schuld be turned thurgh oure gude ensaumple to þe faith and þe lawe of Ihesu Criste, þai er drawn away thurgh oure wikked lifing. And þerfore it es na wonder if þai call vs synfull and
f.58b. wikked, for it es sothe. Bot þai er riȝt deuote in þaire lawe and riȝt trewe, and wele kepez þe commaundementz
of þaire Alkaron, whilk Godd sent to þam by his messenger Machomete, to wham, as þai say, þe aungell Gabriell
spakk oft tymes and talde him þe will of Godd.

And ȝe schall vnderstand þat Machomete was borne in Araby, and first he was a pouer knafe, þat keped hors and camelles and went with marchaunds intil Egipte, þe whilk was þat tyme inhabited with Cristen men. And in þe desertes of Araby by þe hie way toward Egipte was a chapell and ane hermyte dwelland þerat. And in to þis ilke chapell went Machomete for to speke with [þe] hermyte. And, when he entred þe chapell, þe dure, whilk was riȝt lawe, sudaynely it wex als hie as it had bene þe ȝate of a grete palace; and þis, as þai say, was þe first myracle þat he didd, when he was ȝung. After þat began Machomete to be wyse and riche, and he was a grete astronomer. And þe prince of þe land of Corodan made him keper and gouernour of his land; and he gouerned it wisely and graciously, so þat, when þe prince was deed, he wedded þe princesse, whilk was
called Cadrige [Khadija.] And þis ilke Machomete had þe falland euill, and oft tymes he fell by violence of þat
sekeness; and þe lady had mykill sorow þat scho had wedded him. Bot he made hir at vnderstand þat ilke a
tyme þat he fell so þe aungell Gabriell apperid till and spak with him, and for þe grete briȝtness of þe aungell he
fell doune. And þerfore saise þe Sarzenes þat þe aungell Gabriell spakk oft tymes with him. Þis Machomete
f.59. regned in Araby þe ȝere of oure lord vi^e and twenty; and he was of þe kynde of Ismael, þat was Abraham
sonne, whilk he gatte apon Agar his chaumberere. And þerfore sum Sarzenes er called Ismaelitez, sum
Agarrenes of Agarre, and sum Ammonytes after twa sonnes of Loth, whilk he gat on his twa doghters. And
sum er properly called Sarzenes, after þe citee of Sarras.¹ Also Machomete lufed wele sum tyme a gude
hermyte þat dwelled in þe wildernes a myle fra þe mount Synai in þe way as men gase fra Araby to Caldee and

fussent del pais. Et parloient mult bele francois, et ly soudan auxint, dont ieo me merueillay mult.² Eylas! come ceo est grant
esclandre a nostre foy et a nostre loy, quant gentz qi nont foy ne loy nous reprouent et noz pecches reprehendent,³ et cils qi duissent par
noz bons ensamples et par nostre acceptable vie estre conuertez a la loy Ihesu Crist sont par noz malueistees et par nous⁴ elloinez et
estrangez de la seinte verraye creance! Si nest mie merueille, sils nous appellent malueysz, qar ils dient voier. Mais Sarazins sont bons et
loialx, qar ils gardent entierement le commandement del seint liure Alkaron,⁵ qe Dieu lour enuoia par son seint messenger, lour prophete
Machomet, a qi ils dient qe seint Gabriel langel parla souent et ly deuia la voluntee deuine.⁶

Et sachez qe Machomet fuist neez de Arabe, et fuist primerement vn pour garcyoun, qi gardoit les camelles⁷ et aloit apres les
merchantz, tanqes il vient vn foitz ouesques les merchantz en Egipte. Et ils estoient adonqes Cristiens en celles parties. Et as desertz
Darabe il aloit a vne chapelle, ou il auoit vn heremite; et, quant il entra en la chapelle, qestoit bien petite et auoit vne petite huyssherie et
basse, adonqes lentrete deuient si grande et si haute come si ceo fuist la porte dun palais. Et ceo fuist le primer miracle qe ly Sarazins dient
qil fist en sa iuence. Depuis comencea Machomet a deuenir sage et riche, et fuist vn grant astronomen. Et puis fuist gouernour de la
terre al prince de Corodane; et la gouerna mult sagement en tiel manere qe, quant le prince fust mort, il prist la dame a femme, qauoit a
noun Gadryge.⁸ Et cheoit souent Machomet de la grant maladie, ceo est de la caduke; pur quoi la dame fuist corucez forement de ceo
qelle lauait pris a baroun. Mais Machomet luy dona entendant qe, totfoitz qil cheoit, seint Gabriel venoit parler a luy et pur la grande
claritee del angel il ne se poait sustenir, ancis ly couenoit a cheoir. Et pur ceo dient ly Sarazins qe le angel Gabriel venoit souent parler a
luy. Cis Machomet regna en Arabe lan de grace vi^e et x.⁹; et fuist de la generacioun de Ismael, ceo fuist le filz Abraham, qil engendra en
H.f.30b. Agar sa chamberere. Et pur ceo y ad des Sarazins qi sont appelez Ismaelitonz, et autres les appellent Agariens de Agar; et des autres qi
sont proprement appelez Sarazins de Sarra. Des autres y a qi sont appelez Moabitez, et des autres Amonitez, pur lez ii. filz Loth, Moab
et Amon,¹⁰ qil engendra en sez files, qi fuient puis grantz princez terrien. Item Machomet amoit mult vn¹¹ prodhomme heremite, qi
demorroit en desert a vne lieue de mont Sinay, el chemyn par quel lem vait Darrabe vers Caldee et vers Inde, a vne iournee de la meer ou

¹ Sarrazines of Sarra, C.

² et par nous, om. S. G.

³ les seures celestiaux, G.

⁴ vi^{xx} et x, G.

⁵ moult et esbahy, G.

⁶ de dieu et seint Alkaron, S.; l'ordonance de leur seint Alkaron, G.

⁷ les cheuaux et les chameulx, G.

⁸ Moab et Ammon, om. S. G.

⁹ loy nous reprennent de nos pechiez, G.

¹⁰ Quadrige, G.; Gadryge, C.

¹¹ auoit vn, G.

till Inde, a day iournee fra þe see, whare marchaunds of Venice commez oft tymes for to by marchandyse. And Machomete went so oft to þis hermyte to here him preche þat his seruands wex heuy þerwith and euill apaid.¹ For he went so oft þider and so gladly herd þis hermyte preche þat many tyme he gert his men wake all þe nyght ouer; and his men thoȝt þai wald fayne þis ilke hermyte had bene deed. So it befell apon a nyght þat Machomete was drunken of wyne and fell on slepe; and, whils he sleped, his men drew oute his awen swerde of þe schethe and with þat swerde þai slew þe hermyte, and, when þai had done, þai putte vp þe swerde agayne in to þe schethe all bludy. And at morue, when Machomete wakned and fand þe hermyte deed, he was wonder wrathe and wald hafe slayne his men, for he said þai had murderd him amang þam. Bot þai all with ane accorde and ane ascent said þat him self had slayne him in his slepe, when he was drunken, and þai schewed him his swerde all bludy, and þan trowed he þat þai said sothe. And þan he cursed wyne and all þase þat it
 f.59b. drinkez; and þerfore Sarzenes þat er deuoute in þaire lawe will drynke na wyne. Bot þai hafe ane oþer maner of drinke gude and delicious and riȝt nurischand, þe whilk es made of diuerse spicerie and namely of calamel, wharoff gude sugur es made.² Neuerþeles sum Sarzenes will drinke wyne gladly in priuete, bot noȝt in apperte; for, if þai drink wyne openly, þai schall be blamed þerfore. Also it fallez sum tyme þat sum Cristen men becommes Sarzenes, owþer for pouert or symple or for wikkedness of þam self; and he þat es þe cheeff maister and keper of þaire lawe,³ when he ressayez þam to þaire lawe, saise on þis wyse, *La elles ella sila Machomet rores alla hec*, þat es to say, "þare es na Godd bot ane, and Machomete his messangere."

Sen I hafe talde ȝow sum what of þe Sarzenes lawe, and of þaire maners and custommes, now will I tell ȝow of þaire letters whilk þai vse,⁴ with þe names and þe maner of þaire figures:—Almoy, Betach, Cathi, Delphoi, Ephothi, Fothi, Garophi, Hethim, Iocchi, Kacchi, Lothyn, Malach, Nahalet, Orthi, Porizeth, Qutholath, Routhi, Salathi, Tothintus, Vzazot, Yrtim, Theth. Þir er þe names of þaire letteres, and now will I sett þe figures of þam Here will I sett þaire letters on anoþer maner, as I hafe sene þam made in sum oþer bukes; and þis maner payes me better þan þe toþer:—Almoy, Bethath, Cathi, Delphoi, Ephothi, Fothi, Garophi, Hechim, f.60. Iocchi, Kaythi, Lothim, Malach, Nahalot, Orthi, Corizi, ȝoch, Rutolath, Routhi, Salathi, Thatimus, Yrthom, Azazoth, Arotthi, ȝotipin, Ichetus. And þir er þe letters. Þir foure letters hafe þai mare þan we hafe for diuersitee of þaire langage, by cause þai speke so in þaire throtes; as we hafe in oure speche in Ingland twa oþer letters þan þai hafe in þaire abce, þat es to say, þ and ȝ, whilk er called þorn and ȝok.

les marchantz de Venise venoient souent marchander. Et tant aloit Machomet entour celle prodhomme qe toutes les vadletz estoient trop corucez, qar il oyout voluntier celle prodhomme parler et precher et fesoit ses vadletz veiler auses toutes nuyt; si pensoient cez vadletz qils occierioient cel prodhomme. Si auient vne nuyt qe Machomet estoit forement yures, tant auoit beu de vin; et ly valletz prestrent⁵ lespeie Machomet, tandys qil dormoit, et tueront cel prodhomme, et puis remistrent lespeie tot sanglant en foreal. Et au matyn, quant Machomet troua ceo prodhomme mort, il fuist trop coruce et voloit faire iustice des moertreours. Mes touz les valletz par acord disoient qil mesmes lauait fait, quant il estoit enyures; et luy moustroient sa espeie tout sanglant. Et, quant il vist ceo, il quidoit qils vssent dit voir. Si madisoit le vin et touz ceaux qi vendroient ou qi beueroient vin. Et pur celle maldisoun ly Sarazins qi sont deuoutz ne boyuent point de vin; mes il y a qi boyuent voluntiers a secreet, mes qi le saueroit, ils serroient repris. Et si boyuent mout bon beuerage et douce et noryceant, qest fait de galamel,⁶ ceo est dont homme fait le sucre, qest de mult bon saueour et fait bon poitrine. Il y auient souent qascun Cristien deuient Sarazins, ou pur simpletee, ou pur pouerte, ou pur malueistee; et ly archiflaumes ou flamines, quant il les resceut, dit ensi, *La ellec ella sila Machomet rores alla hec*, ceo est a dire en romanc, "Il ny ad Dieu forsque vn soul, et Machomet son messenger." Et puis qe vous ay deuse partie de lour loy et de lour costumes, ieo vous deuieray, si vous plest, quelles lettres ils ont, ouesques les nouns si qe ils les appellent⁸ Et cestes iiii. lettres ont ils vnquore pluis pur la diuersite de lour langage, pur ceo qils parlent ensi en la gorge; auxi come nous auons en nostre parleure en Engleterre deux lettres pluis qils nount en lour a b c, cest assauoir þ et ȝ, qi sont appelez thorn et ȝogh.

¹ alle his men weren wrothe, C.

² þat men maken sugre of, þat is of riȝt gode sauour and it is gode for the breest, C.

³ the archiflamyn or the flamyn, as oure echebisshopp or bisshopp, C.

⁴ The following passage in C. (f. 60) is omitted in the printed editions: "Now I haue told ȝou a party of here lawe and of here customes, I schal seye ȝou of here lettres þat þei haue, with here names and the manere of hire figures what þei ben: Almoy, Bethath, Cathi, Ephothi, Delphoi, Fothi, Garothi, Hechum, Iotty, Kaythi, Lothum, Malach, Nabaloth, Orthi, Chesiri, ȝoch, Ruth, Holath, Routhi, Salathi, Thatimus, Yrthom, Azazoth, Arrochi, ȝotipyn, Ichetus. And þeise ben the names of here a, b, c. Now schull ȝee knowe the figures And iiii. lettres þei haue more þan oþere for dyuersitee of hire langage and speche, for als moche as þei speke in here throtes. And wee in Englund haue in oure langage and speche ii. lettres mo þan þei haue in hire a, b, c; and þat is þ and ȝ, whiche ben clept þorn and ȝogh." The characters in both MSS. are too corrupt to be worth reproducing.

⁵ prestrent, S.; prinstrent, G.

⁶ calamel, S. G.; galamelle, C.

⁷ sila, om. S. G.; La ellec olla sila Machomet rores alla, C.

⁸ H. has here a blank space. S. inserts the Greek alphabet. G. reads: "a Almoy, b Betha, c Cachi, d Delfoy, e Efoci, f Focchi, g Garopi, h Hocchim, i Ioichi, k Karchi, l Locchum, m Malach, n Naphalet, o Oreth, p Choriris, q Eth, Nicholai, Rouchi, Salathi, Cichimus, Elzozot, Arouchi."

CHAPTER XVI.

[*Of the londes of Albanye and of Libye; of the wisshinges for wacchinge of the Sperhawk;
and of Noes schippe.*]

HERE hafe I talde 3ow and declared of þe Haly Land and of cuntreez þer aboute, and of many ways þider and to þe mount Synai, to Babiloine and oþer placez, of whilk I hafe spoken off before. And now will I passe forþermare, and speke of diuerse landes and iles þat er bezond þe Haly Land. For þer er many diuerse kingdommes and cuntreez and iles toward þe este party of þe werld, wharin er many diuerse folk and diuerse kyndez of bestes, and many oþer meruailous thinges. And þase cuntreez er departed with þe foure fludes þat commez oute of Paradys terrestre. For Mesopothamy and þe kyngdomme of Caldee and Araby er betwene þir twae fludes, þat es at say Tygre and Eufates; and þe kingdom of Medie and of Perse er betwene Tygre and Nilus; and þe kingdom of Surry, of Palestine and of Phenice er betwene Eufates and þe see Mediterrany, þe whilk see lastez on lenth fra þe citee of Marrok, þe whilk standes apon þe Spaynisch see, vnto þe grete see. So þat it lastez bezond Constantinopil iii^m and fourty myle of Lumbardy. And toward þe see þat f.6ob. es called Occiane es þe kingdom of Scithy, whilk es all enclosed with hilles. Vnder Scithi, fra þe see of Caspy vnto þe flude of Thanay, es þe land of Amazoun, and þat es þe land of wymmen,¹ whare wymmen dwellez by þam self and na men amanges þam. And þan es þe rewme of Albany, a grete land; and it es called swa for þe folk of þat land er whitter þan þe folk of oþer landes aboute it. And in þat land er wonder grete dogges and wight, þe whilk feight with any lyouns and sla þam. And þan es þe land of Hircany, of Bactrice² and many oþer. And betwene þe Reed See and þe grete see Occiane, toward þe south, es Ethiopi and Libi þe vppermare. For Liby þe neþermare begynnez at þe Spaynisch see, whare þe pilers er of Hercules, and lastez til Egypte and Ethiopy. In Liby þe see semez mykill hegher þan þe land, and it es like as it schuld ouerflowe all þe land, and 3it it passez no3t þe bankes.³ In þat land es a grete hill, þe whilk men may see on ferrum, bot þai may no3t comme nere it. In Libi, when a man turnez him to þe est, his schadow es on his ri3t syde, as it es here in þis cuntree on oure left syde. In þe Liby see er na fischez fun; for þare may nane liffe þerin by cause of þe owtrage

CHAPITRE XVI.

De les terres de Albanie et Libie; des souhaides pur la garde dun Esperuier; et del arche Noe.

DUIS qe ieo vous ay deuse et parle dessus de la Terre Seinte et del pais enuiroun et des plusours chemyns pur aler en celle terre et al mont Sinay et a Babiloigne la moindre et as autres lieux, dont iay parle cy deuant, ore il est temps, si vous plect, de vous emparler des marches des isles, et diuerses bestes et diuerses gentz en outre⁴ ces marches. Qar en cel pais dela y a multz de diuerses pais et multz des grandes regions, qi sont deusez par les iiij. fluuies qi vieignent de Paradys terrestre. Qar Mesopotamie et le roialme de Caldee et Arabe sont entre les ii. riuieres de Tigre et de Eufate; et le roialme de Mede et de Persye sont entre les riuieres de Nil et de Tigre; et le roialme de Syrie, dont ieo vous ay parle dessure, et Palestine et Phenicie sont entre Eufate et la mer Mediterrane, la quel mer Mediterrane dure de long de Mayrok sur la mer de Spaigne iusques a la grant meer, si qe il dure outre Constantinople m^mm^m et xl. lieues Lombardelles. Et vers la mer Occiane en Ynde est le roialme de Sichye, qi est tote close des montaignes. Et puis desouz Sichie et de la mer Caspie iusques a flum de Thamy⁵ est Amazonie, ceo est la terre de Femynie, ou y ni ad nuls hommes qe femmes soulement. Et puis est Albanie mult grant roialme; et est appelez Albane pur ceo qe les gentz sont plus blancs assez qe as autres marches la entour. Et si ad si grantz chiens et si fortz en tiel pais qe assaillent et occient les lyons. Et puis apres est Hircanie, Bactrie, Hiberie et moutz dautres regions. Et entre la meer Rouge et la mer Occiane vers mydi est la region de Ethiopie et de Libie la superiour. La quelle terre de Libie, cestassauer Libie la basse, qi commence⁶ a la mer Despaigne, la ou les columnnes de Hercules sont, et dure vers iusques Egipte et vers Ethiopie. En ceo pais de Libie est la mer pluis haut assez qe la terre, et semble qelle doye couerir la terre, et nientmoins elle ne passe point ses mettes. Ensi veit homme en ceo pais vn montaigne a quel homme ne poet approcher. En celle terre de Libie, si homme se tourne vers orient, lombre de son corps est a destre; et si en noz pais lombre est a sinistre. En cel mer de Libie nad nuls pesshons, qar ils ne purroient

¹ Femynie, C.⁴ en outre, S. G.; et entre, H.² Bactrye, Hiberie and, C.⁵ Thamar, S. G.³ his markes, C.⁶ La quele terre de Libye la balse commence, G.

hete of þe sonne. For þe water þare by cause of grete hete es euermare as it ware buylland. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þer er many ma cuntreez and iles in þase parties of þe werld, whilk ware to mykill to tell all; bot of sum sall I tell mare playnely afterwarde.

Now he þat will passe in to Tartari, or Perse, or to Caldee, or Inde, he schall entre þe see at Geen, or at f.61. Venice, or at sum oþer hauen before nefned, and so passe þe see and arryue at þe hauen of Trapazonde, whilk es a gude citee and was sum tyme called *Le Porte de Pounce*.¹ In þis citee lyes saynt Athanase, þat was bischope of Alisaundre, and he made þe psalme *Quicunque vult*. Þis Athanase was a grete doctour of diuinitee, and for he preched mare profoundely of Haly Writte þan oþer didd, þerfore he was accused to þe pape of heresy; and þe pape sent for him and gert putte him in presoun. And, whils he was in presoun, he made þe psalme beforsaid and sent it to þe pape and said, "If I be ane heretyc," quod he, "þan es all heresy þat here es writen, 10 for þis es my trouthe." And, when þe pape sawe þat, he said it was all hally oure beleue and gert deliuer him oute of presoun and comaunded þat psalme to be said ilk a day at prime; and he held Athanase for a gude man and a haly. Bot Athanase wald neuer after ga to his bischoperyke agayne, for þat wikked men had thurgh hatredyn accused him to þe pape. Trapazedy was sum tyme halden of þe emperour of Constantinople; bot a myghty man and a riche, wham þe emperour sent to kepe it agayne þe Turkes, held it still vntill him self and gert call him emperour of Trapazedy.

Fra þe citee of Trapazedy men gase to Lytill Hermony. In þat cuntree es ane alde castell sett apon a roche, whilk es called in Fransch *Le Chastel Despuere*, þat es to say on English, "þe Castell of þe Sperhawke."² And it es betwene þe citee of Larrais³ and þe citee of Percipre,⁴ þe whilk es þe lordes of Croke⁵; and he es a riche f.61b. man and a gode Cristen man. In þat castell men fyndes a sperhawke sittand apon a perke, and a faire lady of 20 Fairye sittand þerby and kepand it. And wha so will com and kepe þat sperhawke, wakand it continually vii. days and vii. nyztes, or, as sum men saise, iii. days and iii. nyghtes, withouten company and withouten sleping, þis faire lady sall com to him at þe seuend day, or þe thridd day, end, and scho sall graunt him what sum euer he askez of erthely thing; and þat hase bene many a tyme assayd. For þare come sum tyme a kyng of Ermony, a myghty lorde and a worþi, and woke þis hawke to þe end of þe days; and þan þe lady come to him and bad him ask what erthely thing as he wald, as he þat wele had done his deuer. þe kyng answerd and said, "I am," quod he, "a lord riche ynogh; forþi I will nan oþer thing ask bot þi body to hafe it at my will." And scho

H.f.31b. viure ne durer pur la grande chaloure du solail, qar leawe est totdys boillante pur la grande chalour. Et plusours autres terres y a qe lem ferroit trop long compte a toutes nombrer; mes dascunes parties vous parleray ieo pluis pleinement cy apres.

Quy voroit donques aler vers Tartaire, vers Persye, vers Caldee, et vers Ynde, il se mette en mer a Ianewe ou Venise ou ascun autre 30 port qe ieo vous ay deuise par deuant, et passe homme la mer et arriue homme a Trapozonde,⁶ qest vn bone cite et soloit estre le port de Ponz.⁷ La est la portz⁸ de Persainz et des Medains et des marches par dela. En celle cite gist seint Athanais,⁹ qi fuist euesqe de Alisandre, qi fist le psalme, *Quicunque vult saluus esse, &c.* Cis Athanais estoit vn grant doctour de theologie; et, pur ceo qil precheoit et parloit si parfondement de la diuinite et de la deitee, il fuist accusez al pape de Rome qil estoit heretik. Pur quoi ly pape lenuoia quere, et le mist en prisoun. Et si fist, tandys qil estoit en prison, cest psalme, *Quicunque vult*, et lenuoia al pape et ly dit qe, sil estoit heretik, si estoit donques pur ceo qe luy articles de ceo psalme nestoient mie voiriz et bonz, qar en ceo creoit il. Et, quant le pape vist ceo psalme, il dit qe ceo estoit tote nostre foy et commanda qe homme le chantast touz lez iours a prime; et tient leuesqe a prodhomme et a verray Cristien, et le deliuera de prisoun. Mes vnqes puis il ne voloit retourner a soun eueschee, pur ceo qe homme lauait mys sur heresie pur enuie. Trapasonde soloit estre al emperour de Constantinople, mes vn riche homme, qe¹⁰ ly emperour enuoit pur garder le pais encontre les Turks, ad vsurpe la terre et mys a soun propre demeigne et sappelle emperour.

De Trapozonde vait homme par la Petite Hermenie,¹¹ qi voet. Et en ceo pais il y ad vn chaustel¹² anxien, qi siet sur vn roche, qils 40 appellent le Chaustel del Esperuier (ceo est outre la cite de Layays pres de la ville de Persipee, qi est al seignour de Truk, qest vn riche homme et bon Cristien), ou homme troeue vn esperueer sur vn perche, mult bele et mult fetise, et vne bele dame de Fayrie qi le garde. Qi vourroit veiler cel esperuier vii. iours¹³ et vii. nuytz, ascuns dient iii. iours et iii. nuytz, soul sanz compaigne et sanz dormir ne poy ne¹⁴ auques, cele bele dame venroit a luy a chief de vii. iours¹⁵ ou de iii. et luy dorroit le primer souhaide qil voloit souhaider des choses terrien; et ceo ad este proue souent. Et meisment vn roi de Armenie, qestoit mult vaillant prince, y veilla iadis; et au chief de vii. iours¹⁶ la dame vient a luy et ly dit qil souhaidast; qar il auoit bien fait son deuer. Et ly roy respondy qil estoit assez grant sires et bien en pees et auoit assez richesses, et qil ne souhaideroit altre chose forsqe le corps de celle bele dame a auoir sa voluntee. Et elle ly respondy qelle ne sauoit quoi

¹ and it was wont to ben the hauene of Pountz. þere is the hauene of Persanes and of Medaynes and of the marches þere bezonde, C.

² the whiche is cleped the Castelle of the Sparrehawk, C.

³ Pharsipee, C.

⁷ appelle port de Ponz, S.; appellee port de Pons, G.

¹⁰ qe, S. G.; et, H. R.

¹² vn chastel, ceo est outre la citee de Laias et est ancien (amitien, G.), et set sur vn roche qil appellent ensuit Chastel del emperour, et [est] pres de la ville de Percipie (perticipie, G.) qest au seignur de Crok, etc. S.; and so G.

¹⁴ ne poure, S.

⁵ Cruk, C.

⁸ li Rois, S. G.

¹¹ la partie de Armenie, G.

¹³ vii., S. G. R. C.; vn iour, H. And so "vn nuytz," H.

¹⁵ vn iour, H.

³ Layays, C.

⁶ Crepesonde, S.

⁹ Achanas, S.; Athanas, G.

¹⁶ vn iour, H.

answerd and said, "Vnhappily," quod scho, "and vnwisely has þou asked. For my body may þou noȝt hafe, by cause I am noȝt erthely, bot spirituall." "Certes," quod þe kyng, "I will ask no thing elles." "Now fra þi foly," quod þe lady, "may I noȝt drawe þe. Bot I schall giffe þe vnasked þat es riȝtwyse; for þou and all þat of þee sall com sall hafe were withouten¹ ferme pees all way vnto þe nynde degree and all ways be in þe subieccioun of ȝoure enmys and hafe defaute of all maner of gude." And riȝt so it es befallen; for þe king of Ermony had neuer pes, bot ay were, sen þat tyme, and he and all his er ay pure and nedy and liffez vnder þe tribute of þaire enmys.² Anoþer tyme þer come a symple mannes son and woke þe sperhawke. And he asked f.62. of þe lady þat he myȝt be riche and happy in marchandyse for to gete werldly gudes; and scho graunted him. And he become þe ricchest marchand of all þat land, so þat he knew noȝt þe thowsand parte of his gude; and so he was wyser þan þe kyng before. After þis þer come a knyght of þe Templers and woke þis sperhawke wele 10 and asked þat he myght hafe euermare his purs full of gold; and þe lady graunted him his asking. Bot scho said þat he asked þe destruccioun and þe vndoyng of his order, for þe grete pride of his riches and þe grete trist of þat purs; and so it befell afterward. Forþi it es gude to him þat schall wake þis hawke þat he be wele warre þat he slepe noȝt; for, if he slepe, he bese lost for euer, and neuermare comme whare men er. þis ilke castell es noȝt in þe riȝt way to þe cuntrez before neuend; bot he þat will see swilk meruailes, him behoues sum tyme þus wende oute of þe way.

þe riȝt way fra Trapazedy til Ermony þe mare es to a citee þat men calles Artiron, þe whilk was wont to be a gude citee and a riche and a faire, bot þe Turkes hase destruyd it. Aboute it growez bot lytill wyn³ or lytill oþer fruyt, for þe land es hegh and calde; bot þer er many riuers and gude welles þat comes vnder þe erthe fra Eufrates, þe whilk es fra þat citee a day iournee. And þis riuer of Eufrates comes vnder þe erthe 20 toward Inde, and afterward it commez vp in þe land of Allazar. Thurgh þis Ermony þe mare men passez and commez to þe see of Perse. Fra þe forsaid citee of Artiron men gase to a hill þat es called Sabissebella or f.62b. Sabissacolle. And þare nere es anoþer hill þat men callez Ararath, bot þe Iews callez it Thano, whare Noe schippe restid after þe flude. And ȝit es it þare, and may be sene on ferrom in clere weder. þat hill es seuen myle hegh. Sum saise þai hafe bene þare att and putte þaire fyngers in þe hole whare þe fende ȝode out, when Noe said *Benedicite*; bot þai say noȝt sothe. For þer may na man ga vp on þat hill for snawe, þat es all way

H.f.32. il demandoit, et qil estoit fool et ne la purroit auoir, qar il ne deuoit demander qe chose terriene et elle nestoit mie terriene mais espirituelle. Et le roi dit qil ne voloit autre chose. Et la dame respondy, "Puisque ieo ne vous puisse retriene de votre fol corage, ieo vouz donne sanz souhaider, et a touz ceaux qi vous descenderont; vous auerez guerre sanz ferme pees,⁴ et tot dys iusques a noefisme degree serreez en subieccioun de voz enemys, et serrez dez biens boussoignous."⁵ Et puis vnqes rois de Hermenie ne fuist en pees⁶ ne eust plentee des biens, 30 et si ad il tot dis estee souz⁷ tribuit de Sarazins. Item le filz dun poure homme y ueilla auxi et souhaida qil poait bien cheuir et estre fortunes es marchandises; et la dame ly ottoira. Et il deuient ly puis riche et ly puis renomée marchant qi poait estre en mer ou en terre, et tant estoit riches qil ne sauoit la millisme part de ceo qil auoit; si estoit puis sage de souhaider qe nestoit le roi. Item vn chiuale de Temple y ueilla auxi, et souhaida vn bourse tut dis plien dor; et la dame luy ottoira. Mes elle⁸ ly dit qil auoit demande la destruccioun de lour ordre, pur laffiance de celle bourse et pur le grant orgoil qil aueroient; et ensi fuist il. Et tote foiz garde soy bien, qi veillera; qar, sil dort,⁹ il est perdu, qe homme ne le verra mais. Ceo nest mie la droit chemin pur aler¹⁰ as parties qe iay desuis nomez; mes qi vorroit veoir celles merueilles, il purroit faire.

Et pur ceo, qi voet aler droit chemyn, lem vait par¹¹ Trapazonde vers la Grande Hermanie a vne cite qad a noun Artiron.¹² Celle soloit estre molt bone et mult plentiuouse, mes ly Turks lont forement vastee. La entour ne croist point de vin, ne de fruit si trespoy noun. En ceo pais est la terre puis haute qe autre part, et si fait grant froide.¹³ Et si ad multz des bonz eawes et des bons fontaignes, qi veignent 40 par desoutz terre de flum de Paradys, qi ad a noun Eufrate, qest a vne iournee pres de celle cite. Et vient celle riuer par deuers Ynde desouz terre et resourt en la terre de Altasar.¹⁴ Et passe homme par ceste Armenie et entre en la mer de Persie. De celle cite de Artiron vait homme a vne montaigne qad a noun Sabssacolle.¹⁵ Et la delez y ad vn autre montaigne qad a noun Ararach, mes ly Iuys lappellent Thanez,¹⁶ ou larche Noe se arresta. Et vnquore est elle sur celle montaigne, et la veoit homme de loinz, quant il est cler temps. Et ad la montaigne bien vii. lieues de haut. Et dient ascuns qils ont este, veu et touche larche et boute lour doy es pertuz par ou lenemy issist, quant Noe disoit *Benedicite*; mes cils qi dient tiels paroules dient lour voluntee. Qar homme ne puet monter sur celle montaigne pur grant¹⁷

¹ with, E.; withouten pees, C.

⁴ sen faire pez, G.

⁷ sanz, S.

¹⁰ pur aler—droit chemyn, om. S.; and so G., with "par ou" before "lem vait."

¹² Articoun, G., but "Atiron" below; Artyroun, C.

¹³ Sabssacolle—a noun, om. S.; Sabissacol, G. R.; Sabissocolle, C.

¹⁷ pur grant—monter, om. G.

² of the Sarrazines, C.

⁵ de bien souffroiteus, G.

⁸ il, H.; elle, R.

¹¹ before "lem vait."

¹³ est la terre molt haut et fet fort chaud, S.; and so G.

³ wyn, C.; om. E.

⁶ Darmenie fuit en pais, S.; qui fut en ce pais, G.

⁹ sil dort, S. G. R.; sil dormit, over erasure, H.

¹¹ de, S. G.

¹⁴ Altafar, G.; Altazar, C.

¹⁶ Tanaon, S.; Thano, G.; Chano, R.; Taneez, C.

þer apon, bathe wynter and somer. Ne þer come neuer man þerat sen Noe was, bot a mounk, þat thurgh grace of Godd 3ode þider and broȝt þeine with him a burde of þe schippe, þe whilk es ȝit in ane abbay at þe fote of þe hill. Þis ilke mounke desired gretely to ga vp on þat hill; and so apon a day he afforced him þerto and went vpward on þe hill. And by he had gane þe thridd parte of þe hill, he was so wery þat he myȝt na ferther, and he rested him þare and fell on slepe. And, when he wakned, he fand him doune agayne at þe fote of þe hill. And þan he besoght Godd þat he wald suffer him ga vp; and ane aungell come to him and bad him ga vp. And he did so, and broght þeine þe forsaid plaunke. And seyne come neuer man þare; and þerfore þai say wrang þat saise þai hafe bene þare.

A lytill¹ þeine es þe citee of Dayne, þe whilk Noe founded; and also a lytill þeine es þe cite of Anye, in þe whilk ware wont to be i^m kirkes. Fra þe forsaid hill men gase to a cite þat es called Taurizo, and it es a faire
f.63. cite and a gude. Besyde þat citee es a hill of salt, and þeroff may ilke man take what he will. And þare dwellez many Cristen men, payand tribute to þe Sarzenes. Þe citee of Taurizo was sum tyme called Faxis; and it es ane of the gude citez of marchandisez in þe werld, and þider commez marchandez oute of many landes. For þare may þai fynd for to sell all maner of marchandise þat þai will spirre efter. Þis cite es in þe emperour land of Persy, and men saise þat þe emperour takez mare of þat citee to customez of marchandise þan þe ricchest Cristen king of þe werld may dispend.

Fra þis cite men gase by many tounes and castelles and many iournez toward Inde and commez to a cite þat men [calles] Sodonie, þe whilk es x. day iournez fra Taurizo; and it es a faire cite and a noble. And þare dwellez þe emperour of Perse all þe somer, by cause þe cuntree es calde. And þare er many grete riuers, þat will bere grete schippe. Seyne men gase toward Inde many day iournez thurgh many cuntreez, and commez
to a cite þat es called Cassach, þe whilk es a gude citee and a riche and plentifous of corne and oþer maner of vitailles. At þat citee, as men saise, mette þe three kynges þat went to make offerand to Criste in Bethleem; and it es fra Bethleem three and fyfty day iourneez. Fra þis citee men gase til anoþer cite, þat es called Beth; and it es a day iournee fra þe Grauelly See. Þis es þe nobillest within þe empire of Perse; and sum callez it Cardabago, and sum Vapa.² Þe Sarzenes þare saise þat þer may na Cristen men [dwell] in þat citee na while þat
f.63b. ne þai schall dye; þe cause why, wate na man. Fra þeine men gase many iourneez by many citez, þe whilk ware ouerlang to rekken, to þai comme til a citee þat es called Carnaa, þat was wont to be so grete þat þe walle

H.f.32b. fuisoun de noief, qest totdis sur celle montaigne, et en estee et en yuer, si qe nul ne puet monter. Ne vnqes nul ne monta puis le temps de Noe fors vne moigne, qi par la grace de Dieu reporta vn des planches, qi vnquore est le moustier au pie de la montaigne. Et delez est la cite Dayne, qe Noe fonda; et assez pres est la cite de Any, en la quelle y soloit auoir mil esglises. Mes sur celle montaigne monter cys moigne
auoit grant desir; si safforcea vn iour de monter. Et, quant il estoit a la terce partie de la montaigne, il estoit si lassez qil ne poait pluís auant; si se reposa et dormy. Et, quant il enueila, il se troua la ieus al pie de la montaigne. Si pria deuoutement qe nostre Seigneur le vousist lesser monter; si vient vn angel et ly dit qil montast. Et si fist il, et vnqes puis nul; pur quoi homme ne doit croire tiels parouls.

De celle montaigne vait homme a la cite de Thamiso,³ qi soloit estre appelle Faxis,⁴ qest mult bele cite et grande et vne des meillours qi soit el monde pur marchander. La vont totes marchandz pur achater auoir de pois. Ceo est en la terre lempereur de Persie. Et dit homme qe lempereur prent pluís en celle cite pur cause des marchandises qe ne fait le pluís riche roi Cristien de monde, qar ils tollent⁵ qe il ad de touz marchandises sanz estimacioun. Delez celle cite y ad vne montaigne de siel; et de cel siel prent chescun tant come il veot pur saler totes choses. La demoerent multz des Cristiens souz le tribuit les Sarazins.

Et de celle cite passe homme par mointe ville et par mointe chaustel en alant vers Ynde iusques a la cite de Sadonie,⁶ qest a x. iournees de Thamiso et est mult noble cite et mult grande. Et la demoert lempereur de Persains en estee, qar le pais est assez froide. Et si ad des bons
riuieres, portantz nauie. Puis vait homme le chemyn vers Ynde par mointes iournees et par mointes pais iusques a vne cite qad a noun Cassac,⁷ qest mult noble cite et mult plentiuouse des bledz, des vins, et des touz autres biens. Ceo est la cite ou luy iii. rois entrecontrerent et assemblerent par la grace de Dieu pur aler a Bethleem, pur veoir nostre Seigneur et pur le adoerer et luy faire present dor, dencens et de mirre. Et y ad de celle cite iusques a Bethleem liii. iournees. De celle cite vait homme a vne autre cite, qad a noun Geth,⁸ qest a vne iournee de la Mer Arenouse. Ceo est la meilloure cite qe lempereur de Persye ayt en tote sa terre; et lappellent ils la char⁹ Dabago et le vin Vapa. Et
dient luy paiens qe Cristiens ne poient demorren en celle cite ne durer ne viure qils ne moerrent briefment; et ne sciēt comme pur quelle cause. Puis vait homme par mointe cite et par mointe ville, qi trop serroient long a compter, iusques a la cite de Cornaa.¹⁰ qi soloit estre si

¹ A lytill—kirkes, in C. higher up, as in the French text.

² And þei clepen flessch þere Dabago and the wyn Vapa, C. The printed text of C. however reads: "And thei clepen it there Chardabago; and others clepen it Vapa."

³ Tauriso, S.; Thauriso, G. C.; Thamysse, R.; and so below.

⁴ colent, S.; cueillent, G.

⁵ Geth (Beth, printed text), C.

⁶ Cadonie, S. G.; Sodom, R.; Sadonye, C.

⁷ La appellent char, S.

⁸ Faxis (Taxis, printed text), C.

⁹ Cassak, C.

¹⁰ Cornaa, C.

aboute was xxv. myle; and þare endez þe land of þe emperour of Perse. And,¹ if 3e will wit whatkyn letters þai vse, here 3e may here þam :—Alma, Bem, Cem, Dem, Ethin, Folthin, Gith, Hith, Iothin, Kinyn, Lathin, Moin, Nichoin, Ozeph, Phisan, Quinth, Yr, Seth, Toith, Vith, Xith, Ya, Zofin.

CHAPTER XVII.

[Of the lond of Job, and of his age; of the aray of men of Caldee; of the lond where wommen duellen withouten compagne of men; of the knouleche and vertues of the verray dyamaunt.]

FRA men passe fra Carnaa þai entre in to þe land of Iob; and it es a faire cuntree and a gude, and grete plentee þerin of fruytz and oþer riches. And þat land es called Sweze. In þat land es þe citee of Theman. And 3e schall vnderstand þat [Iob] was Are son of Gosra, and he was prince and lord of þat cuntree. And he was so riche þat he knew noȝt þe end of his gudez by a hundreth partes. And if all he 10 ware a paynymme, neuer þe latter he serued Godd full deuoutely after þe custom of his lawe, whas seruyse was acceptable to Godd. Afterward it befell thurgh þe sufferaunce of Godd þat sudaynely he fell to grete mischeffe and grete pouert, when he was of elde iii^{xx} 3ere and ten.² Bot Godd, hafand reward til his grete pacience and his mekeness, sent him agayne mare riches þan euer he had before and mare wirschepe. þe whilk efterward, when þe kyng of Ydumee was deed, was made kyng of Ydumee, and, as sum saise, his name was chaunged and f.64. called Iobab. And þare he liffed clxx. 3ere; and, when he dyed, he was of age cc. 3ere and xlviii. In þe land of Iob es na defaute of thing þat es nedefull to þe liffyng of man. þare er hilles whare men findez manna mare plentifully and better þan in any oþer place. Manna es called breed of aungels, and it es a thing riȝt whyte and swete, 3a swetter þan sugur or hony. And it commez of þe dew of heuen, þat fallez on þe herbes, and þare it 20 coagules and waxez white. And men duse it in medecines for grete men and riche for costyfnes and for clensing of corrupte blude.

H.f.33. grande qe ly murs enuiroun tenoient bien xxv. lieues de circuit. Ly murs y pierent vnquore, mes elle nest mie tot enhabitee. Et de Cornaa vait homme par moindres terres et par moindres villes iusques a la terre Iob. Et la finist³ la terre al emperour de Persie. Et si vous voillez sauoir les lettres de Persains, et coment elles ont nomis, sachez qelles sont tieles.⁴

CHAPITRE XVII.

De la terre Job et de son age; des apparail des gentz de Caldee; de la terre ou femmes demoiroient sanz compaignie des homes; de la conisaunce et des vertues de verray dyamant, ensemblement oue plusours.

PUIS au departir de la cite de Cornaa lem entre en la terre Iob, qest mult beal pais; et y ad grande abundance de touz biens. Et appelle homme la terre Iob Sweze.⁵ En celle terre est la cite de Theman.⁶ Iob fuist⁷ paen et fuist filz Are de Gosra,⁷ et tenoit celle terre come prince de pais. Et estoit si riche qil ne sauoit le centisme de ceo qil auoit. Et, combien qil fuist paen, 30 nientmoins il seruoit bien nostre Seignur solonc la loy, et nostre Seignur preignoit bien son seruice en grie. Et, quant il cheust en pouertee, il auoit dage lxxviii. ans. Et apres, quant nostre Seignur auoit veu sa pacience, qestoit si grande, il le remist a richesse et a hautesse de rechief; et puis fuist roy de Ydumee apres le roi Esau. Et, quant il fuist roi, il fuist appelez Iobab. Et en ceo roialme il vesqui puis clxx. ans; issy eust, quant il morust, ccxlviii. ans. En celle terre Iob ni ad defaute de nulle chose necessaire a corps de homme. La y ad montaignes, ou homme troue grant fuisoun de manne pluis assez et meillour qe homme ne troeue autre part. Manne est appelle pain des anges. Ceo est vne chose blanc, mout douce et mult delicieuse, et assez pluis douce qe mel ou qe sucre. Vient de la rosee de ciel, qi chiet sur les herbes en celle pais et se coagule et deuient blanche et douce. Homme le met en medecines pur les riches hommes pur lascher le ventre et pur espurger malueis sang, qar elle despure le sang et houte malencolie.

¹ And ȝif 3ee wole knowe the lettres of Persaynes and what names þei han, þei ben suche as I last deuysed ȝou, but not in sownynge of here woordes, C. This sentence, however, is not included in the printed editions. Over the letters in E. are those of the English alphabet in regular order.

² corrected to "xviii."

³ finit, S.; fenist, G.; fuist, H.; finist, R.

⁴ S. H. R. have here a blank space. In G. the alphabet is: Alim, boin, doin, ethim, fochim, gith, hith, iothim, kamur, cein, lathim, moin, nichom, oriph, phisam, qumuch, yr, eth, thoich, vith, ya, zosim.

⁵ albere, G.

⁶ Themar, S.; Thamar, G.

⁷ filz de Gosra, S.; filz de Gosoa, G.; fitz Are de Gosera, R.; Are of Gosra is sone, C.

þis land of Iob marchez on þe land of Caldee, þe whilk es a grete land; and þaire langage es gretter and mare generall þan of any land on þat syde þe see. And men gase þider by þe toure of Babilon, as I said before, whare þe first chaungeyng of tunges was made; and it es fra Caldee four day iournez. In þe rewme of Caldee er riȝt faire men and wele apparailled in clathes of gold and precious stanes. Bot þe wymmen er riȝt layth and ill araid,¹ and þai ga barfote. And þai hafe on ane vnthrifty gairement, wyde and schort by þe knee, and it has lang slefez and wyde, as it ware of blak mounkes, hingand to þaire fete. Paire hare of þaire heueds es blak and grete, and hengez doune aboute þaire scholdres. And þir wymmen er riȝt blak and vggly to behold and of euill nurture. In þe rewme of Caldee es a citee þe whilk es called Vr, wherin Thare, Abraham fader, dwelled sum f.64b. tyme; and þat was in þe tyme of Ninus, þat was king of Babiloyne, of Araby and of Egipte. He, þis Ninus, made þe cite of Niniue, bot Noe began it first; and by cause þat Ninus endid it, þerfore is it called Niniue 10 after his name. In Niniue was Thoby grauen, of wham Haly Writte spekez. Oute of þe citee of Vr went Abraham at þe bidding of Godd, after þat his fader was deed, and tuke with him Sara his wyf and his broþer son Loth, for þat tyme he had na childer him self, and come in to þe land of Canaan and dwelled þare in a place þat es called Sychem. Þis Loth was he þat was saued at þe subuersioun of Sodom and Gomorre. þe folk of Caldee has a propre langage and propre lettres and figures; and þir er þe figures of þaire lettres²

Besyde Caldee es þe land of Amazoun, whilk³ we call þe mayden land or þe land of wymmen; for þare dwellez na men þerin, bot all anely wymmen. Noȝt, as sum men saise, for þat na men may liffe in þat land, bot forþi þat wymmen will noȝt suffer men for to hafe gouernaunce of þe rewme. For þare was sum tyme a kyng in þat land, þe whilk hight Colopheus, and men dwelland þerin as duse in oþer cuntrez. And it befell þat þis kyng had were with þe kyng of Sithy, and so befell þat he went ane tyme to bataile agaynes þe grete kyng his f.65. aduersary, and was slayne in þe stoure and all þe grete men of his rewme with him. And, when þe qwene and 20 oþer ladys of þat land herd tell þat þe kyng and þe lordes ware þus slayne, þai gadred þam togyder with ane asscent and armed þam wele and tuke with þam grete company of wymmen and slewgh doune clenly all þe men þat ware left amanges þam. And sen þat tyme hiderward wald þai neuer late men dwell with þam ower seuen days, ne neuer suffer knafe childe be nurished amanges þam. Bot, when þai will hafe felischepe of men, þai

Ceste terre Iob marchist al roialme de Caldee. Ceste terre de Caldee est mult grande; et ceo est la langage qi plus grant est qe nul altre par⁴ de la mer. Lem passe, a aler la, par la tour de Babiloigne, ceo est la grande Babiloigne, de quelle ieo vous ay autrefoith parle, ou les langages furent changez primerement, qest a iiii.⁵ iournees de Caldee. En le roialme de Caldee sont ly hommes belles et vont mult noblement. Et les femmes sont tres laides et malment vestiez, et vont toutes nupiez. Et portent vn cheitif garnement large et court 30 iusques a genoilz, et sont lez manches longues et larges⁶ en guise dun ffrok de moigne. Et ont les manches pendanz iusques as piez; et ont lour cheueux grandz noirs pendantz tot entour les espaulz. Et sont femmes bien noirs⁷ laides et hidouses; et certes elles ne sont⁸ nient belles, mes elles sont mal graciouse. En ceo roialme de Caldee, en vne cite qad noun Hur, demorroit Thare⁹ le pere Abraham; et la nasqui Abraham. Et ceo fuist en cel temps qe Ninus¹⁰ fuist¹¹ roi de Babiloigne, Darrabe et Degipte. Cilz Ninus parfist la cite de Niniue, la quelle Noe auoit auant commence affaire; et pur ceo qe Ninus¹² la parfit, il lappelloit de son noun Niniue. La gist Thobie le prophete, de qi Seinte Escripiture emparle. Et de celle cite de Hur par le commandement de Dieu sen party Abraham apres la mort son pere, et enmesna Saray sa femme et Loth le filz de son ffrere ouesqe luy, pur ceo qil nauoit point denfant, et ala demorren en la terre de Chanan en vn lieu qad a noun Sichem. Et ceo fuist cis Loth qi fuist salue, quant Sodome et Gomorre et les autres cites furent arsez et funderent en abisme, la ou la Mer Mort est, si come ieo vous ay autrefoiz dit. En celle terre de Caldee ils ont propre langage et leurs propres lettres, tielles qi cy sont.¹³ 40

Puis delez la terre de Caldee est Amazoine, ceo est la terre de Femynie,¹⁴ ceo est le roialme ou y ny ad qe femmes. Non pas, si come ascuns dient, qe ly hommes ne purroient viure en ceo pais, mes elles ne veullent mie qe ly hommes aient la seignurie de elles. Quar au temps iadys il y auoit vn roi en ceo pais, et demorroient ly hommes marriez, si come autre part. Sy auient qe cis roi auoit guerre a ceux de Sichie,¹⁵ et auoit a noun Colopeus,¹⁶ le quel fuist occis en la bataile ouesqe tot le bon sang de son roialme. Et, quant la roigne et les autres nobles dames veoient qelles estoient toutes vieues, qe tot le bon sang estoit perdu, elles sarmeront et, come desesperes,¹⁷ elles tuerent totes les hommes de pais qestoient remis¹⁸; qar elles voloient¹⁹ qe totes les femmes fuissent viefs, si come elles estoient. Et depuis en cea ne vousiront vnqes qe homme ne demorrast entre elles plus haut qe vii. iours, ne qenfant madl fuist norry entre elles. Mes, quant elles

¹ righte foule and euylle arrayed, C.

² þat is the lond of Femynye, C.

³ et larges—manches, om. G.

⁴ Thare, om. S. G.

⁵ Ninis, G.

⁶ S. H. R. have here a blank space. G. gives the forms of the letters, without their names, but they are unintelligible. and then begins the next sentence without a break.

⁷ Cichie, S.; Sychie, G.

⁸ demoures, G.

⁹ Twenty-two characters here follow, but they are too corrupt to be recognisable.

¹⁰ qi nul altre part, S.; qe autre part, G.

¹¹ femmes mal noris, S.; mal enseigniez, G.

¹² Niniris, G.

¹³ iii., S. G.

¹⁴ ne sont—elles sont, om. G.

¹⁵ fuist—Ninus, om. G.

C. reads "propre lettres, suche as þee may see here after,"

¹⁶ dez Femmes, S.

¹⁷ come especes, S.; a lespee, G.

¹⁸ Colepense, S.; Colopense, G.

¹⁹ qar elloient, H.

drawe þam to þe syde of þe land, whare þaire lemmans dwellez, and þare þai dwell with þam viii. or ix. days and þan wendez hame agayne. And, if any of þam be with childe and hafe a son, þai kepe it till it can speke and ga and ete by it self and þan sendez it to þe fader, or elles slaez it. And, if it be a mayden childe, þai schere away hir a pappe,¹ of a womman of grete astate hir left pappe, and brynnez it, for scho sall þe better bere hir schelde; and, if þai be of lawe degree, þai schere away þe riȝt pappe, for² it sall noȝt lette þam to schote, for þai can riȝt wele þe craft of schotyng. Þare es euermare in þat rewme a qwene þat has þe gouernaunce of þe land, and til hir þai er all obeyand. And þis qwene es euermare chosen by eleccioun, for þai chese hir þat es þe doghtyest in armes. Þir wymmen er noble werrayours and wys; and þerfore kynges of oþer rewmes neghe þam wagez þam for to helpe þam in þaire weres. Þis land of Amazoun is bot ane ile, closed all aboute with water, oute taken twa f.65b. placez, whare er twa entreez; and bezond þir waters dwellez þaire forsaid lemmannes, to þe whilk þai may ga, 10 when þam list, for to hafe bodily lyking of þam. Be syde þe land of Amazoun es a cuntree þat es called Termegutte, a faire cuntree and a lykand; and for þe grete bewtee and bountee of þis cuntree kyng Alexander wald hafe sett þare þe first citee of Alysaunder. For in þat land he made xii. Alysaunderes, of þe whilk þis es þe first; bot now it es called Celsite.

On þe toþer syde of Caldee, toward þe southe, es þe land of Ethiopy, þe whilk es a grete land and lastez vntil Egipte. Ethiopy es diuised in twa principale parties, þat es to say in þe south party and þe est.³ Þe south party es called Mauritayne, and þe folk of þis party es blacker þan of þe este party.⁴ In þis party also es a well þat on þe day es so calde þat na man may drink þaroff, and on þe nyght so hate þat na man may suffer his hand þerin. Bezond Mauritayne, for to wende by see toward þe southe, es a grete cuntree, bot it es inhabitable by cause of þe owtrage hete⁵ of þe sonne. In Ethiopy all þe waters er so trublez and so salt for ouermykill hete of 20 þe sonne, þat na man dare wele dele with þam. And þe folk of þat land will lightly be drunken; and þai hafe lytill appetite to þaire mete; and þai hafe comounly þe flux; and þai liffe bot schort tyme. And in þat land er folk of diuerse schappes. For þare er sum þat hase bot a fote; and þai will rynne so fast apon þat a fote þat it f.66. es wonder to see. And þat ilke fote es so mykill þat it will couer and outhre all his body for þe sonne. In Ethiopy⁶ er zung childer white hared, and, when þai er of elde, þaire hare waxez blakk. In þis land of Ethiopy es þe citee of Saba, of whilk ane of þe three kynges þat offerd till oure Lord was kyng.

H.f.34. voillent companie de homme, elles se trehont vers les terres marchisauntz et ont lour amys, queux elles visitent et demoerent delez eaux viii. iours ou x. et puis se retrehent ariere. Et, si elles ont enfant et il soit madle, ou elles lenuoient au pierre, quant il sciет aler et manger soul, ou elles loccient. Et, si ceo est femele, elles houstent lune mamelle dune feer chaud; si ceo est femme de lignage, la sinistre pur miel porter lescuit, et, si ceo est femme de pie,⁷ la destre, qelle ne lempesche au trere dul arc turkois, qar⁸ elles trehont mult bien del arc. En 30 cest terre y a vne roigne, qi gouerne tot le pais, et totes sunt obeisantz a luy. Et tot dys font roigne par elleccioun de celle qi est pluis vaillante en armes. Elles sont⁹ bones guerrieresses et pruez, sages et vaillantez; et vont bien souent en soudes al aide des autres rois pur argent gayner, et se mainteignent¹⁰ mult vigouusement.¹¹ Celle terre de Amazoine, ceo est vne isle tot enuirone deawe, forsque en ii. lieux, ou il y a ii. entreez; et outre celle eawe demoerent ly hommes qi sont lour amys, ou elles vont solacier, quant elles veullent. Delez Amazoine est la terre de Tarmegite,¹² qest vn pais mult bon et mult delitable; et pur la bontee du pais fist ly roy Alisandre faire sa primere cite de Alisandre, dont il en fist xii. cites ensi appelez. Mes celle est meinteignant appelle Celsite.¹³

Del altre coustee du Caldee vers mydy est Ethiope, vn grant pais qi sestent iusques au fyn de Egipte. Ethiope est deuise en ii.¹⁴ parties principales, ceo est en la partie orientele et la partie meridionelle. La quelle partie meridionelle est appelle Moritane; et y sont les genz pluis noirs assez qen lautre partie. En celle partie y ad vne fontaigne, dont de iour leawe est si froide qe homme ne la purroit boire et de nuyt elle est si chaude qe homme ne purroit soeffrir sa main dedeins. Et en outre celle partie vers mydy, a passer par la mer Occiane, y ad 40 grande terre et grant pais, mes homme ne purroit habiter pur la grant ardour de solael, si fait chaud en celle terre. En Ethiope¹⁵ totes les riuieres et totes les eawes sont troublez et sont vn poy salez pur la grand chaulour qi y est. Et lez genz de cest pais sont legerement yueres; et nont mie grant appetit de manger; et ont comunement flux de ventre; et ne viuent mie longement. En Ethiope sont moutz des diuerses gentz; et est Ethiope appelez Cusys. Il y ad de tiele gent qi nount qe vn pie; et si vount si toust qe ceo est merueille. Et est ly pie si large qil fait vmbre a tot le corps encontre le solail, quant ils se chouchent enuers. En Ethiope, quant ly enfantz sont petitz, ils sont totes chanuz¹⁶; et, quant ils deueignont grant, ils ont les cheueux touz noirs. En Ethiope est la cite de Saba et¹⁷ la terre dont vn des iii. rois fuist sire, qi vient requirir nostre Seignur a Bethleem.

¹ þei don away with on pappe with an hote hiren, C.

⁴ and þei ben clept Mowres, adds C.

⁶ In Ethiope, whan the children ben zonge and lytill, þei ben all ȝalowe; and whan þat þei wexen of age, þat ȝalowness turneth to ben all blak, C.

⁷ de pee, S.; despee, G.

¹⁰ mainteignant, H.

¹⁸ Colcite, S.

¹⁵ Egipte, S.; si fait si chaut en celle partie de Ethiope qe, G.

¹⁷ en, S.; Saba de la quele vn, G.

² for to scheten with bowe turkeys, C.

⁵ the feruent brennyng, C.

⁸ qar—arc, om. S. G.

¹¹ vig. en armes, S. G.

¹⁴ trois, G.

³ written over "northe."

⁹ elles sont—vaillantez, om. G.

¹² Turmagute, S. G.; Tarmegyte, C.

¹⁶ ils ont les cheueux chanus, G.

Fra Ethiopy men gase intill Inde thurgh many diuerse cuntrez.¹ And 3e schall vnderstand þat Inde es diuised in three partys, þat es to say in Inde þe mare, þe whilk es a hegh cuntree and a hate; and in Inde þe lesse, þe whilk es a temperee land, and it es toward þe south; þe thridd parte es toward þe northe, and it es so calde a cuntree þat for þe grete calde and continuele frost þe water congelez in to cristall. And apon þe roche of cristall growez gude dyamaundes, þat er of þe colour of cristall, bot þai er mare dymme coloured þan þe cristall and broune as oile. And þai er so hard þat þare may na metell pulisch þam ne breke þam. Oþer dyamaundes fyndez men in Araby, þat er noȝt so gude, whilk er mare tendre. And sum er fun in Cypre, þat er mare tendre þan þe toþer; and þerfor may þai þe lyghtlyer be pulischt. Also men fyndez sum in Macedoyne; bot þase of Inde er þe best. And sum er fun oft tymes in a masse þat commez oute of þe myne, whare men fyndez gold, and þase er als hard as þase of Inde. And, if all it be so þat men fyndez gude dyamaundes in Inde 10 apon þe roche of cristall, also men fyndez dyamaundes gude and hard apon þe roche of þe adamaund in þe see f.66b. and apon hilles also, of þe mykilnes of hesill nuttes. And þai er foure cornerd of þaire awen growyng and foure squarre. And þai growe sammen, male and female; and þai er nurischt with dew of heuen. And þai engender and consayuez, as it ware, in þaire kynde and bringes furth smale childer, and so þai multiply and growez all way. I haue many tymes assaied and sene, þat, if a man take þam with a lytill of þe roche þat þai growe on, so þat þai be taken vp by þe rutes and oft sythes wette with þe dew of May, þai growe ilke a ȝere visibilly, so þat þe smale waxez grete.² A man sall bere þe dyamaund at his left syde; and þan es it of mare vertu þan on þe riȝt syde, for þe strenth of his growyng es toward þe north, whilk es þe left syde of þe werld and þe left syde of a man, when he turnez his visage toward þe este.

And, if 3e will knawe þe vertuz of þe dyamaund, I sall tell ȝow as³ Ysidre *libro 16 Ethicorum, capitulo de 20 cristallo*, and Bertilmew *De Proprietatibus Rerum, libro 16, capitulo de adamante*, saise. Þe dyamaund giffez to him þat berez it on him hardyness, if it be freely giffen him, and it kepez þe lymmes of a man hale. It giffez him grace to ouercomme his enmys, if his cause be riȝtwys, bathe in were and in motyng. It kepez him in his riȝt witte. It kepez him fra stryfe, debates, ryotes, and fra ill dremes and fantasies, and fra wikked spirits.

H.f.34b. De Ethiope lem vait en Ynde par mointez diuerses pais; et appelle homme la haut Ynde Euilac.⁴ Et est Ynde deuise principalment en iii. parties, en Ynde la maiour, qest trechaud,⁵ et Ynde la menour, qest attempre pays, qi se tient a la terre de Mede, et la terce partie vers septentrion, qest tres froide, si qe pur fine froidure et continuel gelee leawe deuient cristal. Et sur celles roches de cristal creissent ly bons dyamantz, qi semblent de colour trouble, cristal ianuastre trehant a colour doile. Et cils⁶ sont si dures qe homme ne les poet polir. Et appelle homme les dyamantz en ceo pais Hamese. Des autres dyamantz y troeue homme en Arabe, qi ne sont mie si bons; et sont pluis brunz et pluis tendres. Et des autres y troeue homme en lisle de Cipre, qi sont vnqore pluis tendrez; et les poet homme bien polir. 30 Et en la terre de Macedoigne homme troeue auxi. Mes les meillours et les pluis precieuses sont en Ynde. Et si troeue homme meinfoitz des dyamantz mult durez en la masse qi ist hors la ou homme fine or de la mine, quant homme debrise celle masse par menues pieces. Et auient ascunefoitz qe homme troeue vn auxi gros come vn pois, et ascunefoitz moindre. Et sont auques⁷ auxi dures come cils de Ynde, et taillent acier et voires legerement. Et, combien qe homme y troeue des bons dyamantz en Ynde sur les roches de cristal, nientmoins homme les troeue pluis comunement sur les roches dyamantz en la mer et sur montaignes ou il y ad mine dor. Et croissent plusours ensemble, lun petit lautre grant; et y ad bien de la grosseur dune⁸ feue, et tel y ad auxi gros come vne noiz de coudre. Et touz sont a quarreures et a pointez de lour nature, et dessure et desouz, sanz nul affaitement de mayn de homme. Et croissent⁹ ensemble, madle et femelle; et se norissent de la rosee de ciel. Et conceiuent¹⁰ et engendrent et font des petitiz filz delez eaux, qi multiplient et encroissent touz les ans. Ieo les moinfoitz assaie qe, si homme les garde ouesque un poy de la roche, et qe homme ne¹¹ les houste de lour racyne et homme les moille souent de la rosee de may, ils croissent touz les ans visiblement, et ly petitiz deuiegnent bien grantz; qar, auxi come le pierle 40 fine se congree et fait¹² et soy engrosse de la rosee de ciel, ensi fait le verray dyamant, et auxi come la pierle de sa nature prent reondure, auxi le dyamant par diuine vertu prent quarreure. Et doit homme touz dyamantz porter a seneistre couste, si est de pluis grande vertue qe a deistre, qar la force de lour naissance vient deuers septentrion, ceo est la sinistre partie de monde et a la sinistre partie de homme, quant il tourne sa face vers orient.

H.f.35. Et, si vous plect assauoir les vertues del dyamant, combien qe vous les aiez en voz lapidaires, pur ceo qe chescun nel sciет mie, ieo le vous mettray icy, solonc ceo qe cils doutre mere lafferment, des queux tote science et philosophie est venue. Ly dyamant donne a celui qi la porte hardiesse et animosite,¹³ et garde les membres du corps entiers. Et doigne victorie des enemys en plait et en guerre, si la cause est iuste. Et tient le portant en son bon sen, et le garde dez tencions et de riotz et de malueis songes et de fantasies et de illusions des malueiz

¹ and men clepen the high Ynde Emlak, adds C.

² For right as the fyn perl congeleth and wexeth gret of the dew of heuene, right so doth the verray dyamand. And right as the perl of his owne kynde taketh roundness, right so the dyamand be vertu of God taketh squareness, adds C.

³ as men may fynden in the lapidarye, þat many men knowen noght, I schall telle ȝow as þei bezonde the see seyn and affermen, of whom all science and all philosophie cometh from, C.

⁴ Euilant, S. G.; Euylac, R.; Emlak, C.

⁵ et cils—polir, om. S. G.

⁶ et croissent et couuent, G.

⁷ et fait, om. S. G.

⁸ treshaut, S.; tres hault pais, G.; tres chaud, R.

⁹ ascuns, S.; aucuns, G.

¹⁰ et couient et engendrent, S.; et conceiuent, om. G.

¹¹ ne—mie, om. S. G.

¹² et fait, om. S. G.

¹³ et animosite, om. G.

And if any man þat deles with sorcery or enchaumentz wald grefe him þat beres þe dyamaund, he schall noȝt dere him. Also þer sall na wylde beste assayle him þat berez it, ne ȝit na venymous beste. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat þe dyamaund schuld be giffen freely, noȝt couaited ne boght, and þan it es of mare vertu and makes
f.67. a man mare stalworth agayne his enmys. It helez him þat es lunatyc; and, if venym or puyson be broȝt in place whare þe dyamaund es, alsone it waxez moyst and begynnez to swete, and men may wele polisch it. Bot sum werkmen for malice will noȝt polisch it, for þat men schuld trowe þat þai myȝt noȝt be pulischt. In Inde also may men fynd dyamaundz of violet colour and sum what browne, þe whilk er riȝt gude and full precious. Bot sum men luffez þam noȝt so wele as þir oȝer þat I hafe spoken off before. Neuerþeles me think þam als gude and as precious as þe oȝer; for sikerly I hafe oft sythez sene þam assaid. þai hafe oȝer also, þe whilk er white as cristall, bot þai er mare dymme and truble; neuerþeles þai er riȝt gude and of grete vertu. And þai er nere hand 10 all foure sqware and poynted, bot sum of þam er of þaire awen kynde three cornerd and sum sex.

ȝit will I tell ȝow mare of þis stane, and¹ namely for þaim þat berez þis stane to diuerse cuntreez for to sell. He þat will by þis stane, it es nedefull till him þat he cunn perfutely knawe þat stane for þe dessait of þam þat sellez þam. For oft tymes þai sell to þaim þat hase na grete knawynge of stanes in steed dyamaundez cristalles pale and oȝer maner of stanes, þe whilk er noȝt so hard as dyamaundes, and comounly þaire poyntes er broken off and þai will lightly be polischt. Neuerþeles sum werkmen will noȝt polisch þam fully, for to gere men wene
f.67b. þat þai may noȝt be polischt forhand. Neuerþeles men may assay þe dyamaund in þis manere. First for to take þe dyamaund and rubbe it on þe safir or on cristall or sum oȝer precious stanez or on clene burnyscht stele. And seyne take² þe adamand, þat drawez þe nedill til him, by þe whilk schippe men er gouerned in þe see, and lay þe dyamaund apon þe adamaund and lay a nedill before þe adamaund. And, if þe dyamaund be gude and 20 vertuous, þe adamand drawes noȝt þe nedill to him, whils þe dyamand es þare. And þis es þe assay whilk þai make beȝond þe see. Bot it fallez oft tymeȝ þat þe gude dyamaund loseȝ his vertu by defaute and incontinence of him þat beres it. And þerfore it es nedefull to make it to hafe his vertu agayne or elles it es of lytill prys.

espiritiz. Et, si ascun malueis voloit le portant³ ensorcier ou enchanter, luy sortilegies ou ly enchaumentz par la vertue de la pierre retourneroit sur ly qī luy vorroit greuer; et auxi nulle beiste sauage noseroit assailler la persone qī porte dyamant sur luy. Item ly dyamant doit estre donee sanz couetiseer et sanz achater⁴; et adonqes est il de pluis grande vertue et fait homme pluis fort et pluis ferme encontre les enemis. Et garrist les lunatiks et ceux qī le diable poursuit et trauaille; et, sy venym ou poisoun est porte en la presence de dyamant, tantost deuient moiste et comence a suer. Il y ad dez dyamantz en Ynde, qī sont voilastre ou pluis broun qe violettes; qī sont bien dures et bien precieuses. Mes ascuns gentz ne les aiment point tant come lez autres; mes en droit de moy ieo les ameroye atant come les autres, qar ieo les ay veu assaier. Il y ad auxi dautre manere qī sont auxi blanc come cristal, mes ils sont vn poy pluis troubles; et sont bons et de grant vertue. Et 30 totes il quarrez qe ont pointes de lour nature; et ascuns sont a vi. quarrez et ascuns a iiii. et ascuns a iii., si come nature les fourme.

Et, pur ceo qe ly grant seignur et ly bachiler qī querent honour⁵ darmes ly portent voluntiers, ieo parleray vn poy pluis des dyamantz, come bien qe ieo proloigne ma matiere, a la fin qīls ne soient desceuz par barattours, qī vont par pais et les vendent. Qar, qī voet achater des dyamantz, il est mestier qīl les sache conustre, pur ceo qe homme les contrefait souent de cristal iaune et saphir citrin et de saphir loupe⁶ et de multz des autres pieres. Mes totefoitz cils contrefaitz ne sont mie si dures, et la point brise legierement, et si les poet homme bien polir. Mes ascun ouerour par malice ne les polissent point, au fin qe les gentz quident qe homme ne les puisse polir. Mes homme les poet assaier en cest manere. Primerement homme les assaie a tailler en saphirs et en autres pieres precieuses et sur cristal et sur acier. Apres homme prent vn pierre⁷ des mariners, qī tret lagule a ly, et met homme le dyamant sur le aymant et ly presente homme lagule. Et, si le diamant soit verraye et vertuose, le aymant ne trerra point lagule tant come ly dyamant soit present. Et ceo est la proeue qe cils doutre
H.f.35b. mer font. Nientmoins il auient ascune foitz qe bien bon dyamantz perdent lour vertue par incontinencie de ceaux qī les portent. Et 40 adonqes y couient affaire la pierre recouerir sa vertue, ou autrement il serroit meins vaillant et de moindre pris.

¹ þat þei þat knowen hem not be not disceyued be gabberes, þat gon be the contree þat sellen hem, C.

² men taken the ademand þat is the schipmannes ston, þat draweth the nedle to him, C.

³ le voloit porter enforcer, S.; le voloit porter ou sorcier ou enchanter li sortileges, etc., G.

⁴ amour, S.: amours, G.

⁵ loupe, om. S.; lonc, G.; loupe, R.

⁶ et sanz achater, om. S.

⁷ vne pierre damant, cest la pierre dez, S.; and so G.

CHAPTER XVIII.

[Of the customs of yles abouten Ynde; of the difference betwix ydoles and simulacres; of iii. maner growynges of peper vpon o tree; of the welle that chaungethe his odour euery hour of the day, and that is meruaylle.]

IN Inde er many diuerse cuntreez; and it es called Inde by cause of a water þat rynnez thurgh þat land, þe whilk men callez Inde. In þat water men fyndez elez of xxx. fote lang. And folk þat dwellez nere þat water er ill coloured, ȝalow and grene. In Inde er ma þan v^m iles þat men dwellez in, gude and grete, withouten oþer þat men dwellez noȝt in. And in ilke ane of þase iles er many citez and tounes and mykill folk. For men of Inde er of þat condicioun þat þai passe noȝt comounly oute of þaire awen land, for þai dwell vnder a planett þat es called Saturnus. And þat planet makes his turne by þe twelfe signes 10 in xxx. ȝere; and þe mone, þe whilk es oure planet, passez by þe xii. signes in a moneth. And for Saturnus es f.68. of so late mouyng, þerfore men þat dwellez vnder him and in þat climate hase na gude will to be mykill stirrand aboute, bot for to dwell still in þaire awen land and to couaite nan oþer. Bot in oure cuntree es euen þe contrary. For we er in a clymate þe whilke es vnder þe gouernaunce of þe moone, þat es a planet of light mouyng; and it es þe planet of way. And þerfore it giffez vs will to be mykill stirrand aboute and to ga in to diuerse cuntrez of þe werld; for it passez aboute þe world mare lightly þan anoþer planet.

Also men gase thurgh Inde by many cuntreez vnto þe grete see Occean; and þan þai fynd þe ile of Chermes, whider marchandes of Venice, of Geen and of many oþer cuntreez commez to bye marchandysez. Bot it es so hate þare in þat ile þat men ballokes hynges doune to þaire schankes for þe grete violence of hete, þat dissoluez þaire bodys. And men of þat cuntree þat kennez þe manere byndez þam vp and vsez certayne oynementz calde 20 and restrictiue to hald þam vpp, or elles myȝt þai noȝt liffe. In þis land and in Ethiopy and many oþer cuntrez men and wymmen gase comounly to waters and lays þam in þam all naked fra vndrun of þe day to it be passed

CHAPITRE XVIII.

Des custumes es isles enuiron Ynde; de la difference entre ydoles et simulacres; de iii. manere de poire cresceant sur vne arbre; et del fontaigne qi change odour chescune heure de iour.

EN Ynde y a moit diuers pais et moite diuerse contree; et lappelle homme Ynde pur vne fluuie, qi court parmy le pais, qad a noun Ynde. En ceo fluuie homme troeue anguilles de pluiz de xxx. piez de long. Et lez gentz qi habitent delez cel riuers sont des malueis colour, vert et iaune. En Ynde et enuiron Ynde sont pluiz de v. mil isles habitables, bones et grandes, sanz celles qi sont inhabitables et sanz autres petitiz. Et en chescune isle y ad grant fuisoun des cites et des villes et dez genz sanz nombre. Qar Yndoiz sont de tiele nature qils ne issent point hors de lour pais, et pur ceo y a tres grant multitude des gentz. Qar ils ne 30 sont point mouables pur¹ ceo qils sont el primer climac, qest de Saturne. Et Saturnus est tardif et poy mouable; qar il demoere affaire son tour par les xii. signes xxx. ans.² Et la lune passe par touz lez xii. signes en vn mois. Et pur ceo qe Saturne est de si tardif mouement, pur ceo ont les gentz de soun climac nature et voluntee qils ne querent point a mouoir. Et en nostre pais est tot a contraire. Qar nous sumes en septisme climac, qest de la lune; et la lune est³ de legier mouement et si est planete de voye. Et pur ceo elle nous donne nature et voluntee de mouoir legierement et de chemyner par diuerses voies et de sercher choses estranges⁴ et diuersitees du monde; qar elle enuironne la terre pluiz haustiement qe nulle autre planetee.

Item lem vait parmy Ynde par moites diuerses contrees iusques a la grant mer Occiane; et puis troeue homme vne isle qad noun Crynes,⁵ ou ly marchantz de Venise, de lanewe et des autres marcheez y vont souent pur marchandisez achater. Mes y fait si grand chaud en celle isle qe pur la grande destresse de chaulte ly perpendicles del homme, i.e. testiculi,⁶ issent hors de corps, pendantz iusques a my iambe, pur la grande dissolucioun du corps. Mes les gentz du pais et cils qi sciuent la nature se font lier mult estreitement et se font 40 oinder de oignement restrictif et refrigeratif⁷ pur les retenir en corps, ou purroient ils ne purroient viure ne durer. En ceo pais et en Ethiopie et en moite autre pais les gentz gisent touz nuz as riuages deawes, hommes et femmes touz ensemble, de tierce du iour iusques

¹ qar ilz demurent droit desouz Saturne et cel planete fait son tour par lez xii. signes en, S.; and so G.

² la lune est, om. G.

³ Ermes, S.; Harmez, G.; Crynes, R.; Cruces, C.

⁴ et refrigeratif, om. S. G.

⁵ xxx. ans—xii. signes, om. G.

⁶ estrangez pais, S. G.

⁷ li perpendice de lomme li testiz, G.

none, for þe grete hete of þe sonne; and þai ligg all vnder þe water bot þe heued. And wymmen þare schamez noȝt þof men see þam naked. And þare may a man see mykill dishonestee.¹ In þis ile er schippes made withouten nayles or bandes of yrne; and þat es by cause of roches of adamaundez þat er in þe see, whilk wald f.68b. drawe schippes to þam. And þare es so grete plentee of þase rochez in þase parties þat, if any schippes passed þer away in þe whilk ware any maner of yrne, þai schuld [be drawen] to þe rochez by þe vertu of þe adamaund, so þat þai schuld eschape on na wyse.

Fra þis ile men wendez by see to þe ile of Cana, whare es grete plentee of wyne and of corne. It was sum tyme a grete ile, and a gude hauen þerin; bot it es destruyd by þe see for þe mare party. þe kyng of þat ile was sum tyme so grete and so myghty þat he faght with grete Alexander. Folk of þat ile hase diuerse lawes; for sum wirschepez þe sonne in steed of Godd, sum þe fire, sum nedders, sum treessez, sum þe first thing þat þai mete at morne, sum wirschepez simulacres, sum ydoles. Betwene simulacres and ydoles es a grete difference. For simulacres er ymages made to þe liknes of sum thing þat es kyndely; and ydoles er ymagez made to þe liknes of what thing a man will þat es noȝt kyndely. For amanges all maner of bestes 3e schall fynd nane þat hase three heueds, ane of a man, anoþer of a hors, anoþer of ane ox or of sum oþer beste, as þai make þaire ydoles. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þai þat wirschepez simulacres wirschepez þam for sum worthy men, þat ware sum tyme doghty men in armes, as Hercules, Achilles and swilk oþer, whilk didd many meruailes in þaire f.69. tymes. For þai say þai wate wele þai er noȝt Godd of kynde, þat made all thing, bot þai er riȝt wele with Godd for meruailes þat þai didd. And so say þai of þe sonne; for it chaungez oft þe tymes of þe 3ere and giftez hete to nurisch all thinges of þe erthe. And, for it es of so grete profit, þai say þai wate wele þat it es wele with Godd and þat Godd lufes it mare þan any oþer thing; and þerfore þai wirschepe it. And þe same þai say of oþer planets and of þe fyre, by cause of þe grete profit þat commes of þam. And of ydoles þai say þat þe ox es þe halyest beste þat es in erthe and maste profitable, for he duse mykill gude and nane ill. And þai wate wele, þai say, þat may noȝt be withouten speciale grace of Godd; and þerfore þai make þaire godd half man and half ox, for man es þe fairest and þe best creature þat Godd made and þe ox þe halyest. þai do wirschepe also to nedders and oþer bestez whilk þai mete first at morne, and namely to þase bestez þat er gude and happy to mete,

H.f.36. a basse nonne; et gisent tot dys deins leawe forsque la face pur la grant chaud qil fait. Et si nont les femmes point de honte des hommes, mes gisent tot apertement² lez a lez tanqe la chaleure soit abaisse. Et poet homme la veoir meinte leide figure assemblee, especialment pres de bones villes.³ En ceste isle sont les niefs toutes de bois, sanz bende et sanz clau de feer, pur les roches de aymant, dont il y ad tant en la mer la entour, qe ceo est merueille. Et si vne nief passoit par cestes marches qeust en ly claus ou bendes de feer, tantost serroit perillez; qar ly aymant de sa nature trehet le feer a ly. Si serroit la nief par cause de feer tret al aymant, et iames⁴ ne se purroit partir. 30
De celle isle vait homme par mer a vne autre isle, qi ad a noun Chana,⁵ ou il y ad grant plente des bledz et de vin. Et soloit estre mult grande isle⁶ et mult bon port; mes la mer lad maintenant forement gastee et appetistez.⁷ Ly roi de celle isle soloit estre si puissant qil guerroit al roi Alisandre. Les gentz de celle terre ont diuerse loy; qar ascuns adorent le solail, et ascuns le feu, ascuns arbries, ascuns serpentz, ou la primere chose qils encontrent la matyne. Et adorent simulacres; et ascuns adoerent ydoles. Mais entre symulacres et ydoles y ad difference. Qar symulacres sont ymages faites a la semblance dascune chose naturelle, come⁸ semblance de homme ou de femme ou de solail ou de la lune ou dascune beste ou daltre chose naturelle; et ydole est ascun ymage faite de fole voluntee de homme, qe homme ne purroit trouer entre les choses naturelles, si come vne ymage a iiii.⁹ testes, ou vn homme a teste dun chiual ou de boef ou dascune beste qe nul homme nad veu solonc naturele disposicioun. Et sachez qe cils qi adoerent symulacres les honurent pur ascun vaillant homme qi iadys fuist, si come Hercules et plusours autres, qi fesoient trop¹⁰ de merueilles en leur temps. Qar ils dient qils scieuent bien qils ne sont mye dieux, qar il y ad le Dieu de nature, qi fist totes choses, qest en ciels. Mes ils scieuent bien qe cis ne poet faire les 40
pur ceo qil change le temps et doigne chaleure et norissement a touz choses sur terre, et pur ceo qil est de grant vtilitee, ils scieuent bien qe ceo ne poet estre qe Dieu ne layme puis qil ne fait les autres choses; et pur ceo ly ad il done¹¹ plus grandes vertues el monde, si est bien resoun, si come ils dient, qe homme le honure et face reuerence. Et auxi dient ils leur resons des autres planetes et de feu auxi, pur ceo qil est si profitable. Et des ydoles ils dient qe le boef est la plus seinte beste qest en terre et puis pacient et profitable qe nulle autre, qar il fait de bien assez et si ne fait nulles mals; et scieuent bien qe ceo ne puet estre sanz speciale grace de Dieu. Et pur ceo font ils leur dieu dun boef a moite; et lautre moite ils font de homme, pur ceo qe homme est la plus noble creature en terre. Et pur ceo qil ad seignurie sur touz bestes,¹² pur ceo font ils la moite del ydole dessure de homme et lautre moitee de boef. Et des serpentz et des autres choses qils encontrent primerement le matyn, ils les adoerent totes¹³ les choses especialment qi ont bone encontree et qe bien leur auient la iournee¹⁴

¹ many foule figure assembled, and namely nygh the gode townes, C.

² villes, S. G.; isles, H. R.

³ Caua, S.

⁴ come—naturelle, om. S. G.

⁵ et pour ce cest la chose qui donne, G.

⁶ le iour, S. G.

⁷ si tret la nef par cause de sa nature qe iames, S.; si traitoit la nef pour cause du fer si que iamais, G.

⁸ ville, S.

⁹ trois, S.; ii., G.

¹⁰ sur toutes les choses du monde, G.

¹¹ priement, S. G.

¹² appeire, S.; apeticce, G.

¹³ molt, S.; moult, G.

¹⁴ sur totes, S.

after whaym þai spede wele all þe day efter, whilk þai hafe proued of lang tyme. And þerfore þai say þis gude metyng commez of Godd; and þerfore hafe þai gert make ymagez lyke to þase in þaire houses, þat þai may wirschepe þam before þai mete with any oþer thinges.¹ In þis ile of Cana er many wylde bestez, as lyouns, leoperds, beres and swilk oþer.² And þare er ratouns als grete as hundes er here; and þai take þam with grete mastyfes, for cattes er to smale to take þam. In þis cuntree and in many oþer, when men er deed, þai graue þam noȝt; for þer es so grete hete þat alssone þe flessch es consumed euen to þe bane.

f.69b. Fra þeine men commez to a citee þat es called Sarchie, and it es a faire citee and a gude. And þare dwellez many gude Cristen men of gude beleue; and þare er many men of religioun, and namely of freres³. Fra þeine men gase to þe land of Lombe by see. In þat land growez peper in a forest, whilk es called Combar; and it growez in na place of þe werld bot anely in þat forest. Þat forest es xxiii. iournez on lenth. And þare er twa 10 gude citez, of þe whilk þe tane hat Flabryne and þe toþer ȝinglauns; and in bathe þir citez dwellez Cristen men and Iews in grete noumer, for þe cuntree es right plentifous and gude. Bot it es riȝt hate, and þerfore þer es grete haboundance of diuerse nedders and wormes. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat pepre growez in maner of wilde wynes be syde þe treeesse of þe forest, for to be suppoweld by þam. Þe fruyt þeroff hinges in grete clustres in maner of bobbes of grapes⁴; and þai hing so thikk þat, bot if þai ware suppoweld by oþer treeesse, þai myght noȝt bere þaire fruyt. Qwhen þe fruyt es rype, it es all grene lyke þe berys of wodbind⁵; and þan þai gader þe fruyt and driez it at þe sonne and seyne layez it apon a flure⁶ til it becom blakk and runklid. And so þai hafe þare three maners of peper growand on a tree, þat es to say lang peper rype of þe awen kynde, whyte peper noȝt brynt ne birstlid with fyre ne with hete of þe sonne, and blak peper dried with hete of þe fyre or of 20 þe sonne. Lang peper call þai Spotyn,⁷ blakk Fulphul,⁸ and whyte Bonoile.⁹ First commez oute þe lang peper, f.70. when þe lefez begynnez to spring; and it es lyke vnto þe floure of þe hesill,¹⁰ þat springes oute before þe lefes.

qils les encontrent et si qe ils ont assaie par experience longement. Et pur ceo dient ils qe ceo bon encontree ne poet venir sanz la grace de Dieu; et pur ceo font ils faire les ymages semblables pur les regarder et adorir primerement le matyn auant qils encontrent¹¹ chose contraire. Il y a bien auxi alguns des Cristiens qi dient qascuns bestes ont bone encontree et ascuns malueise et qe homme lad proue meinteifoithz, qe ly liuere¹² ad male encontree et ly porcel et plusours autres bestes auxi. Et dun esperuier ou vne autre oysel de preie, quant il vole apres sa preie deuant gentz darmes et il prent sa preie, ceo est bone signe; et sil faut,¹³ ceo est malueis. Et auxi a tielles gentz est malueis dencontrer corbeaux. En cestes choses et en altres ytielles y a multz des gentz qi croient, pur ceo qil est ensi souent auenuz; mes assez des gentz nel croient mie. Et puis qe luy Cristiens ont tiele creance, qi sont abeuerz de tote seinte doctrine, ceo nest nient merueille qe ly paiens, qi nont point de bone doctrine, forsque de lour nature, y croient pluis largement pur lour simplese. Et verayment ieo en ay veu des paiens et des Sarazins, qe homme appelle Auguries,¹⁴ qi, quant nous chiuacheasmes en armes ascune part sur noz enemys, par le vol des oyseals 30 ils nous pronostikerent tot ceo qe nous trouasmes apres.¹⁵ Et ceo fesoient plusours foithes, et mettoient lour testes en gages qil serroit ensy. Mes pur ceo ne doit homme pas de tot mettre sa creance en tiele chose, mes totdiz auoir ferme esperance en nostre Seignur. Ceste isle de Chana la Sarazins ont gayne et la tiegnent. Il y a en celle isle multz des leons¹⁶ et dautres bestes sauuaiges. Et si sont ly ratz de celle isle en auxi grantz come chiens icy; et les prent homme ouesque grantz mastius, qar¹⁷ ly chattez ne les purront prendre. En cest isle ne en plusours autres homme nenterree nul homme mort; qar la chaleure est si grant qe en vn poy de temps la char est tot consumeie iusques as os.

De la vait homme par mer vers Ynde la maiour a vne cite qe ad a noun Zarchee, qest mult bele et mult bone. Et y demorrent multz H.f.37. des Cristiens de bone foy; et si ad multz de religiows, especialment des mendyuantz. Puis vait homme par mer a la terre de Lombe. En celle terre croist ly poiure, en vne foreste qi ad a noun Combar; et ne croist nulle part ailours en tot le monde forsque en celle foreste, qi dure bien xviii. iournees de long. En celle foreste y ad ii. bones cites; lune ad a noun Flandrine,¹⁹ et lautre Zinglanz.²⁰ Et en chescune dy celles demoerrent Cristiens et Iuys grant fuisoun; qar il y ad mult bon pais et pleinteuose, mes trop y fait grant chaud. Et poez sauoir 40 qe luy poyure croist en manere dune viegne sauuaige, qi soit plantez pres des arbres de bois pur la sustenir, auxi come la vigne. Et pent ly fruit en manere de reisis; et si espesement est charge ly arbre qe y semble qil doie briser. Et, quant il est maeur, il est tot vert, auxi come les bayes de edre, qe nous appellons yuy.²¹ Adonques homme les vendenge, si come lem fait les vignes; et puis les secche homme au solail et puis sur vne four,²² si deuient noirs et crespes. Et si ad iii. manere de poiure tot en vne arbre, poiure long, poiure noire, et poiure blanc. Le poiure long ils appellent Sorbotin, et le noire ils appellent Fulful, et ly blanc Bano. Ly poiure vient le primere, quant le foil commence a uenir; et semble auques de la facioun a la flour de coudre, qi vient auant le foil, et pendie le conustre aual.²³ Et puis vient le noir ouesque

¹ The passage following in the French text, down to "esperance en nostre Seignur," omitted here, is translated in C. (see note).

² lyouns and many oþer wylde bestes, C.

³ as it were iuy beryes, C.

⁴ fulfull, C.

⁵ issi qils rencontrent, S.

⁶ Auguriens, S.; Augarienz, G.

⁷ qar homme le charme pur lez prendre, S.; qar len les charne pour les prendre, G.

⁸ Fladrine, C.

⁹ changed in H. to "fu," sc. "feu."

¹⁰ auant le comense et qe nous appellons chattez, et pent il contre val, S.; auant la fucille et pent contreual, G.; auant le foille et pendie le countre aual, R.

¹¹ mendyuantz, C.

¹² owven, C.

¹³ bano, C.

¹⁴ leuers, S.; lieure, G.

¹⁵ quil nous auenoit apres, G.

¹⁶ Singlanz, G.; Zinglantz, C.

¹⁷ in manere as reysynges, C.

¹⁸ sorbotyn, C.

¹⁹ chattez of hasell, C.

²⁰ changed in H. into "sil ne fait."

²¹ moult de loups, de lyonz, etc., G.

²² xxiii., S. G.; xviii., R. C.

²³ ifs, G.

pan commez oute white peper with þe lefes in grete clustres, as¹ it ware grene grapes; þe whilk, when it es gaderd, es whyte, and it es sum what lesse þan blakk peper. Seyne springes oute blak peper in grete haboundaunce. Of þe white peper sell þai bot lytill til oþer cuntrez or elles noȝt, bot kepez it till þaire awen vse; for it es better and mare profitable and of mare attemperee wirkyng þan þe oþer, and langer will [be] kepid in his vertu. And 3e² sall vnderstand þat, ay þe heuer peper es, þe better it es and þe newere. Neuerþeles it fallez oft tyme þat marchands sophisticatez peper, when it es alde, as Ysidorus tellez. For þai take alde peper and stepez it and strewez apon it spume of siluer or of leed and driez it agayne, and so by cause of þe weight it semes fresch and new. And þai hafe of nane of þir three maners of peper so grete haboundaunce as of þe blakk. In þat cuntree, as I said before, er many diuerse maners of nedders and of oþer wormes by cause of þe grete hede of þe cuntree and also of þe peper. And sum men saine þat a certayne tyme of þe ȝere, when þai ga for to 10 gader þis peper, þai make fyres here and þare, for to brynne þe nedders or elles make þam to flee þeine. Bot, saue þaire grace, it es noȝt so. For, if þai þus made fires aboute þe peper, þai schuld brynne þe peper and þe treess þat it growez on, or elles drie þam so þat þai schuld na mare bere fruyt; and þat es noȝt trew. Bot þai f.70b. enoynt þaire hend and þaire fete and oþer placez of þaire bodys with ane oynement made of þe iuys of a fruyte þat þai call lymons³ menged with oþer certayne thinges, and þan þai ga baldely for to gader þe peper. And þe nedders and venymous wormes, when þai fele þe reflaire of þe oynement, fleez away; and on þis wyse in sothe-fastnes get þai þe peper.

At þe heued of þis ilk forest es þe citee of Polombe; and besyde þat citee es a mountayne, wharoff þe citee takez þe name, for men callez þe mountayne Polombe. And at þe fote of þis mountayne es a well, noble and faire; and þe water þeroff has a swete sauour and reflaire, as it ware of diuerse maner of spicery. And ilke 20 houre of þe day þe water chaungez diuersely his sauour and his smell. And, wha so drinkes fastand thryes of þat well, he sall be hale of what maner of malady þat he hase. And forþi þa þat wonnez nere þat well drynkez þeroff þe ofter, and þerfore þai hafe neuermare sekeness, bot euermare þai seme zung. I, Iohn Maundeuill, sawe þis well and drank þeroff thrys and all my felawes, and euermare sen þat tyme I fele me þe better and þe haler and supposez for to do till þe tyme þat Godd of his grace will make me to passe oute of þis dedly lyf.⁴ Sum men callez þat well *Fons iuuentutis*,⁵ þat es for to say, þe well of ȝowthehede; for þai þat drinkez þeroff semez all way zung. And þai say þis well commez fra Paradys terrestre, for it es so vertuous. Thurgh oute all þis cuntree þer growes þe best gynger þat es ower whare; and marchaunds commez þider fra ferre cuntreez for to bye it.

le foil en manere des trechches de reisins bien vert; et, quant homme ad celluy coilly, si vient ly blanc, qest assez moindre qe ly noirs. De 30 celluy ne porte homme point ou poy en cestes parties; qar cils de la les retignent pur eaux, pur ceo qil est meillour et de puis attempre nature qe luy noirs, et si nen ad mie si grant abundance come de noirs. En ceo pais y a multz des maners des serpentz et dautre vermine pur la grande chaleure de pais.⁶ Et dient ascuns gens qe, quant ils veulent coillier le poiure, qils font de feu et ardent entour pur faire fuier les serpentz et les cocodrilles. Mais sauue la grace des disantz; qar,⁷ sils ardoient entour les arbres qi portent le poiure, ils les arderoient et desseccheroient toutes, auxi bien come altre chose, mais ils le ferroient enuictz⁸ ne iamays ils ne botoroient feu. Mes ils se oignent les peez et les mains del iutz de lymons et dautres choses, dontz ly serpentz doutent le odour. Si⁹ senfuyent ly serpentz deuant eaux par cause dul odour; et ils vont vendenger tot seurement, qar lors nont ils garde de nulle vermine¹⁰ approcher a eaux.

Item, vers le chief de celle foreste est la cite de Polombe; et par dessure la cite y a vne grant montaigne, qad auxi a noun Polombe, et H.f.37b. de celle montaigne la cite prent soun noun. Et au piee de celle montaigne y a vne bele fontaigne et grande, qi ad¹¹ odour et sauour de touz espicez; et a chescune heure del iour elle change odour et sauour diuersement. Et qi boit troiz foitz ieun de celle fontaigne, il est curez de 40 quecunqe maladie qil ayt. Et cils¹² qi demoerrent et boient souent, ils nont vnqes maladye et semblent¹³ totdiz estre ieofnes. Ieo y bieu troiz foitz ou iiiii.¹⁴ foitz; et vnqes me semble qe io vaille mieltz.¹⁵ Ascuns lappellent la Fontaigne de Iuente, pur ceo qe cil qi en boit souent semble¹⁶ totdiz estre ieofnes et vist sanz auoir maladie. Et dit homme qe celle fontaigne vient de Paradys et pur ceo est elle si vertuose. Par tot ceo pais croist tres bon gerger¹⁷; et la vont plusours marchandes pur quere despices.

¹ at, MS.

² And 3e—fresch and new, not in Fr. text or in C.

³ þei enoynten here hondes and here feet [with a juice] mad of snayles, C. A confusion between "limons" and "limaçons."

⁴ I haue dronken þere of iii. or iiiii. sithes, and ȝit me thinketh I fare the better, C.

⁵ de paijs et de poiure, S.; du soleil et du poiure, G.

⁶ mes ils le serchont molt enuiciz, S.; dont il seroient moult courouciez, G.

⁷ venim, S.; uelin, G.

⁸ et semble, S. G.

⁹ et vnqore me semble estre toutdys le mieltz, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ gyngiure, S.; gingembre, G.; g'g', H. R.

¹¹ fontaigne et ad, S.; fontaine et y a, G.

¹² ou iiiii., om. S. G.

¹³ welle of ȝouthe, C.

¹⁴ qar il le feroient moult a enuis que sil ardoient, G.

¹⁵ si—odour, om. G.

¹⁶ et cils—maladye, om. S. G.

¹⁷ sunt cures de toutes maladiez et semblent, G.

- f.71. And in þis¹ cuntree þe folk þeroff wirschepez þe ox, in steed of Godd, for þe sympilnes and þe gudeness þat commez of him. And þai say þare þat þe ox es þe halyest best of þe werld and many vertuz has in him; for sex 3ere or seuen þe ox will drawe in þe plugh and helpe to labour for mannes sustynaunce, and efter þat men may ete him. þe king of þat land hase euermare ane ox with him, whare so euer he be, and honoures it as his godd. And he þat kepez þis ox gaders þe dung of him in a vessell of gold and þe vryne in anoþer; and all þat euer he gaders on þe nyght on þe morue he beres to þaire prelate, whilk es called Archiprothopapaton, and he berez it to þe kyng and makes þar ower many blissings. And þan þe kyng puttez his handes in þe vryne of þe ox, þe whilk þai call gaul, and þerwith he rubbez his frunt and his breste. And þan with grete reuerence he takez of þe dung and rubbez it on his visage and his breste, as he did with þe vryn, in þat entent þat he be fulfilled with þe vertu of þe haly ox and þat he be blissed with þat haly thing. And after þe kyng oþer lordes and princez dose on þe same maner; and efter þaim seruandes and oþer men, ilk ane in þaire degree, als lang as oght lastez þeroff. In þat cuntree þaire ydoles, þat es þaire fals goddes, hase half schappe of man and half of ane ox; and in þase ydoles þe fende spekez to þam and giffes answeze of what so þai ask. Before þise fals goddes þai sla þaire childer many tymes in steed of sacrifice, and takes þaire blude and sprenklez it apon þaire mawmets, 10
- f.71b. and þus þai make þaire sacrifice to þam. And, when any man dies in þat land, þai brynne his body, for þat he suld suffer na payne, when he es in his graue, thurgh etyng of wormes. And, if he hafe na childer, þai brynne his wyf with him. For þai say þat it es resoun þat scho bere him cumpany in þe toþer werld as scho did here in þis werld. And, if scho hafe childer, þai late hir liffe for to bring þam vp, if scho will. And, if it be swa þat scho chese rather to liffe with hir childer þan to be brynned with hir housband, þan sall scho be arettid vntrew and vnkynde,² and scho sall neuer be praised, ne na man sall efter þat tyme trist on hir. And, if þe wyf dye 20 before hir husband, he schall no3t be brynt with hir agayne his will; bot, if him list, he may take him anoþer wyf. In þat cuntree also growez gude wyne; and þare sall þe wymmen drinke wyne, and no3t þe men. And wymmen schafez þer beerdes, and no3t men.

- Et en ceo pais le gent adoerent vn boef pur sa simplese et sa deboneretee et pur la vtilitee qi est en luy. Et dient qe ceo est la plus seinte beste qi soit en terre. Qar y³ lour semble qe, qy est simples et debonaires et pacientz et profitable, il est seintefie. Qar il lour semble qil ad totes vertues en luy.⁴ Et ad le roy del pais totdys vn tiel boef ouesqe luy. Et cel qi le garde touz les iours il receit le fiens et la vrine en ii. vessealx dor; et puis le baille a lour grant prelat, qils appellent Archiprothopapaton.⁵ Et ly prelat le porte deuant le roi et fait vne grande benediccioun sur ceo. Et puis le roi moille ses mains deins la vrine, qils appellent gaul, et moille son front et sa poitrine. Et puis se frote des fiens ouesqe grande reuerence, par entencioun qil soit reemply des vertues desuisditz qe ly boef ad et qil soit seintefie par la vertu de celle seinte chose, qi rien ne vaut. Et apres le roi, le font les grant seignurs, et apres les seignurs ly autres ministres.⁶ En ceo 30 pais ils font ydoles moite homme et moite boef; et en⁷ celles ydoles luy maligne⁸ espiritz parle a eaux et lour respont de quant qils veullent demander. Deuant cez ydoles occient ils lour enfantz meinte foitz, et aspergent les ydoles du sang, et ensi font lour sacrifice. Et, quant ascun homme moert en pais, ils ardent le corps en noun de penance, a la fin qil ne soeffre peines en terre, quant ly vermes le mangeront. Et si sa femme nad nul enfant, ils lardent ouesqe luy.⁹ Et dient qe ceo est resoun qelle ly face compaignie en lautre siecle, si qe elle ad fait en cesty. Mais si elle ad enfantz de luy, homme la lesse viure pur norir les enfantz, si elle voet. Et si elle ayme plus a viure ouesqe les enfantz qe a morir ouesqe soun marit, homme la tient a false et a malueise, et iames ne serra rien preise, ne homme ne se fiera mes en luy. Et si la femme moert auant soun baroun, ly homme se fait ardoir ouesqe, sil voet; et, sil ne voet, homme ne le
- H.f.38. constreint mie, mes se purra altre foithz marier sanz blame. En ceo pais croissent mult forts vins; et les femmes boient de vin et luy hommes ne boient point de vin. Et auxi les femmes font raser lour barbes et luy hommes ne les raient point.

¹ An þis, MS.

² en li. Ils font le boef laborer vi. anz ou vii. et puis homme le mange, S.; and so G.

³ ministres qant ils poient auoir acun remenant, S.; and so G.

⁴ Mauuais, G.

⁵ men holden hire for fals and cursed, C.

⁶ qar y—seintefie, om. S. G.

⁷ Archippotopapaten, S.; Archipropapaton, G.

⁸ en, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁹ son baroun, S.

CHAPTER XIX.

[Of the domes made be seynt Thomas hond; of deuocioun and sacrifice made to ydoles there in the cytee of Calamy; and of the processioun in goynge aboute the cytee.]

FRA þis land men gase by many diuerse placez to a cuntree þat es called Mabaron; and it es fra þe forsaid land x. day iourneez. And it es a grete rewme and a large, and many gude citeez and tounes perin. In þat land of Mabaron liez sayne Thomas þe apostle, and his body all hale, in a faire tounge in þe citee of Calamy; for þare was he martird and grauen. Bot afterwardes þe Assirienes tuke his body and f.72. bare it to a citee in Mesopotamy þat es called Edisse. Bot eft sones it was translated agayne to þe forsaid citee and layd in þe forsaid tounge; and his arme with his hand þat he putt in oure Lordes syde after his resurreccioun, when he said, *Noli esse incredulus, sed fidelis*, lyez withouten in a vessell. And by that hand men of þat cuntree giffez þaire iugementz, to wit wha has riȝt. For, if any stryf be betwene twa parties and ayther party affermez þat he has riȝt in his cause, þan þai ger write in a scrowe¹ þe riȝt of ayther party and puttez þase billes in þe hand of sayne Thomas; and als fast þe hand castez oute þe bille þat contenez þe fals cause, and þe toþer it haldez still. And þerfore men commez oft tymes oute of ferre cuntreez þider, for to declare a riȝtwys cause betwene party and party, þe whilk es in doute. þe kirke whare sayne Thomas lyes es mykill and faire and full of ymagery of þaire mawmets;² and þase ymagez er ilk ane of þe stature of twa men at þe leste.

Bot þare es ane þat passez all oper of stature; and þat es richely and really enourned with gold and precious stanes all aboute³ and sittez in a chaier nobelly arraied. And he has aboute his nekk as it ware brade gyrdils of silke,⁴ wele hernayst with gold and precieuse stanes.⁵ To þat ymage men commez fra ferre in pilgrimage with grete deuocioun, als comounly als Cristen men commez to sayne Iames. And sum of þam, for þe grete deuocioun 20

CHAPITRE XIX.

Des iugementz faitz par la main seint Thomas lapostre en la cite de Calamie; del deuocioun et sacrifice qe lem fait as ydoles illeques; et del processioun enuiroun la cite.

E ceo pais passe homme par plusours marches vers vn pais a x. iournees loinz, qe homme appelle Mabaron. Et est vn mult grant roialme; et y a multz des beles cites et des belles villes. En ceo roialme gist⁶ le corps seint Thomas lappostre, en char et en os, en vn bele tombe en la cite de Calamie⁷; qar la fuist il martirize et enseuely. Mes ly Assirienz firent iadys porter⁸ le corps de luy⁹ en Mesopotamie a la cite de Edisse; et puis fuist il reporte ariere la. Et¹⁰ le bracz et la main qil bouta es plaies nostre Seignur, quant nostre Seignur luy apparust apres sa resurreccioun et luy dit, *Noli esse incredulus sed fidelis*, gist¹¹ vnquore a dehors en vn vesseal.¹² Et par celle main ils font les iugementz el pais, assauiore qi ad tort ou droit. Qar, quant il y ad dissensioun entre deux parties, et chescun sustient qil¹³ ad droit, ils mettent la cause de chescun en escript, et puis ils mettent cez escriptz en la main seint Thomas, et tantoust la main degette le tort et le faux, et retient la main le droit et la veritee. Et ensi vieignent ils de bien loinz, pur auoir iugement des causes doutables. Item lesglise ou seint Thomas gist est vne mult grande esglise et bele et tote pliene des grantz simulacres, ces sunt grandz¹⁴ ymages qils appellent lourz dieux, des queux ly moindres est auxi grant come ii. hommes.

Et entre my les autres y a vn tres grande ymage, pluiz¹⁵ qe nulle des autres, qest tote couerte dor et des pieres precieuses et des perles. Et ceo est lydole as falses Cristiens.¹⁶ Et siet en vn chaire mult noblement, et ad entour son col des larges ceintures ouerez dor, des precieuses pieres et des perles. Et est ceste esglise mult noblement affaitee, et tote deorreze par dedeinz. Et a celle ydole vait homme en pelrinage auxi comunement et par auxi grande deuocioun qe ly Cristiens icy font a seint Iake de Galice.¹⁷ Et plusours gentz qi vont vers cel

¹ in ii. billes, C.

² and þat ydole is the god of false Cristene þat han reneyed hire feythe, adds C.

³ And this chirche is full richely wrought and all ouer gylt withinne, adds C.

⁴ Calamy, S.; Salamie, G.

⁵ La est, G.

⁶ qil, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁷ as enfantz cristiens renoiez, S.; au faulz crestians reniez, G.

⁸ fulle of grete simulacres, C.

⁹ porter, S. G. R.; om. H.

¹⁰ et la meyn gist, S.; and so G.

¹¹ grans ydoles et granz, G.

¹² of silke, om. C.

¹³ est, G.

¹⁴ de illoques, S.; om. G.

¹⁵ dehors le vessel, S.; dehors du vaisel, G.

¹⁶ vn tres grant come deux hommes plus, S. G.

¹⁷ Seint Jame de Gales, S.; Saint Iaque en Galice, G.

þai hafe to þat mawmet, ay as þai ga, er lukand douneward to þe erthe and will noȝt luke aboute þam, for þai
 f.72b. schuld see na thing þat schuld lette þaire deuocioun. Þare commez sum also þider in pilgrimage þat beres
 scharpe knyfes in þaire handes, with whilk, ay as þai ga by þe way, þai wound þam self in þe legges and þe armes
 and in oþer placez of þaire body, þat þe blude rynnez doune fra þer woundes in grete fuyssoun. And þis þai do for
 lufe of þat ydole, and saise þat he es full blissed þat will dye for þe lufe of his mawmet. And sum of þam
 bringez with þam þaire childer and slaez þaim and makes sacrifice of þam to þaire mawmet; and þai take þe blude
 of þaire childer and sprenklez it apon þe ymage. Sum also, fra þai passe oute of þer house til þai comme before
 þaire mawmet, at ilke a thridd passe knelis doune apon þe erthe with grete deuocioun. And þai bring with þam
 incense and oþer thinges swete smelland for to turify¹ þat ymage, as we do here to Goddes body. And þare es
 before þat ymage, as it ware, a poonde or a vyuer, full of water; and in to þat pilgrimes castez gold and siluer 10
 and precious stanes withouten noumer in steed of offerand. And forþi þe mynisters þat kepez þat ilk mawmet,
 when þai hafe mister of any monee for reparailyn² of þaire kirk or for any oþer thing þat fallez to þat ilke
 mawmet, þai ga to þat ilke poonde and takez oute þeroff als mykill as þam nede. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat,
 when grete festez commez of þat mawmet, as þe dedicacioun of þe kirk or þe tronyng of þat mawmet, all þe
 cuntree assemblez þider; and þai sett þis mawmet with grete wirschepe in a chariot, wele arraid with clathez of
 f.73. gold and of silke,³ and ledez him with grete sollempnitee aboute þe citee. And before þe chariot gase first in
 processioun all þe maydens of þe cuntree, twa and twa togyder; and þan all þe pilgrymmes þat commez þider fra
 ferre cuntreez, of whilke sum for þe grete deuocioun þai hafe to þat mawmet fallez doune before þe chariot and
 latez it gang ouer þam. And so er sum of þam slayne, sum þaire armes and sum þaire schankes broken; and þai
 trowe þat, þe mare payne þai suffer here for lufe of þaire mawmet, þe mare ioy in þe toþer werld sall þai hafe and 20
 þe nerre þaire godd sall þai be. And sikerly þai suffer so mykill payne and martirdom apon þaire bodys for þe
 lufe of þat ilke mawmet þat vnnethes will any Cristen man suffer half so mykill, ne þe tende parte, for þe lufe of
 oure Lorde Iesu Criste. For sum tyme þare slaez þam self for lufe of þat mawmet cc. or three apon a day,
 whas bodys er broȝt before þat mawmet and accounted in nowmer of sayntes. For, riȝt as a man amanges vs
 wald think it a grete wirschepe, if þer ware in his kyn canonized a haly martir or a confessour and his vertuz

ydole de lointaignes terres, pur la grande deuocioun qils ont, ils regardent tot dys a terre et nosent leuer la teste pur regarder entour eaux
 pur paour qils ne veoient ascune chose⁴ qil les houste de leur deuocioun. Et des autres y uont en pelrinage, qil portent des cotealx en leur
 H.f.38b. mains et se fierent et plaient es bracz et⁵ es iambes et es quisez et espandent leur sang pur amour de cel ydole; et dient qil est benurez qil
 moert pur lamour de soun dieu. Et des autres y a qil meignent leur enfantz pur occire et pur sacrifier deuant cel ydole; et puis aspergent
 lydole de sang des enfantz. Et des autres y uont qil del heure qils departeront de leur maisons a chescun iii. pas sagoillent tanqe ils soient 30
 a cel ydole; et, quant ils sont la venuz, ils ont encens et autres choses aromatikis, de quoi ils encensent, si come ceo fust le corps nostre
 Seignur. Et ensi vient homme pur adorer cel ydole puis de c. lieues loinz. Et si ad deuant le moustier de cel ydole auxi come vn viuer ou
 vn lac tot plein deawe; et en ceo viuer gettent ly pelrins or, argent, perles et pieres precieuses sanz nombre en lieu dofferende. Et pur ceo,
 quant luy ministres des ydoles ont⁶ mestier ascune chose reffaire, tantoust ils vont a viuer et preignent ceo qil meister leur est pur la
 refeccioun⁷ del esglise; si rien ne faut qil ne soit tantost apparaille. Et sachez qe, quant les grantz festes sont de cel ydole, si come⁸
 dedicacioun del esglise ou entronzacioun del ydole, trestot le pais la entourent sassemble; et met homme cel ydole a grant reuerence sur vn
 char adornez des draps dor, de tartaires et de camokaz, et le meignent a grant sollempnitee entour la cite. Et deuant la char vont
 primerement a processioun totes les peucelles du pais mult ordeignement, deux a deux ensemble; et apres lez peucelles vont les pelrins qil
 sont venuz de lontaingez marchez,⁹ des queux pelrins ascuns se lessent cheoir dessouz lez roez du char et lessent le char passer par dessus
 eaux, si qe ascuns moerent tantost, ascuns ont les bracz et les iambes tot froissez, et ascuns les coustes. Et tot ceo font ils pur lamour de 40
 leur dieu¹⁰ en grant deuocioun, et pensent qe, tant come ils seoffrent puis de peine et puis de tribulacioun pur lamour de cel ydole, de tant
 serront ils puis pres de Dieu et en puis grant ioie en lautre siecle. Et briefment a dire ils font de si grandez penances et de si grantz martiries
 soeffrir¹¹ au corps pur¹² lamour de leur ydoles qau peine nul Cristien noseroit entreprendre le disme affaire¹³ pur amour de soun Seignur Ihesu
 Crist.¹⁴ Et puis vous dye qe deuant le char a puis pres vont luy menestriers du pais auxi come sanz nombre ouesqe diuerses instrumentz,
 et font entre eaux des grandes melodies. Et, quant ils ont tote la cite enuironnee, ils retournent al esglise et remettent lydole en son lieu.
 Et adonques, pur honour del ydole et pur la reuerence de la feste, se occient¹⁵ cc. ou ccc. persones as cotealx trencheantz, des queux homme
 prent les corps et les met homme deuant lydole. Et dit homme qils sont saintz, pur ceo qils se font occis de leur bone volunte pur amour
 R.f.48. de leur dieu.¹⁶ Et, auxi come vne lignage par de cea se tendroit a honure dun seint homme ou de deux, sils estoient¹⁷ dun linage, et qe

¹ sensen, C.⁴ ascunes choses, H.⁷ reparacion, G.¹⁰ ydole, G.¹³ affaire, om. S.¹⁶ ydole, G.¹⁷ A leaf is missing here in H.; but the matter has been supplied on two inserted leaves, in a hand of the fifteenth century. The text, as printed, is taken from R.² neden to maken ony reparacion, C.⁵ es bracz et, om. S. G.⁸ si come—del ydole, om. S.¹¹ soeffrir, om. S. G.¹⁴ de Ihesu Crist, S. G.³ of tartarye, of camacaa and oþer precyous clothes, C.⁶ le moustier de cel ydole ad, S. G.⁹ pais, S.; pais, G.¹² pur—ydoles, om. G.¹⁵ se occient, S. G. R.; om. H.

and his myracles writen in bukes, riȝt so think þaim it a grete wirschepe, when any of þer cusyns or of þer frendes slaез þam self for lufe of þer mawmet, and writez þaire dedes and þer names in bukes and in þaire letanys. And, ay þe ma of þer kyn þat slaез þam self on þis wise, þe mare glad þai er, and saise ilk ane of þam till oþer, f.73b. "We hafe ma sayntes in oure kynne þan ȝe haue." And, when any of þam purposez him to sla him self for his mawmet lufe, he callez all his frendez togyder and gers many mynstralles ga before þam with grete sollempnytee; and so þai comme before þe mawmet. And he þat sal sla him self standes before þe mawmet with a scharpe drawen knyf in his hand, and with þat knyf he cuttez oute a pece of his flesch and castez it in þe visage of þe mawmet and saise deuote praiers¹ and commendez him till his godd, and seyne he smytez him self with þe knyf in diuerse placez ay till he fall doune deed. And þan his frendez offers his body to þe mawmet, syngand and sayand, "Loo, how þi lele seruand has done for þe! He hase forsaken wyf and childer and all þe ricches and solacez of 10 þe werld and his awen lyf for þi lufe and made sacrifice vnto þe of his flesch and his blude. Wharfore, we pray þe, þat þou sett him by syde þe amanges þi dere frendez in þe ioi of paradys, for he hase wele disserued it." And, when þai hafe þus done, þai brynne his body and ilke ane of þam takez a porcioun of þe aschez and kepez þam in steed of relyques. And þai say it es a haly thing and þat thurgh þe vertu of þase aschez þai schall be saued and keped fra all maner of perils. And,² when þai lede þaire mawmet aboute þe citee, as I talde before, with processiou, next before þe chariot gase all þe mynstralles of þe cuntree with all maner of f.74. instruments of music, and þai make a grete melody. And, when þai hafe þusgates ledd him all aboute þe citee with grete sollempnytee, þai lede him agayne vnto þe temple and settez agayne in his place þare he was wont to be. And þan for wirschepe of þat mawmet and of þe feste diuerse persones slaез þam self with scharpe knyfes in grete nowmer, as I said before. 20

homme mettroit en escript lez bienfaitz et les miracles qils aueroient fait pur les faire canonizer,³ auxi se teignent par de la pur honourez⁴ de ceux qī se occient pur lamour de leur dieu et les mettent en escript et en lour letanies et se vaudent, et dient lun al autre "Iay plus de seintz en moun lignage qe vous nauez en le vostre." Et est la custume tiel qe, quant ils ont⁵ entencion de eux occier pur lour dieu, ils font mander toutz lour amis et ont grant foisoun dez menestriers et vont deuant lydole a grant feste menant. Et cil qī se doit occire ad vn cotel bien trenchaunt en sa main et cope vne piece de sa char et la gette en la face del ydole, en disant ses orisouns et en soi recommandant a soun dieu. Et puis se⁶ fiert et plaie⁷ de cea et de la tancqes il chiet mort; et adoncques ly amys presentent le corps al ydole et dient en chantant, "Regardez, dieu, qouy⁸ vostre loial seruand ad fait pur vous. Il ad relinqui femmes et enfantz, richesses et toutz les biens du mounde et sa propre vie pur lamour de vous, et vous ad fait sacrifice de sa char et de soun sanc. Si le voillez poser delez vous entre vos plus amez en vostre glorie de paradys, qar il ad bien deseruy." Et puis ils fount vn grant fu et ardent le corps; et puis emprent chescun de la R.f.48b. cendre et la gardent en lieu des reliques. Et dient qe ceo est molt seinte chose et qils mount garde de nul peril tanqes ils eient sur eux de 30 celle cendre.

¹ in the face of his ydole, seyenge his orysounes, C.

⁴ pur le honour, S.

⁷ et plaie, om. S.

² This passage higher up in C., as in the French text.

⁵ ont, S. G.; om. R.

⁸ sc. quoy; qe, S. G.

³ pur lez pechez canoniser, S.

⁶ soi, S.; se, G.; om. R.

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CHAPTER XX.

[Of the euyll customs vsed in the yle of Lamary; and how the erthe and the see ben of rownd forme and schappe, be pref of the sterre that is clept Antartyk, that is fix in the south.]

RA pis cuntree men gase by þe grete see Occean thurgh many iles and diuerse cuntrez, whilke ware lang to tell. At þe last after lii. day iournez men commez till a land, a large and a mykill, þe whilke es called Lamory. In þat land es wonder grete hete; and þe custom es þare þat men and wymmen gase all naked and schamez noȝt for to schew þam as Godd made þam. And þai scorne oþer þat er cledd; for þai say þat Godd made Adam and Eue naked, and þat men schuld hafe na schame of þat þat Godd made, for na thing þat es kyndely es foule. þai say also þat men þat vse clathez er of anoþer werld, or elles þai trowe noȝt in Godd, þat made all þe werld. In þat cuntree es na mariage betwene man and womman; bot all þe wymmen of þat land er comoun till ilke man. And þai say, if þai did oþer wyse, þai did grete synne, by cause Godd said till Adam and Eue, *Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram*, þat es to say, "Waxez and beese multiplied and fillez þe erthe." And forþi na man þare saise, "þis es my wyfe"; ne na womman, "þis es my f.74b. housband." And when wymmen er delyuer of childer, þai giffe þam to wham þai will of men þat hase lyen by þam. And on þe same wyse þe land es comoun till ilke man. For þat þat a man hase a ȝere anoþer hase anoþer ȝere; and ilke man takez what him list, now here now þare. For all thinges er comoun, as I said before, bathe cornes and all oþer gudes; for þare es na thing vnder lokk, and als riche es a man as anoþer. Bot þai haue ane euill custom amanges þam; for þai will gladlier ete mannes flesch þan any oþer. Neuer þe latter þe land es plentifulous ynogh of flesch and fisch and of corne, and also of gold and siluer and many oþer gudes. And þider bringes marchandes childer for to sell; and þe men of þat cuntre byes þam. And þase þat er fatte þai ete; and þase þat er noȝt fatte þai fede to þai be fatte, and þan slaez þam and etez þam. And þai say it es þe best and þe swettest flesch of þe werld. 20

CHAPITRE XX.

Des maluais custumes vses en lisle de Lamory; et coment la terre et la mer sont de rounde fourme, par proue del esteille Antartyke.

DE ceo pais vait homme par le mer Occeane et par moitez diuerses isles et par moit pais, qi trop serroient long a nomer¹ et diuiser. Et a lii. iournees de ceste terre dont iay parle y a vne autre terre, qi est bien grande et ad noun Lamory. En ceo terre y a molt grande chaud; et est custume tiele qe ly hommes et les femmes vont toutz nuz. Et se mokent, quant ils voient aucun estrange qest vesty, et dient qe Dieu qi fist Adam fust nuz et Adam et Eue furent faitz² nuz et qe homme ne doit point auoir de hounte de ly moustrer tiel come Dieu lad fait, qar rien nest laide qi soit de nature. Et dient qe cils qi sont vestiz sont gentz dautre siecle, ou ils sont gentz qi ne croient point Dieu. Et dient bien qils croient en Dieu, qi crea³ le mounde et fist Adam et Eue et toutz autres choses. Et si nont nulles femmes espouseez, auques sont toutes les femmes du pais comunes et ne refusent nully. Et dient qe elles peccheroient si elles refusoient les hommes, et qe Dieu le commonda ensy Adam⁴ et ceux qi descendirent de ly, la ou il disoit, *Crescite et multiplicamini et implete⁵ terram*. Et pur ceo nul ne poet dire en tout ceo pais, "Ceo est ma femme"; ne nulle femme poet dire, "Ceo est moun marit." Et, quant elles out enfautz, elles les donnent a qy qe elles voillent, qi ad eu compaignye a elles. Et auxi la terre est toute comune; qar ly vns la tient vn an, et ly autres vn autre, et prent chescun⁶ de quel part qil voet. Et auxi toutz les biens de pais sont comunes, bledz et autres choses; qar rien nest enclos, rien enserrez, auques prent chescun ceo qe ly plect sanz countredire, et auxi riches es lun come lautre. Mes ils out vn malueis custume; qar ils mangent plus voluntierz char de homme qe de nully autre char. Et si est ly pais molt habundant des bledz, des char,⁷ des pessons, dor, dargent et dautres biens. La vont ly marchandz et menent des⁸ enfantz pur vendre a ceux del pais, et ils les achatent. Et, sils sont crassez, ils les mangent tantost; et, sils sont megres, ils les fount engrasser. Et dient qe ceo est la meillour char et la plus douce de mounde. 40

¹ compter, S.; conter, G.

⁴ Adam et Eue, S. G.

⁷ des char, om. S. G.

² faitz, om. S. G.

⁵ replete, S. G.

⁸ lur, S.; leurs, G.

³ que Dieu crea, G.

⁶ chose, S.; len la chose, G.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat in þis land, and in many oþer þare aboute, men may noȝt see þe sterne þat es called *Polus Articus*,¹ whilk standes euen north and stirrez neuer, by whilk schippe men er ledd, for it es noȝt sene in þe south. Bot þer es an oþer sterne, whilke es called Antartic, and þat es euen agayne þe toþer sterne; and by þat sterne er schippe men ledd þare, as schippe men er ledd here by *Polus Articus*. And, riȝt as þat sterne may noȝt be sene here, on þe same wyse þis sterne may noȝt be sene þare. And þare by may men f.75. see wele þat þe werld es all rounde; for parties of þe firmament whilk may be sene in sum cuntree may noȝt be sene in an oþer. And þat may men proue þus. For, if a man myght fynd redy schipping and gude company and þerto had his hele and wald ga to see þe werld, he myght ga all aboute þe werld, bathe abouen and benethe. And þat prufe I þus, after þat I hafe sene. For I hafe bene in Braban and sene by þe astrolaby þat þe pole artyc es þare liii. degreez hegh, and in Almayne towards Boem² it has lviii. degreez, and forþermare toward þe north it has lxii. degreez of height and sum mynutes. All þis I persayued by þe astrolaby. And 3e schall vnderstand þat in þe south, euen ynentes þis sterne, es þe sterne þat es called Pole Antartic. Þise twa sternes stirrez neuer mare; and aboute þaim mouez þe firmament, as a qwhele duse aboute ane axeltree. And so þe lyne þat es betwene þise twa sternes departez all þe firmament in twa partes, ayther ylike mykill. Afterwardes I went toward þe south, and I fand þat in Liby seez men first þe sterne Antartyke; and, as I went ferrer, I fand þat in hie Liby it hase in height xviii. degreez and sum mynutes, of whilke mynutes lx. makez a degre. And so, passand by land and by see toward þe cuntree þat I spakk off are, and oþer landes and iles þat er bezond, I fand þat þis sterne Antartik had in height xxxiii. degreez.³ And, if I had had cumpany and schipping þat wald hafe f.75b. gane ferrer, I trow forsothe þat we schuld hafe sene all þe roundeness of þe firmament, þat es to say bathe þe emisperies, þe vppermare and þe nedermare. For, as I sayd 3ow before, halfe þe firmament es betwene þise twa sternes; þe whilk I hafe sene. And of þe toþer I sawe a party toward þe north, þat es to say lxii. degreez and x. mynutes, vnder þe pole Artyk⁴; and an oþer party I sawe toward þe south, þat es to say xxxiii. degreez and xvi. mynutes, vnder þe pole Antartyke. And halfe þe firmament contenez bot nyne score degreez, of whilk I hafe sene lxii. degreez of Artyk and ten mynutes, and of Antartyk toward þe south I hafe sene xxxiii. degreez and xvi. mynutes. Þise er iii^{xx} and xv. degreez and nere half a degree. And so þer lakkez bot iii^{xx} and foure

En celle terre, nen plusours autres par de la, ne voit point homme lestelle transmontane, ceo est lastelle du mer qⁱ ne se moet point, qⁱ est vers byse. Mes homme veoit vne autre qⁱ est al contraire de celle, qⁱ est vers mydy, qe homme appelle Antartike. Et si come ly maryners preignent auis icy et se gouvernent par celle esteille vers byse, ensy fount ly mariners de la par celle esteille vers mydi, la quelle ne y piert poynt a nous, et ceste deuers byse napiert poynt a eux. Par quoy homme poet aperceyuoir qe la terre et le mer sont de rounde fourme; qar la partie de firmament y piert en⁷ vne pays qⁱ napiert mie en vn autre. Et poet homme bien trouer⁸ par experience et par subtile indagacioun qe, si homme troueroit passage des niefs et gentz qⁱ uousissent aler sercher le mounde, lem purroit aler a nauie tout entour le mounde, et dessure et dessouz. La quelle chose ieo proue ensy, solonc ceo qe iay veu. Qar iay este vers les parties de Braban et regarde al astrolabre qe la transmontane est liii.⁹ degreez de haut, et plus auant en Alemaigne et Beome elle est a lviii.¹⁰ degreez, et plus auant vers lez parties septemtrionels elle ad lxii.¹¹ degreez de haut¹² et ascuns menues, qar ieo mesmes lay mesure al astrolabre. Ore deuez sauoir qe encountre celle transmontane est lautre esteille qⁱ est appelle Antartike, si come iay deuaunt dit. Et celles deux esteilles sont noun¹³ mouablez et par elles tourne tout le firmament, auxi come¹⁴ vn roe tourne par soun axis, si qe celles esteilles partent¹⁵ le firmament en deux parties ygaulez, si qe¹⁶ tant y a par dessouz come par dessure. Apres ieo su ale vers les parties meridionels, ceo est vers le mydy, et ay troue qe en Lybie homme veoit primes lestelle Antartike¹⁷; et, taunt ieo alay plus auant en celles parties, taunt trouay celle esteille H.f.41. plus haut, si qe vers la haute Lybie il y ad xviii. degreez de haut et ascuns menutz auques, dont lx. menutz fount vn degree. Puis,¹⁸ en alant par mer et par terre vers ces parties¹⁹ dont ieo parle, et as autres isles et terres en outre ceo pais, ieo trouay lantartik de xxxiii. degreez de haut et plusours menutz. Et, si ieo eusse troue compaignie et nauie pur aler plus outre, ieo quide estre certain qe nous eussions veuz tote la reondesse de firmament tot entour. Qar, si come ieo vous ay dit deuant, la moite de firmament est outre²⁰ cez ii. esteilles; la quelle moite iay tot veu. Et de²¹ lautre moite ay ieo veu vers bise desouz la transmontane lxii. degreez et x. menutz, et deuers la partie meridionale iay veu dessouz lantartik xxxiii. degreez et xvi. menutz. Ore²² la moite de firmament en tot ne tient qe ix^{xx} degreez. Et de cez ix^{xx} ieo en ay veu lxii. dune part et xxxiii. dautre part, ceo sont iii^{xx}xv. degreez, et pres de la moite dun degree. Et ensi²³ ne faut

¹ þe Sterre of þe See, þat is vnmevabe and þat is toward the north, þat wee clepen þe Lode Sterre, C.

² and mo mynutes, adds C.

³ qⁱ ne se vint vers bys. Mes, S.; qui ne se meut vers bise. Mais, G.

⁴ en, S. G.; om. R.

⁵ se bien prouer, S.; et ce puet len bien aprouer, G.

⁶ haut en Alemaigne vers Beom eol ad lviii., S.; hault en Alemaigne. Et uers Rouen elle a lviii., G.

⁷ de haut—menues, om. S.

⁸ partent, S.; portent, R.

⁹ Here H. recommences.

¹⁰ et de—veu, om. G.

¹¹ se bien prouer, S.; et ce puet len bien aprouer, G.

¹² noun, S.; non, G.; molt, R.

¹³ sicum ia counte par desus. Apres, S.; and so G.

¹⁴ ces parties—en outre, om. S.; ce pais, G.

¹⁵ Qar, S.; car, G.

¹⁶ sc. Bohemia; more forþere in Almayne and Bewme, C.

¹⁷ under the Transmontane, C.

¹⁸ qⁱ est—gouvernent par celle, om. S. G.

¹⁹ lxiii., S. G.

²⁰ lii., S. G.

²¹ auxi come—firmament, om. G.

²² de Artik, S.

²³ entre, S. G.

²⁴ et ensi—dun degree, om. G.

qe ieo nay veu tot le firmament qe ⁱⁱⁱⁱxⁱⁱⁱⁱ. degreez et la moite auqes dun degree. Et ceo nest mie la quarte partie du firmament; qar la quarte partie de la reondesse dul firmament tient² ⁱⁱⁱⁱx^x. degreez. Si en faut v. degreez et demi de la quarte partie. Et ensi ay ieo veu les ⁱⁱⁱ. parties de tote la reondesse dul firmament et pluiz vnqore v. degreez et demi. Pur quoi ieo dy certainement qe homme purroit enuironer tote la terre de monde, auxi bien par dessouz come par dessure, et retourner ariere a son pais, qi aueroit compaignie et conduit³ de nauie, et totdyz troueroit il hommes terres et ysles, auxi⁴ bien come en ceo pais. Qar vous sauez qe cils qi sont al endroit del antartik sont droitement pez⁵ contre piez de ceux qi demoerent dessouz la transmontane, auxi bien come nous et cils qi demoerent souz nous sumes pie contre pie; qar totes les parties de mer et de terre ont lour apposites habitables ou trespasables et isles de cea et de la.⁶ Et sachez qe, solonc ceo qe ieo puisse perceuoir et comprendre, les terrès Prestre Iohan, emperour de Ynde, sont dessouz nous. Qar, en alant Descocoie ou Dengleterre vers⁷ Ierusalem, homme monte tot dys. Qar nostre terre est en la basse partie de la terre vers occident, et la terre Prestre Iohan est la basse partie vers orient. Et ont la le iour, quant nous auons la nuyt; et auxi haut⁸ a contraire ils ont la nuyt, quant nous auons le iour. Qar la terre et la mer sont de reonde fourme, si come ieo vous ay deuant dit, et ceo qe lom monte al vne couste lom aualoit⁹ al autre. Ore auez oy dire auant qe Ierusalem est en mylieu de monde; et ceo¹⁰ poet homme moustrer par de la par vne lance fichee en terre sur la houre de mydy al equinocte, qi ne fait point de vmbre a nulle coustee. Et ceo qe ceo soit en mylieu de monde, Daudid le tesmoigne en le psalter, la ou il dit, *Deus operatus est salutem in medio terre*. Dunqes cils qi se partent¹¹ de celles parties doccident pur¹² aler vers Ierusalem, atant des iournees come ils mettent a monter pur aler iusques la, en atant de iourneies poient aler de Ierusalem iusques as autres confins de la¹³ superficie de la terre par de la. Et, quant homme vait outre celles iourneies vers Ynde et vers les isles foraches, tot est enuironant la reondesse de la terre et de la mer par dessouz noz pais de cea. Et pur ceo mad il souenez meinfoithe dune chose qe ieo oy conter, quant ieo fuy iefnes, coment vn vaillant homme sen party iadys de noz parties pur aler chercher le monde; si passa Ynde et lez isles outre Ynde, ou il y a pluiz de ^{viii}m isles, et tant ala par mer et par terre et tant enuirona le monde par mointes seysons qil troua vne isle ou il oy parler son langage et toucher les boefs¹⁴ en disant tiels paroules come lem fait en soun pais, dont il se merueilla mult, qar il ne sauoit coment ceo¹⁵ poait estre. Mes ieo dy qil auoit tant irre par terre et par mer qil auoit enuironne tote la terre qil estoit reuenuz enuironant

¹⁴ buefs a la charue, G.

werld, þat he was comen in to his awen marchez; and, if he had passed forþermare, he schuld hafe comen euen to his awen cuntree. Bot for he herd þat meruaile and myght get schipping na ferrere, he turned agayne as he come; and so he had a grete trauaile.¹ And it befell efterward þat he went in to Norway; and a tempest of wynd in þe see drafte him, so þat he arryued in ane ile. And, when he was þare, he wist wele it was þe ile in whilk he had bene before and herd his awen speche, as men drafte bestez. And þat myght right wele be; þof all it be þat symple men of cunnyng trowe noȝt þat men may ga vnder þe erthe bot if þai fall vnto þe firmament. For as vs think þat þase men er vnder vs, so think þaim þat we er vnder þaim. For, if a man myghte fall fra þe f.77b. erthe to þe firmament, by mare skill þe erthe and þe see, þat er so heuy, schuld fall vnto þe firmament. Bot þat may noȝt be, as Godd witnessez him self þare he saise, *Non timeas me, qui suspendi terram ex nichilo*,² þat es to say, "Hafe na drede of me, þat hynged þe erthe of noȝt."

And, if all it be possible þat a man may ga all aboute þe erthe, neuerþeles of a thowsand perauenture ane schuld noȝt do it in all his lyf, for to take þe riȝt way all aboute þe erthe til he come till his awen cuntree agayne þat he come fra. For þer er so many wayes and cuntrees þat a man schuld lightly faile, bot if it ware by special grace of Godd. For þe erthe is riȝt grete and large, and it contenes in roundeness aboute, abouen and bynethe xxⁱⁱⁱⁱ and xxv. myle, after þe opinioun of alde wyse men þat saise it, whilke I will noȝt reproue. Bot after my feble witte me thinke, saue þaire grace, þat it es mykill mare aboute. And for to make ȝow to vnderstand how, I ymagyne a figure of a grete compas; and aboute þe poynt of þat compas, whilke es called þe centre, be anoþer lytill compas departed by lynes in many parties and þat all þase lynes mete sammen on þe centre, so þat als many parties or lynes as þe grete compas hase be on þe lytill compas, if all þe space be less. Now be þe grete compas sette for þe firmament, þe whilk by astronomyeres es diuided in twelfe signez, and ilke 20 a signe es diuided in xxx. degreez; þis es ccc. and lx. degreez þat it es aboute. Now be þe less compas sett for f.77b. þe erthe and departid in als many parties as þe firmament, and ilkane of þase parties answeze to a degre of þe firmament; þise er in all dcc. and xx.³ Now be þise all multipliied ccc. tymes and lx. and it schall amount

iusques a ses marches et, sil vousist auer passe⁴ auant, qil eust troue et son pais et sa conissance. Mes il retourna ariere par illeques ou il estoit venuz, si perdy assez de ses peines, si come il mesmes le disoit vne grande piece apres qil feust reuenuz. Qar il auient qil aloit en Norweye; sy ly prist tempeste en mer, et arriua en vne isle, et, quant il fuist en celle isle, il reconust qe ceo estoit lisle ou il auoit oy parler soun langage a mesner les boefs a la charue. Et ceo fuist bien possible chose, coment qe y semble as simples gentz⁵ qe homme ne purroit aler par dessouz la terre et qe lom deueroit⁶ cheoir deuers⁷ le ciel dessouz.⁸ Mes ceo ne purroit estre a pluis qe nous purrions cheir deuers le ciel de la terre ou nous sumes; qar de qeunqe part de la terre qe homme demoere, ou dessure ou dessouz, il semble tot dys a ceux qi demoerent qe ils⁹ vont plus droit qe nulles autres gentz. Et auxi come y nous semble, qils sont dessouz nous, auxi il semble qe 30 nous sumes dessouz eaux. Qar, si homme poit¹⁰ cheoir de la terre iusques au firmament, par pluis grande resoun la terre et la mer, qi sont si grantz et si poisantz, deuerioient cheoir iusques a le firmament. Mes ceo ne purroit¹¹ estre; et pur ceo dit nostre Seignur, *Non timeas me, qui suspendi terram ex nichilo*.

Et, combien¹² qe ceo soit possible chose qe homme purroit ensi enuironer tot le monde, nient moinz de mil persones ly vn nadresseroit¹³ pas si droit pur retourner en son pais. Qar, pur la grandeur de la terre et de la mer, homme purroit aler par mil et mil autres voies, qe¹⁴ nul nadresseroit¹⁵ parfitement vers les parties dont il mouerout, si ceo nestoit dauenture ou de droit grace de Dieu. Qar la terre est mult H.f.42. large et mult grande et tient de reondure et de tour enuiron par dessure et par dessouz xx. mil cccxxv. miles, solonc loppinioun des anxienȝ sages, le dit¹⁶ des queux ieo ne reproue mie. Mes solonc mon petit sen y me semble, saue lour grace, qil y a pluis. Et pur mieltz entendre ceo qe ieo voil dire, soit ymagine vne figure ou il y ad vn grant compas; et entour¹⁷ le point de ceo grant compas, qest appelle le centre, soit fait vn autre petit compas. Et puis¹⁸ soit ly grant compas deuise par lignes en plusours parties, et qe totes les lignes sassemblent al centre, si qe en tantes parties come¹⁹ ly grant compas serra departy, en atantes sera departy²⁰ le petit qest entour le centre, combien qe les 40 espases soient moindres. Ore soit ly grant compas representez pur le firmament et le petit represente pur la terre. Ly firmament est deuise par astronomienȝ en xii. signes, et chescun signe est deuise en xxx. degreez; cez sont ccc.xl. degreez qe le firmament ad de tour. Ore soit auxi la terre deuise en atant des parties come le firmament, et respondra chescune partie a vn degre de firmament. Et sachez²¹ qe solonc lez autours dastronomie dc. stadies de terre respondent a vn degre du firmament, cez sont iiii^{xxvii} et iiii. stadies.²² Ore soit ceo si

¹ and so he loste moche peynfull labour, as him self seyde a gret while after þat he was comen hom, C.

² Apparently a misquotation of Job xxvi. 7.

³ and wyth it wel þat after the auctoures of astronomye dc. furlonges of erthe answeren to a degre of the firmament and þo ben iiii^{xxvii} miles and iiii. furlonges, C.

⁴ et qil ne fausit qil ne poiat auoir passe, S.; et quil ne faulsiſt quil peust auoir passe tant, G.

⁵ a asses de gens, qui sunt simples, G.

⁶ ne deueroit, S. H. R.; om. G.

⁷ desoutz, S.

⁸ deusoutz, S.

⁹ ils, om. H.

¹⁰ qe le dient lez queux, S.; qui le distrent, des quix ie ne reputie mie leur scens ne leur sauoir, G.

¹¹ poet, S.; peut, G.

¹² Et combien—le monde, om. G.

¹³ ne diceroit, S.

¹⁴ auant que, G.

¹⁵ ne diceroit, S.

¹⁶ qe le dient lez queux, S.; qui le distrent, des quix ie ne reputie mie leur scens ne leur sauoir, G.

¹⁷ et entour—compas, om. G.

¹⁸ Et puis—compas, om. S. G.

¹⁹ entendez comment, G.

²⁰ et atantes sera departy, om. S.

²¹ et sachez—firmament, om. S. G.

²² vii mil iiii^{xx} et vii., S. G.

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in all til xxxi^m myle and fyue, ilke a myle of viii. furlangs, as myles er in oure cuntree. And so mykill hase þe erthe in roundeness all aboute after myne opinioun and myne vnderstanding. And 3e schall vnderstand after þe opinioun of alde wise philosopheres and astronomyeres þat Ingland, Scotland, Wales ne Ireland er noȝt rekned in þe height of þe erthe, as it semez wele by all þe bokes of astronomy. For þe height of þe erthe es departed in vii. parties, þe whilk er called vii. climates after þe vii. planetes, þat er called climates; and til ilk ane of þa planetes es approperd ane of þe climatez. And þise cuntreez þat I spakk of er noȝt in þase climatez, for þai er downward toward þe west. And also iles of Inde, whilke er euen agaynes vs, er noȝt rekned in þe climates, for þai er toward þe est. Þise climatez envirouns all þe world. Neuerþeles¹ sum astronomieres appropers þise forsaid cuntreez to þe mone, whilk es þe lawest planet, and swiftliest makez his course. Now will I turne agayne to my mater þare I left, and tell ȝow of ma cuntreez and iles, whilke er in Inde and beyond.

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CHAPTER XXI.

[Of the palays of the kyng of the yle of Faau; of the trees that beren mele, hony, wyn and venym; and of othere meruaylles and customs used in the yles marchinge there abouten.]

f.78. **N**ERE þis ile of Lamory whilke I spakk off es anoþer ile, þat men callez Somober. Þis es a grete ile and a gude, and a noble kyng þerin and a myghty. þe folk of þis cuntree gers merk þam in þe visage with a hate yrne for grete noblay, to be knawen fra oþer folk; for þai hald þam selfe þe maste worþi folke of þe world. And þai hafe were euermare agaynes þe naked men whilk I spakk off before. And nere þis ile es anoþer ile, þe whilk es called Boteniga, a gude ile and full replenischt of many maners of riches. And aboute þis ile er many oþer iles and diuerse cuntreez, and diuerse maners of men, of whilk it ware to mykill to speke of all.

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multipliez par cccxl. foithes, cez serront xxxi mil dc.² miles, chescune de viii.³ stadies, solonc⁴ miles de nostre pais. Tant ad la terre de reondure et de tour enuiron solonc ma oppinioun et mult entendement. Et sachiez qe solonc l'oppinioun anxien sages philosophes et astronomiens nostre pais, ne Irland,⁵ ne Gales, ne Escoce, ne Norweye,⁶ ne les autres isles cousteantz, ne sont mie en la superficie contez dessus terre, si come il appiert par totes les liures dastronomie. Qar la superficie de la terre est departie en vii. parties pur les vii. planetes; et celles parties sont appelez climacz. Et lez parties⁷ ne sont mie de vii. climacz, qar ils sont descendantz vers occident en trehant⁸ vers la roundure de monde. Et la sont les isles de Ynde; et sont encontre nous, qi sont⁹ en la basse pais. Et lez vii. climacz sentendent enuironant le monde.

CHAPITRE XXI.

De palais le roi del isle Faau; des arbres qi portent farine, miel, vin et venim; et des autres merueilles et custumes en les isles marchisantz.

H.f.42b. **D**ELEZ celle isle dont ieo vous ay parle y a vne autre isle, qe homme appelle Sinnobor.¹⁰ Ceo est¹¹ vne bien grant isle,¹² et est ly 30 rois mult puissant. Lez gentz de ceste isle se font todys seigner el visage de feer chaud, hommes et femmes, pur grant noblesse et pur¹³ estre conuz des autres gentz; qar ils se tiegnent pur¹⁴ plus nobles et pur plus vaillantz qe nulle autre gent de tot le monde. Et todys ont ils guerre a celle gent, dont ieo vous ay parle, qi vont touz nuz. Et assez pres y ad vne autre isle, qe homme appelle Betemga,¹⁵ qest mult bone isle et mult plentiuouse. Et multz des autres isles sont la entour, ou il y a mult de diuerse gent, dont ceo serroit trop long chose a parler de tot.

¹ From here to the end of the chapter not in the French text, nor in C.

² vii. S.; ces, G.

³ ne Norweye—cousteantz, om. S. G.

⁴ qi sumes, S.; qui sommes, G.

⁵ vn bon isle et bien grant, S.; vne moult bonne isle et puissant et bien grant, G.

⁶ et pour plus estre vaillans et pour estre congneus des autres, G.

⁷ pur tiels qe ne sont nuls tiels gentz de tut le monde, S.; pour: ciex qe nulles gens ne sunt tieux en tout le monde, G.

⁸ Betouga, S.; Bouteuga, G.; Betemga, C.

⁹ ce sunt, G.

¹⁰ en nos parties, S.; en nostre pais, G.

¹¹ Somober, S. G.

¹² xxxi mil v^e, S.; xxxi^m d^e, G.

¹³ island, G.

¹⁴ entrant, S.

¹⁵ est, S. G. R.; om. H.

Bot to passe a lytill þeine by see men schal fynd a grete ile, þat es called Iaua. And þe kyng of þis ile es a grete lorde and a myghty, and hase vii. oþer kinges vnder him of vii. iles, whilke er aboute þat ile. In þe ile of Iaua es wonder mykill folk; and þare growez diuerse maners of spicery in mare plentee þan in oþer placez, þat es to say gynger, clowes, canell,¹ nutemuges, macez, and many oþer. And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe macez er þe huskes of þe nutemug.² In þis ile es grete plentee of all thing. þe kyng of þis land hase a faire palays and a riche. For all þe grecez in to his hall and his chaumbres er ane of gold, anoþer of siluer. þe flurez also of þe hall and þe chaumbres er of gold and siluer. And all þe walles within er couerd with plates of gold and siluer; and in þase platez er storys of kynges and knyghtes and batales, with corounes and cercles on þaire f.78b. heuedes of precious stanes. þare will na man trowe þe noblay and þe richness of þis palaise, bot if he hafe sene it. þe kyng of þis ile es so grete and so myghty þat he hase oft tymes discomfit þe Grete Caan of Cathay in 10 bataile, whilk es þe myghtiest emperour of all þe werld. For þai hafe oft bene at were by cause þe Grete Caan wald hafe made þe forsaid kyng to hald his land of him; bot þe kyng hase all way agaynestanden him and þutt him off mannely.

And for to ga forthe by see, men findez anoþer ile, þat es called Thalamass, and sum callez it Pathen. And it es a grete kingdom, with many faire citeez and tounes. In þis land growes treesse þat beres mele, of whilke men makes breed, faire and whyte and of gude sauour; and it semez as³ it ware of wheet, bot it es noȝt allinges of þe same sauour. þare er also oþer treessez þat berez venym, agayne whilke es na medecyne bot ane; and þat es to take þe lefes of þe same treessez and stampe þam and tempre þam with water and drink it, or elles a man schuld dye onane, for tiriacle may noȝt helpe ne nan oþer medecyne. With þis venym had þe Iews casten on a tyme for to hafe poysond all Cristendom, as ane of þam confessed vnto me; bot, blist be allmyȝty 20 Godd, þai failed of þaire purpose. And, if 3e will wit how þe treessez berez mele, I say þat men hewez with a hacchet aboute þe fote of þe tree nere þe erthe in many placez, so þat þe barke be perched; and þan commez

Mais assez pres de ceste isle a passer par mer y a vne grant isle et grant pais, qe homme appelle Iaua⁵; et ad pres de m^m lieues⁶ de circuit. Et est ly roi de ceo pais mult grant sires et riches et puissantz, et ad dessouz luy vii. autres rois de vii. autres isles enuiron. Celle isle est mult bien enhabite⁷ et bien peoplie des gentz. La croissent totes espices pluis habundaument qen autre part, si come gerger, clous de girofle, kanele, zeodoal,⁸ noiz muscat, et maces. Et sachez qe la noiz muscat porte les maces; qar, auxi come la noiz de coudre ad vne chape par dehors, en quoi elle est⁹ enuolopez iusques a tant qelle soit¹⁰ maeure et puis chiet hors, ensi est il de la noiz muscat et de maces. Mult dautre espices et multz dautres biens y croissent en celle isle, qar de touz biens y ad plentee, forsque de vin; et si ad dor et dargent grant fuisoun. Et ad ly rois de pais vn palais mult noble et mult merueilleus et pluis riches qe nul qi soit en monde. Qar touz les degres a monter en sales et en chambres sont vn dor et autre dargent; et auxi¹¹ le 30 päuement des sales et des chambres ont vn quarreu dor et vn autre dargent. Et touz¹² lez murs par dedeins sont couertez dor et dargent en plate; et en celles plates y a¹³ histoires et batailles des chivalers enleuez,¹⁴ et ont touz cercles entour lour testes des pieres precieuses et dez grosses perles. Et les sales et les chambres de palais sont totes surcelleez¹⁵ par dedeins dor et dargent, si qe nul crerroit la richesse et la noblesse qest en cel palais, sil nauoit veu. Et sachez qe le roi de ceste isle est si puissant qil ad moinefoitz vencu en champ le Grant Chan de Catay, qest ly pluis puissant emperour qi soit dessouz le firmament, ne de cea mer ne de la. Qar ils ont souent guerre ensemble, pur ceo qe le Grant Chan le voloit constreindre a tenir la terre de luy; mes ly autre sest totdys bien defendu.

Après ceste isle en alant par mer homme troeue vn autre isle bone et grande, qest appelle Thalamassy,¹⁶ et en autre langage homme lappelle Paten.¹⁷ Ceo est vn grant roialme, et ad ly roi multz dez belles cites et des belles villes en sa terre. En ceste terre croissent arbres qi portent farine, dont homme fait bon pain et blanc et de bon sauour; et semble qil soit de furment, mes il nest mie tot de tiel sauour. Et si ad dautres arbres qi portent mel bon et douce, et des autres qi portent vin, et des autres qi portent venim, contre quel y ni ad 40 H.f.43. ceo venim il morroit courtement,¹⁸ ne triacle, nautre medicine, ne ly vaudroit rien. De celle venim les Iuys auoient enuoiez quere vn de ses amiz²⁰ pur empoisoner tote Cristiente, si come ieo lour ay oy dire en lour confessioun a la mort; mes, Dieu graciez, ils faillèrent a lour purpos, mes totefoitz ils firent grande mortalitee. Et, si vous plest assauer coment la farine soit faite des arbres, ieo le vous dirray. Homme fiert larbre dun hachet tot entour le piee, si qe lescorce soit partie²¹ en plusours lieux; et adonqes ist fors vn liquour espesse, la

¹ clowgylofres, canelle, zedewalle, C.

² For right as the note of þe hasell hath an husk withouten, þat the note is closed in til it be ripe, and after falleth out, right so it is of the notemuge and of the maces, C.

³ at, MS.

⁴ here propre leues, C.

⁵ ianne, G.

⁶ ii. mil miles, S.; iii^m de circuit, G.; quæ bene tribus millibus miliarium circumdatur, Odoric.

⁷ habitable, G.

⁸ gyngyuer, clowes, canele, zedeail, S.; gingembre, clous, canelle, scoail, G.

⁹ est, S. G. R.; om. H.

¹⁰ soit, S. G. R.; om. H.

¹¹ et auxi—dargent, om. G.

¹² Et touz—dargent, om. S.; et les chambres aussi tous, G.

¹³ sont escriptz, S. G.

¹⁴ enleuez, om. S. G.

¹⁵ Calamassi, S. G.; om. C.

¹⁶ Patheri, G.

¹⁷ paucez, S. G.

¹⁸ en continent, S.

¹⁹ de prendre dez foilles, S.; de penre des propres fueillez, G.

²⁰ vn de cez ans, S. G.

²¹ perce, S.; perchiez, G.

f.79. oute a licour thikk, whilk þai kepe in vessell and settez it to þe sonne at drye. And, when it es drie, þai do it on þe mylne to grind; and þan it es faire mele and whyte. And wyne, hony, and venym er drawn on þe same maner oute of treessez and done in vessell to kepe. In þat ile also es a deed see; and it es in maner of a lowgh, and it has na ground. In þe whilk what thing so is casten, it sall neuer be funden agayne. Beside þat logh growez redez of a wonderfull lenth; and þai call þaim þare Thaby.¹ And of þir redez þai make þare houses and maneres and schippe and þaire oþer necessities, as we do here of akez and oþer treesse. Na man say þat þis es feyned thing or fable, for sikerly I sawe with myne eghen liggand apon þis see syde many of þir redez, of þe whilk xx. men of my felyschepe myght noȝt bere ane ne wele raise it fra þe erthe. Þare er also oþer redez of less quantitee; and vnder þaire rotes men findes precious stanes of grete vertu. For he þat beres ane of þase stanes apon him, þer may na maner of yrne dere him ne drawe blude of him. And þerfore men of þat cuntree 10 feightes riȝt baldely bathe on water and on land by cause of þir precious stanes. Bot þaire enmys, þat knawez þe manere and þe vertu of þer stanes, gerres make arowes and quarelles withouten yrne, and with þase þai wounde þam and slaiez þam.

Fra þis ile men wendez till anoþer ile by see, þe whilk men callez Calanok; and it es a grete land and f.79b. plentyuouse of gudes. þe kyng of þat land hase als many wyfes as he will. For he gers seke all þe faire wymmen of þe land and bring þam before him and takez ane of þam a nyght, anoþer anoþer nyght; and swa sum of þa kynges will hafe by diuerse tymes a thousand or ma. And scho þat es with him a nyght commez na mare at him, bot if he send for hir.³ And þerfore hase he a grete nowmer a sonnes and doghters; for sum kynges hase a c. childer, sum cc., sum ma. þe kyng also has xiiii^m of tame olyfauntes, whilk he gers kepe at ilk a toune in his rewme. And, when he hase were with any lord aboute him, he gers make castelles and brace þam on 20 þe olyfauntes; in þe whilk castelles he puttes men of armes for to feight agaynes þaire enmys. And on þe same wyse duse þaire enmys; for þat es þe maner of feighting amanges lordes in batailes in þase landes. And þase olyfauntes þai call Warkes in þaire langage.

In þat land also es a meruaile þat es noȝt in oþer landes. For all maner of fischez of þe see commez at a certayne tyme of þe ȝere, ilke a maner of fisch after oþer, and lays þam nere to þe land, and sum apon þe land. And þare þai lye three dayes; and men of þe cuntree commez þider and takes of þam what þai will. And þan

quelle ils resceuioint en vesseaux et mettront au solail et la lessent seccher. Et puis le molt⁴ al molin, si deuient farine belle et blanche. Et ly mel et ly vin et ly venim⁵ sont tretz dez autres arbres en celle mesme manere et mis⁶ en vesseaux pur gardir. En celle isle y ad vn mer mort, cest vn lac, ou ni ad point de founs. Et si ascune chose chiet⁷ en ceo lac, iames ne serra retroue. En cel lac croissent arundines, cez sont kannes, qils appellent Thaby,⁸ qi ont xxx. toises ou pluis de long. Et de cez kannes fait homme des belles maisons. Il 30 y a autres kannes, qi ne sont mie si long, qi croissent pres de la terre et ont si longes racines qe durent bien quatre arpentz ou pluis; et as founs⁹ de celles racines lom troue des piers precieuses, qi ont mult grantz vertues. Qar qi porte vn sur luy, feer ne acier ne le puet blescier ne plaier ne trere sang. Et pur ceo ils qi ont la pierre combatient hardiement en mer et en terre, qar homme ne les poet malfaire par nul arme. Et pur ceo ils qi ont affaire et a combatre a eaux et scieuont la manere, ils creont¹⁰ a eaux saiettes et quarreaux sanz feer, et ensi les blessent et occient. Et de celles kannes font ils maisons, niefs et autres choses, si come nous faceons icy des grantez chenes et des autres arbres. Et ne quide nul que ieo le die pur truffe, qar ieo vy de mes oelz¹¹ plusours kannes gisantz sur le riuage de cel lac, des quelles xx. de noz compaignons ne poaient vn porter ne leuer haut de terre.

Apres ceste isle homme vaiȝ par mer a vne autre isle, qad a noun Calonak¹²; et y a mult bele terre et grant plentee des biens. Et ly roi del pais ad des femmes tantz come il voet. Qar il fait quere des pluis bealles par tot son pais denuiroun¹³ et les fait mesner deuant luy et prent vne vne nuyt et altre nuyt vne autre et ensi ensuant, si qe il en ad mil femmes ou pluis. Et ne cochera ia qe vne foitz a vne femme, si 40 elle ne luy plect pluis assez qe les autres. Si en ad¹⁴ ly roi grant nombre des enfantz; tiel y ad¹⁵ c., tiel y ad cc., et tiel y ad pluis. Et si ad bien xiiii. mil¹⁶ olifantz priuez ou pluis, qil fait norir a ses vilains parmy les villes. Qar, en cas qil aueroit guerre a ascun autre roi denuiroun, il fait monter des gentz en chaustels sur cez olifantz pur combatre a ses aduersaires. Et ensi font ly autres rois la entour; qar la manere de guerroyer par de la nest pas de tot del ordinance par de cea. Et appelle homme la les olifantz Warkes.¹⁷

Vnqore y ad vn grant merueille en cel isle, qi nest nulle partie de monde aillours. Qar totes lez maneres des pesshons de la mer veignent vne foitz lan, lune manere apres lautre, et se¹⁸ iettent a la riue¹⁹ de celle isle, si qe lem ne veoit en la mer si pesshoun noun. Et la demoerent iii. iours; et emprent chescun de pais tant come il voet. Et puis celle manere de pesshoun sen departie, et autre manere vient

¹ þat ben xxxⁱⁱ fadme long, adds C.

² þat ben not so longe, þat growen nere the lond and han so longe rotes þat duren wel a iiii. quarteres of a furlong or more, C.

³ bot ȝif þat on happene to ben more lusty to his plesance þan another, C.

⁴ et ly venim, om. G.

⁵ Cabi, S.; Tahabi, G.

⁶ de mes oelz, om. S.

⁷ et si riad, S.

⁸ Karkes, S. G.

⁹ Et le velin aussi est mis, G.

¹⁰ as nouz, S; aus neus, G.

¹¹ Calonath, S.; Calonach, G.

¹² mes qe il ad c. ou cc. et plus, S.

¹³ se, S. G. R.; ses, H.

¹⁴ la molent, S.; la moulent, G.

¹⁵ si acun cheioit, S.; si, om. H.

¹⁶ trehent, S.; trahent, G.

¹⁷ et par tot le pais enviroin, S.; and so G.

¹⁸ cccc., S.; iiiie, G.

¹⁹ riuer, S.

wendez þat maner of fischez away, and anoþer maner of fische commez and lyes nere þe land oþer three dayes; and men takez of þam. And þus duse all maner of fischez til all hafe bene þare, and men hafe taken of þam
 f.80. what þai will. And na man knawez þe cause. Bot men of þat land saise þat Godd schewez þam þat grace at þe reuerence of þaire kyng, as þe maste worthy lord of þe werld, for he hase so many wyfes and getes so many childer on þam and multiplies þe werld, as Godd commaundid till Adam and Eue, when he said, *Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram*, þat es to say, "Waxez and multipliez and fillez þe erthe, and beese lordes of þe fischez in þe see." And þis think me ane of þe grettest meruailes þat I hafe sene in any land, þat fischez þat hase all þe see at will to swymme in schall with þaire awen gude will com þider and profre þam self to þe deed withouten constreynyng of any creature. And sikerly I wate wele it es noȝt done withouten a grete significacion and a grete cause.

Also þer er in þat land so grete snyles þat in þaire schelles three men or foure may be herberd,¹ as it ware in a lytill hous or a luge. Þare er oþer also of less quantitee, as² it ware of þe mykill of a mannes thee; and bathe þe tane and þe tother er all whyte, safe þe heued, and þat es blakk. And ȝit es þare þe thridd maner of snyles; and þai er mykill lesse þan owþer of þe oþer. And of þam þai make a meet for þe kyng and oþer grete lordes. In þat land es a custom þat, when a man dyes, his wyf es grauen with him all qwik; for þai say it es gude skille þat scho bere him company in þe toþer werld, as scho did in þis.

f.80b. Fra þis land men passez thurgh þe grete see Occiane til ane oþer ile þat es called Caffilos. And þare þai hafe a custom þat, when þaire frendes er grefe seke, þai hing þam apon treesse, þat þai may be wiried and eten with fewles; for þai say þat it es better þai be eten with fewles, whilk er aungelles of Godd, þan foully to be eten in þe erthe with wormes.

Fra þeine men wendez to anoþer ile, whare folk er of ane euill condicion; for þai nurisch grete hundes for to wiry men.³ And, when þaire frendez drawez to þe deed ward and þat þai trowe þai may liffe na langer, þai gerre þase hundes wiry þam; for þai will noȝt lat þam dye kyndely in þaire beddes by cause þai schuld noȝt suffer to grete penaunce in þaire dying. And, when þai er deed, þai ete þaire flesch in steed of venysoun.

And fra þis ile men wendez by many iles in þe see til ane ile þat es called Melk; and þare er also wikked

et fait auxi; et ensi⁴ lune manere apres lautre tanqe totes les maneres de pesshons y aient estee et fait auxi ordeignement lune apres lautre iii. iours, qe chescun de pais en ait pris tantz come il voet de chescun manere. Et ne sciet homme la cause pur quoi ceo⁵ poet estre. Mais cils de pais dient qe ceo est pur faire reuerence a lour roi, qi est le plus dignes⁶ qi soit, si come ils dient, et pur ceo qil adcomplist ceo qe Dieu dit a Adam, *Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram*; et pur ceo qil multiplie ensi le monde⁷ de ses enfantz, pur ceo enuoie Dieu le pesshoun de tot la mer en⁸ sa voluntee pur luy et pur soun pais,⁹ et ensi tot pesshoun se rent a luy en fessant homage, come al pluis excellent et a mieltz ame de Dieu, si come ils dient. Ieo ne say le resoun pur quoi ceo est; Dieu le sciet, qi tot sciet. Mes ceste chose me semble a pluis grant merueille qe nulle chose qe ieo veisse vnqes. Qar nature fait trop de diuerses choses et trop de merueilles; mes ceste merueille nest mie de nature, ancis est de tot contre nature, qe luy pesshons, qi ont abandon tot le monde a enuironer, se veignent rendre a la mer de iour propre volente et sanz nulle contrainte.¹¹ Et pur ceo suy ieo certain qe ceo ne poet estre sanz grant significacioun.

Il y a auxi en ceo pais des grantz lymaceons, qi sont si grantz qe plusours persones y purroient herberger en testeau, auxi come lem ferroit en vne petite mesoun; et des autres lymaceons y a, qi sont moindres grandement. Et de cez lymaceons et des grosses vermes blanz, qi ont noire teste, qi sont si grosses come la cuisse¹² dun homme et ascunes sont moindres, qe homme troue en boiz purriz, fait homme viande roiale pur le roi et pur autres grantz seignurs. Et, si homme mariez moert en ceo pais, homme enseueye sa femme tote viue ouesqez ly; et dit homme qe resoun est qelle luy face compaignie en altre siecle, si come elle ad fait en cestuy.

H.f.44. De ceo pais vait homme par la mer Occiane par vne isle qi ad a noun Caffoles.¹³ Gentz de celle isle, quant lour amys sont malades, ils les pendent a vne arbre et dient qils voillent¹⁴ mieltz qe les oiseals, qi sont anges de Dieu, les mangent qe luy vermes, qi sont si ordes, les mangissent en terre.

De celle isle vait homme vers vn autre isle, ou il y a gentz de mult mauaise nature, qi norissent grantz chienz et les affaient pur estranguler lour amys, quant ils sont malades; qar ils ne veillent mie qil moerent de la mort naturele, qar ils dient qils soeffrent trop de peine. Et, quant ils sont ensy estranglez, ils mangent la char en lieu de veneson.

Puis auant vait homme par mointe isle de mer iusques a vne isle qad a noun Milke.¹⁵ La y ad auxi tres malueis gent; qar ils ne se

¹ many persones may loggen hem, C.

² And of þeise snyles and of gret white wormes þat han blake hedes, þat ben als grete as a mannes thighe and some lesse, as grete wormes þat men fynden þere in wodes, men maken vyaunde rialle, etc., C.

⁴ et ainsi font lune maniere apres lautre par trois iours tant ordeignement tant que chascun, G.

⁶ qi est li plus dignes, S. G. R.; om. H.

⁹ paiz dieu li enuoie pur ceo le pesshon, S.; paiz et enuoie pour ce dieu le poisson, G.

¹⁰ toutz pesshons seruont a li et facent, S.; obeissent a lui et font honneur et hommage, G.

¹² teste, G.

¹⁵ Melke, S.; Mellee, G.

³ to strangle here frendes, C.

⁵ ceo, S. R.; se, H.

⁸ la mer est a, G.

¹¹ nul contrarie, S.

¹⁴ quil uault, G.

¹³ Gasfoles, S.; Cassoles, G.; Caffolos, C.

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folk and cruell. For þai hafe nere hand na lyking, bot in slaughter of men for to drink þaire blude; and he þat may slae mast noumer of men es of grettest name amanges þaim and maste wirschipfull. þare es na drink þat þai lufe so wele as mannes blude, and þat þai say es Godd.¹ And, if any debate be amanges þam, þer may na full sawghtling² be made till ilkane hafe drunken oþer blude; and on þe same wyse es it of affinitee makynge amanges þam. For accorde or affinitee amanges [þam] es noght, bot if it be made on þat wyse.

f.81. Fra þis ile men passez to anoþer ile by see, þe whilk es called Tracota, whare þe folke er as bestez withouten resoun. And þai dwell in cafes, for þai hafe na witte to make þam housez; and, when þai see any straunge men passe thurgh þe cuntree, þai rynne to þaire cafes and hydes þam. þai ete nedders, and þai speke noȝt, bot hisszes ane till anoþer, as nedders duse. And þai make na force of, na recches, nowþer of gold, ne of siluer, ne of oþer werldly gude, bot all anely of a precious stane, þe whilk hase lx. colours; and it es called traconit, after þe ile. þis ilke stane lufe þai wonder mykill, þof all þai knawe noȝt þe vertu þeroff, bot þai coueit it for þe fairness þeroff.

Fra þat ile men gase by see to anoþer ile, whilk men callez Natumeran; and it es a grete ile and a faire; and þe vingang³ þeroff es nere a thowsand myle. Men and wymmen of þat ile hase heuedes lyke hundes; and þai er called Cynocephales. þis folk, þof all þai be of swilk schappe, zit þai er full resonable and sutill of witte. And þai wirschepe ane ox for þaire godd; and ilkane of þam beres ane ox made of gold or of siluer in his front, in taken þat þai lufe þaire godd wele. And þai gang all naked bot a lytill clathe before þaire priuee membres. þai er large of stature and gude werrayours; and þai bere a grete target, with whilk þai couer all þaire body, and a lang spere in þaire hand, and on þis maner arayd þai ga baldely agayne þaire enmys. And, if f.81b. þai take any man in bataile, þai ete him. þe kyng of þat land es a grete lorde and a myghty and a riche and full deuote after his lawe; and he hase aboute his nekke a corde of silke, on whilke er ccc. precious stanes, grete and orient,⁴ in maner of bedes of laumbre. And riȝt as we say oure *Pater Noster* and oure *Aue*z apon oure bedes, riȝt so þe kyng sayse ilk day apon his bedes ccc. praieres to his godd before he ete. And he beres also aboute his nekk a ruby, fyne and gude and orient, þe whilke es nere a fote lang and v. fyngers on brede. þis ruby giffe þai him, when þai make him kyng, to bere it in his hand, and so he rydez aboute þe citee and þai er all obeyand vntil him. And fra þeine forward he beres it aboute his nekk all way; for, if he bare it noȝt, he schuld na langer be halden kyng. þe grete Caan of Cathay hase mykill coueitid þat ruby, bot he myȝt neuer get it by were, ne by bying, ne by nanoþer maner. þis kyng es full riȝtwys man and a trewe in his lawe; for he

delectent a nulle chose tanqes ils font a batiller et occire lez gentz. Qar ils boiuent volunters sang de homme, le quelle sang ils lappellent Dieu; et qi pluis empurra tuer, pluis est honurez entre eaux. Et si deux persones qi se entreaient sont acordez par amis, ou qe ascuns facent aliance entre eaux, y couient qe chescun de eaux boiue de sang al autre, ou autrement lacord et lailliance ne vaudroit rien, ne il ne serroit de rien reprove qi ferroit contre tiele acord ou tielle ailliance.

De celle isle vait homme par mer de isle en isle iusques a vn isle qad noun Tracoda, ou il y a gentz totes besteaux et auxi come non resonables. Et demoerent en cauernes, qils font⁵ en terre, qar ils nont mie de sen qils sachent faire des mesons; et, quant ils veient ascuns gentz passer parmy celle terre, ils se rescondent en lour cauernes. Et mangent char des serpentz, et poy⁶ mangent. Et si ne parlent point, mes siblent lun a lautre come serpentz. Et nont cure de nul auoir ne de nulle richesse, fors soulement dune pierre precieuse, qest de lx. colours. Et pur⁷ le noun del isle, qi ad a noun Tracoda, ils ayment mult celle pierre qi ad a noun tracedoit. Et si ne sciuent quelle vertue elle ad, mes ils la coueient pur sa bealte soulement.

Apres celle isle vait homme par la mer Océane par mointez isles iusques a vne isle qad a noun Nacumera,⁸ qest mult grant isle et bone et bealle; et tient bien de circuit pluis de mil lieues. Et touz les hommes et femmes de celle isle ont testes des chiens, et sont appelez Canophalez.⁹ Et sont gentz mult resonables et de bon entendement. Et adoerent vn boef pur lour dieu; et auxi¹⁰ chescun de eaux porte en soun front vn boef dor ou dargent en signe qils ayment bien lour dieu. Et si vont touz nuz fors vn petit drapelet, de quoi ils couerent lez genoilz et lez membres. Ils sont grantz gentz et bien combatantz; et ont vne grande targe, qi lez couere tot lour corps, et vne lance pur combatre. Et, sils preignent ascun en bataille, ils le mangent. Ly roi de celle isle est mult riche et mult puissant et mult deuout solonc sa loy; et ad entour son col ccc. perles dorient bien grosses et nodez¹¹ en guise de Paternostres daumbre. Et en la manere qe nous disons *Pater noster* et *Aue Maria* en comptant les paternostres,¹² ensi cis roi dit chescun iour deuoutement ccc. prieres a son dieu auant qil mange. Et si porte auxi entour son col vne rubie dorient fine et nobele, qest bien vn pie de long et v. doitz de large.¹³ Qar, quant ils eslisent lour roi, ils luy baillent celle rubie a porter en sa main; et ensi le mesnont chiualchant tot entour la citee, et de lors en auant ils sont totes obeisantz a luy. Et celle rubie il portera totdyz entour son col; qar, sil nauoit la rubie, homme ne tendroit pur roi. Ly Grant Chan de Cathay ad mult couoite ceo rubie, mes vnqes ne la poait auoir, ne par guerre ne pur nul auoir.¹⁴ Cis roi est mult droiturels solonc

¹ þei clepen Dieu, C.

² it is in kompas aboute, C. Odoric makes it "duo milia miliarium."

³ qui sunt, G.

⁴ Et pur le noun dil isle y a nome Tracodite. Ils ciment trop cel pierre, et si, S.; et pour le non de lisle il lappellent tracodite.

⁵ Nacumeran, S.; Natumerean, G.

⁶ et nodez, om. G.

⁷ ne par—auoir, om. S.

⁸ Cenophales, S.; Cinophales, G.

⁹ paroles, S. G.

¹⁰ accord, C.

¹¹ abouten his nekke ccc. perles oryent, C.

¹² et poy—serpentz, om. S.

¹³ Il aiment, etc., G.

¹⁴ et auxi—lour Dieu, om. G.

¹⁵ de large, om. S.; dun pie et v. dois de lonc, G.

punyschez all þase þat duse any wrang till any man within his rewme. And þerfore men may ga sauely and sikerly thurgh his land and na man be so hardy to disturbe þam, ne robbe þam, ne take fra þam any maner of gude.

Fra þis ile menne gas to anoþer ile þat es called Silha; and þe vmgang þeroff es viii^e myle. A grete party of þis cuntree es waste and wilderness and noȝt inhabitid; and þerfore þer es grete plentee of dragouns and f.82. cocodriles and oþer maner of nedders, so þat þare may na man dwell þare. þe cocodrille es a maner of nedder, browne abouen on þe backe, with foure fete and schort legges and twa grete eghen.¹ And þe body þeroff es so mykill and so lang þat, whare it hase gane in þe sand, it es lyke as men had drawn a grete tree þare. In þat wilderness also er many oþer maners of wilde bestez, and namely olyfauntes. And in þat ile es a grete mountayne, and euen abouen on þe toppe² þeroff es a grete lowgh full of water. And men of þat cuntree saise 10 þat Adam and Eue wepid apon þat hill a hundreth ȝere efter þat þai ware dryfen oute of Paradys, and of þaire teeres þat þai weped was þat water gaderd. In þe grund of þat lac er funden faire precious stanes; and aboute þat lowgh growes grete plentee of redez, amanges whilk er many cocodrilles and oþer diuerse nedders dwelland, and þare er in þe lowgh hors iles³ of wonderfull greteness. þe kyng of þat ile anes in þe ȝere giffez all þe pouer folk of þe land lefe for to gang in to þe lac and gader þam precious stanes for almous and for þe lufe of Adam and Eue Godd; and þer es ilk a ȝere fun ynew of þa precious stanes. þis pouer folk when þai ga in to þis lowgh for to gader þe precious stanes, þai enoynt þam all ouer with þe ius of þe fruyt þat es called lymons,⁴ and þan þai drede noght þe cocodrilles ne þe oþer⁵ [venymous vermyn]. þe water of þis [lowghe renneth f.82b. flowynge and ebbynge] downe [a syde of þe mountayne. And] by [that ryuer er perles and] many precious stanes fun. þai say in þat cuntree þat nedders and oþer venymous bestez of þat cuntree duse na diseese to na 20 straungers ne pilgrimes þat passez thurgh þe land, bot all anely til men of þe same cuntree and þaim þat dwellez nere. Also þare [er] in þat ile wylde geesse with twa heuedes; and þare er whyte wolves⁶ als grete of body as oxen, and many oþer diuerse bestes. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat þe see whilk es aboute þis ile and oþer iles aboute it semez so hye abouen þe land þat it es lyke to men þat behaldez it as it hang in þe aere and schuld fall doune allsone and couer all þe erthe; and þat es a wonder thing, as þe prophete saise, *Mirabiles elaciones maris*,⁷ þat es to say, "Wonderfull er þe rysings of þe see."

sa loy et mult bon iusticiers; pur quoi homme poet aler seurement par tot son pais et porter tot ceo qe lem voet, qe nul nest si hardy de nully desrobber,⁸ qar tantost ly roi en ferroit faire iustice.

De celle terre vait homme a vne autre isle qad a noun Silha; et ad bien dccc. lieues de circuit. En celle terre y ad trop de terre gaste, ou il y a tantz des serpentz et des dragons et des cocodrilles qe lem noise demorrer. Cils cocodrilles sont serpentz iaunes et roiez⁹ 30 par dessure, et ont iiij. piez et courtz iambes et grantz vngles; il y ad v. toises de long et de vi. et de viii.¹⁰ et de x.; et, quant ils vont par lieu sablenouse, il semble come¹¹ ad treine vne grant arbre par my sabloun. Et si ad auxi mult des bestes sauages, especialment des olifantz. En ceste isle y a vne grant montaigne, et en my lieu de celle montaigne a pluis haut y a vn grant lac en vn beal plain et y a grant fuissoun de eawe. Et dient cils de pais qe Adam et Eue plorroient sur celle montaigne c. ans, quant ils furent gettez de Paradys; et celle¹² eawe dient ils estre de lour lermes, qar tant ploroient ils sur celle montaigne qe cis lac fuist ensi fait. Et al founs de ceo lac troue homme multz des pieres precieuses et grosses perles. En cel lac croissent multz des arundines et des grantz glageaux; et y ad dedeins multz des cocodrilles et des serpentz et des grosses sangsues. Et ly roi de pais touz les ans vne foitz donne congee as pources a entrer en lac et amasser celles pieres¹³ en almoigne et pur lamour del dieu Adam¹⁴; et touz les ans lem troue assez. Et pur le vermine qest dedeins ils se oignent les bracz et les iambes del iucz de lymons, cest vn manere de fruit come pesches petites, et lors nont ils garde ne de cocodrilles ne dautre vermine.¹⁵ Celle eawe court et auale¹⁶ par vne coustee de la montaigne; et en ceo rusheu troue homme des pieres et des perles grant 40 fuissounz. Et dit homme comunement en celle isle qe ly serpentz et les bestes sauages de pais ne toucheront ia ne mal ne ferront a nulle persone estrange qi entre el pais, fors soulement a ceux qi sont neez du pais. En ceo pais et autres la enuiron y a des owes sauages, qi ont ii. testes; et y a des lyouns touz blanz et auxi grantz come grantz boefs, et multz dautres diuerses bestes et oiseals y a qi ne sont mie de cea la mer. Et sachez¹⁷ qe en ceo pais et as autres isles la entour la mer est si haut qil semble qelle pende¹⁸ as nuez et qelle doie couerir tote la terre. Ceo est grant merueille, coment elle se poet ensi tenir, forsque de la voluntee de Dieu qe layr le sustient.¹⁹ Et pur ceo dit Daud el psalter, *Mirabiles elaciones maris*.²⁰

¹ schorte thyres and grete nayles, C.

² sc. eels; grete water leches, C.

³ The bottom of the leaf is torn away at this point.

⁴ lyons alle white, C.

⁵ rouges, S.

⁶ en celle, H.; ce lac, G.

⁷ venym, S.

⁸ touche, S. G.

⁹ in mydd place of the mount, C. So Odoric, "in medio montis"; but one MS. reads "in . . . cacumine."

¹⁰ lyche smale pesen, adds C., "pesen" being over an erasure.

¹¹ The missing words here and below are supplied as far as possible, with the help of C.

¹² Ps. xcii. 4.

¹³ et de viii., om. S. G.

¹⁴ perles, S. G.

¹⁵ court aual, S. G.

¹⁶ qui la soustient, G.

¹⁷ destourber, S. G.

¹⁸ qomme, S.; que len, G.

¹⁹ de Dieu et de Adam, G.

²⁰ et sachez—la mer, om. S.

²¹ *Mirabilis in altis Dominus*, adds S.

CHAPTER XXII.

[How men knowen be the ydole 3if the sike schall dye or non; of folk of dyuerse schap and merueylously disfigured; and of the monkes that zeuen hire releef to babewynes, apes and marmesettes, and to other bestes.]

FRA þis ile men wendez by see toward þe southe to anoþer ile, þe whilk es called Dundeya, and it es a large ile and a mykill. In þis ile dwellez a maner of folk þat es of euill condiciouns, for þe fader etez þe son and þe son þe fader, þe husband his wyf and þe wyf hir husband. For, if it fall þat a mannes fader be seke, þe sonne gase to þe preste of þe lawe and praies him þat he will ask þaire godd, whilk es a mawmet, whedir his fader sall dye of þat sekeness. And þan þe preste and þe seke mannez sonne knelez before þe [mawmet deuoutely] and askes him wheder [þe seke man schall liue or] die. And þe fende [þat is within þe
f.83. mawmet answeres þat he schall not die at þat tyme, and showes] þam medecynes for to hele him with; 10
and þan þe son turnez hame to þe fader and duse til him as he was teched before vntil he be hale. And, if he say þat he schall dye, þe preste and þe son and þe wyf of þe seke man commez till him and castez a clath¹ on his mouth and stoppez his wynde, and so þai slae him. And, when he es deed, þai take his body and hewes it in small pecez and callez all his frendez togyder, and all þe mynstralles þat may be geten, and makes þam a sollempne feste and etes þe deed mannes body. And, when þai hafe eten all þe flesch, þai gader all þe banes togyder and grafez þam on þaire maner with grete sollempnitee and lowd sang. And þus duse ilke frende till oþer; and, if it be swa þat any man þat es sibbe vnto þe deed withhald him fra þis feste and commez noȝt to þe sollempnitee, all þe kynreden will reproue him as of a notable blame, and neuer efter þat sall he be accountid amanges his frendez. Þai say þat þai ete þe flesch of þaire frende by cause þat wormes schuld noȝt ete him in þe erthe, and for to delyuer him of þe grete payne þat his saule suld suffer, if wormes gnew him in þe erthe. 20
Þai say also, when þai fynd his flesch leen by cause of lang sekeness, þat it ware a grete synne to suffer him liffe langer or to suffer payne withouten cause. And, if þai fynd his flesch fatte, þai say þai hafe done wele þat þai hafe slaen him so sone and sent him to paradys and sufferd him noȝt overlange be tourmentid in þis werld. Þe

CHAPITRE XXII.

Coment homme conoist par lydole si le malade morra ou noun; des gentz de diuerses faceons et mult defigurez; et des moignes qi donent leur relief a baboins, siengez et marmotz.

DE ceste isle en alant par mer deuers mydy y a vne autre isle grande et lee, qi ad a noun Donda.² En celle isle³ sont gentz de diuerses natures, si qe le pierre mange le filz et le filz le pierre, et le marit la femme et la femme son marit. Et, sil auient qe ly pierre ou la meere, ou ascuns des amys, soit malades, tantost le filz vait al preistre de leur loy et ly prie qil voile demander a leur ydole si son pierre morra de celle maladie ou nantost. Adonques ly preistre et le filz par ensemble vont deuant lydole et 30
sagenoillent mult deuoutement et font leur demande. Et ly dyable qi est dedeins lydole respont, et dit qil ne morra mie a celle foitz et leur enseigne coment ils le deuont garrir; et lors le filz retourne ariere et sert le pierre et luy fait ceo qe lydole luy ad deuise tanqe il soit garriz. Et ensi font les femmes pur leur maritz, et ly maritz pur les femmes, et luy amys lun pur lautre.⁴ Et, si lydole dit qil doit morir, adonques ly preistre vait ouesqe le filz ou ouesqe la femme al malade et ly met⁵ vn pain sur la bouche pur estoupper laleyne et ensi lestuffe et occist.⁶ Et puis ils coupent le corps par pieces et font prier touz lez amis a uenir manger de celui mort, et font venir touz les menestrierz qils poient auoir, et le mangent a grant feste et a grant solempnitee. Et, quant ils ont mange la char, ils preignent les osz et les⁷ enseueillent et chantent et font grant melodie. Et touz lez parentz et amis qi nont estee a celle feste sont reprouez et vergondez et ont mult grant doel; qar iames apres homme ne les tendra pur amis. Et dient ly amys qils mangent ensi la char pur luy deliuerer de peine, qar si⁸ les vermes le mangeoient en terre, l'alme suffrieroit grant peine, sicome ils dient. Et, quant la char est trop maigre, adonques ly amys dient qils ont fait grant pecche del auoir lesse tant languir et tant soeffrer de peine sanz resoun. Et, quant ils trouent la char 40
grasse, si dient qe ceo est bien fait qils l'ont tantost enuoie en paradis et ne l'ont pas lesse trop des peines. Ly roi de celle isle est mult grant

¹ putten here hondes ("main" for "pain"), C.

⁴ et li autres pur lun et lautre, S.

⁷ et les, om. H.

² Dundun, S.; Diuidra, G.; Dondia, R.; Dondun, C.

⁵ li mettent, G. For "pain," cf. Lat. "pannus."

⁸ qar si—grant peine, R.; om. H.

³ isle, om. H.

⁶ lestouffent et occient, G.

f.83b. kyng of þat land es a grete lord and a myghty, and he hase vnder him liiii. iles mykill and large; and in ilkane of þam es a coround kyng, þe whilk er all obeyand till him.

And in þase iles er many maners of folk of diuerse condiciouns. In ane of þam es a maner of folk of grete stature, as þai ware geauntz, horribill and foule to þe sight; and þai hafe bot ane egh, and þat es in myddes þe forheued. Þai ete rawe flesch and rawe fisch. In anoþer ile er foule men of figure withouten heuedes, and þai hafe eghen in ayther schulder ane; and þaire¹ mouthes er round schapen, lyke a hors scho, ymiddles þaire brestez. In ane oþer ile er men withouten heuedes; and þaire eghen and þaire mouthes er behind in þaire schulders. In anoþer ile es a maner of folk þat hase a platte face, withouten nese or eghen; bot þai hafe twa smale holes in steed of eghen, and þai hafe a platte mouth, lippliss. In anoþer ile er foule men þat hase þe ouer lippe so grete þat, when þai slepe in þe sonne, þai couer all þe visage with þat lippe. In anoþer ile er folk of lytill stature, as þai ware dwerghes; and þai er sumwhat mare þan pigmez. Þai hafe na mouth; bot þai hafe in steed of þaire mouth a lytill hole, and þerfore, when þai schall ete, þam behoues souke it with a rede or a pype. Tunges hafe þai nane; and þerfore þai speke noȝt, but hissez and makez signes as mounkes duse, ilke ane till oþer, and ilkane of þam wate wele what oþer menez. In anoþer ile er folk whas eres er so syde² þat þai hing doune
f.84. to þe kneesse. In anoþer ile er folk þat hase fete lyke hors, and on þaim þai will rynne so swythe þat þai will owertake wylde bestes and sla þam to þaire mete thurgh swyftnes of fote. In anoþer ile er folk whilke gase on þaire hend and on þaire fete, as þai ware foure foted bestez; and þai er rowgh and will clymbe in to treesse als lightly as þai ware apes.³ Þare es anoþer ile whare folk er þat er bathe men and wymmen, and hase members of bathe þe tane and þe tother, and ilkane of þam hase a pappe on þe ta syde. And, when þai vse þe member of man, þai get childer; and, when þai vse þe membre of womman, þai bere childer. Anoþer ile þer es whare þe folk gase on þaire kneesse wonderfully, and it semez as þai schuld fall at ilke a passe; and þai hafe on ayther fote viii. taasse. ȝit es þer⁴ anoþer ile whare þe folke has bot a fote, and þat fote es so brade þat it will couer all þe body and owmbre it fra þe sonne. Apon þis fote will þai rynne so fast þat it es [wonder] to see. Also þer es anoþer ile whare þe folk liffez all with þe sauour of a maner of apple; and, if þai tharned⁵ þat sauour, alsone þai schuld dye. Many oþer maner of folk þer er in oþer iles þer aboutes, whilk ware to lang to tell all.

sire et mult puissant, et ad dessouz luy liiii. isles grandes, qi totes respondent a luy; et en chescune de celles isles y a vn roi coronne, et touz sont obeisantz a l'autre roi.

H.f.45b. Et y a en celle isle⁶ multz des diuerses gentz. En⁷ vne de celles isles demuront⁸ gentz de grant stature, come geantz, et sont hidous a veoir; et nont qe vn oyl en mylieu le front, et ne mangent qe pesshoun et char touz cruz. En vn autre isle deuers mydy demoerent gentz de laide stature et de malueise nature, qi nont point de teste; et ont les oelz as espauls et la bouche torte come vn fer de chial, en my la poitrine. Et en vn autre isle auxi y sont gentz sanz teste; et ont lez oelz et la bouche par deriere les espauls. Et en vne altre isle y a gentz qi ont la face tote plate et tote ygaule sanz nes et sanz oes, forsque ii. petitiz pertuz rondz en lieu des oes, et vne bouche plate, auxi come vne fendure, sanz lieueres. Et en vne autre isle y a gentz de laide faceoun, qi ount la lieure dessour la bouche si grande qe, quant ils veullent dormir au solail, ils couerent tote la face de leur lieure. Et en vne autre isle y a petitiz gentz, come naims, totefoitz plus grantz⁹ qe les pigmeiz. Et ont vn petit pertus en lieu de bouche; et pur ceo leur couient prendre ceo qils mangent et boient ouesque vne tuel de plom¹⁰ ou daltre chose. Et si nont point de lange, ne ne¹¹ parlent point, forsque siblent et font signes lun a l'autre auxi come moignes ou muhetz,¹² et ensi entent lun ceo qe l'autre voet dire. Et en vne autre y a des gentz qi ont grantz orailles pendantz iusques as genoillz. Et en vne altre y a gentz qont pie de chial; et sont fortz et puissantz et tost corrantz, qar ils preignent les bestes sauages a cour et les mangent. Et en vne autre y a gentz qi vont sur les mains et sur les piez, come vne beste, et sont touz pelluz et rauissent¹³ legierement sur les arbres, auxi tost come ferroit vne singes.¹⁴ Et en vne autre y a gentz¹⁵ qi sont homme et femme et ont¹⁶ nature del vne et del autre, et ont vne mamelle a vn¹⁷ coustee et al autre nont point. Et ont membres de generacioun de homme et de femme et vsent de quel qil veullent, vne foithe dun et autrefoitz dautre; et engendrent enfantz, quant¹⁸ ils sont oures de madle, et, quant ils sont oures de femele, ils conceyuent et portent enfantz. Et en vne autre il y a gentz qi vont totdys sur leur genoillz mult merueilleusement, et semble a chescun pas qils deuoient chaoir; et si ont en chescun pie viii. artouz. Plusours autres maneres des gentz il y a en les autres isles la entour, des queux homme purroit tenir long compte; mais ma matiere serroit trop a longe,¹⁹ si men passeray assez briefment.

¹ and þaire—schulders, omitted in the printed text of C., but contained in the MS., in much the same form as here given.

² þat han grete eres and longe, C. For "syde," meaning "long" (cf. A.S. *síd*), see above, p. 69.

³ And þei ben alle skynned and fedred, and þei wole lepen als lightly in to trees and fro tree to tree as it were squyrelles or apes, C.

⁴ ȝit es þer—schuld dye, not in Fr. text, nor in C.

⁵ en, S. G. R.; et, H.

⁶ plume, G.

⁷ rampent, G.

⁸ et ont—femme, om. S. G.; but they insert "et ont vne mamelle—de femme" below after "enfantz."

⁹ et, quant ils font oeure de maul, engendrent enfantz; et, quant ils font oeure de femme, ils coient et engendrent (concoient et portent, G.) enfantz, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ trop aloigne, S.; trop aloingnie, G.; trompe(?) alonge, H.; trop a long, R.

¹¹ sc. were deprived of.

¹² ia, S.; y a, G.

¹³ et ne, S. G.

¹⁴ squerel, interlined, H.

¹⁵ en cels isles, S.; and so G.

¹⁶ toutesfoiz sont il ii. fois plus grant, G.

¹⁷ moigne en mouster, S.; moines en cloistre, G.

¹⁸ gentz, S. R. (interl.); gens, G.; om. H.

¹⁹ vn, S. G.; om. H. R.

The Buke of John Maundeuill.

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For to ga fra þise iles by see toward þe este many day iournez men fyndes a grete kyngdom, þe whilk es called Mancy. And it es in Inde þe mare; and it es þe best land and maste lykand and plentifcusest of all f.84b. gudes þat es in þe power of man. In þis land dwelles many Cristen men with Sarzenes, for it es a grete land and a gude. And þer er þerin ma þan ii^m of noble citeez, withouten oþer gude townes. And þe land of Inde es þe maste plentifous land of folk þat es owerwhare, by cause of þe grete commoditez þat it has þerin. In þat land es na beggar, ne na pouer man. And þe folk of þat land er riȝt faire, outetaken þat þai er pale of colour. And þe men of þat land has schyre berdes¹ with few hares in þam; for a man schall vnnethes fynd in ane of þaire berdes l. hares. þai er few, here a hare and þare a hare, as it es in þe berde of a lebard or of a catte, and þa harez er riȝt lang. In þat land er þe fairest wymmen þat er in any land beȝond þe see; and þerfore sum callez þat land Albany, by cause þat þe folk þat wonnes þerin er so white.

þe first citee of þis land, and þe next þe see, es called Latoryn; and it es mare þan Parisch. And thurgh þis citee rynnez a grete water, hable for to bere schippes; and it rynnez into þe see a lytill fra þe citee, þat es to say a day iournee. þare es na citee in þe werld better ordayned, ne ma schippes langand to, ne better ne larger and stranger hauen hase þan þis citee. All þe folk of þat citee and of þe cuntree aboute wirschepez mawmetes. þare er all maner of fewles gretter by þe half þan þai er in þis cuntree.² þare er geesse all whyte, als grete as swannez in þis cuntree; and þai hafe on þaire heuedes a reed spotte euen round. þare es grete plentee and f.85. grete cheep of all maner of vitaille, and also grete plentee of nedders, of whilke þai make grete festes and delicious metes. For, if a man make a grete feste and had giffen all þe best metes þat myght be geten owerwhare and he gyffe þam na nedders, he has na thank of all his feste.

þare er many oþer faire citees in þis land, and grete plentee of vitaille; and þare er also many kirkez and housez of religioun efter þaire lawe. And in þa kirkes er grete ydoles, as þai were geauntz, þe whilk þai giffe mete and drink vnto on festiual days apon þis wyse. þai bring before þam metes als hate as þai come fra þe fire, and þai late þe smoke of þam ascend vp towardes þe ydoles, and þan þai say þat þai er fedd wele ynoghe; and, when þai hafe so done, þe men of religioun etez þe metes. In þis cuntree er whyte hennes withouten fethers, bot þai hafe whyte woll on þam, as scepe hase in oure cuntree. Wymmen of þat cuntree þat er weddid³ beres crownes apon þaire heuedes, þat þai may be knawen by forby þaim þat er vnweddid. In

De cestes isles en alant par mer Occiane vers orient par mointez iournees troeue homme vn grant pais et grant roialme, qe homme appelle Mancy.⁴ Ceo est en Ynde la maiour; et est la meilloure⁵ terre et la pluis belle et la pluis delitable et la pluis plentiuouse de touz biens qi soit en poestee de homme.⁶ Et en celle terre⁷ demourent mult des Cristiens et de Sarazins auxi, qar il y a bon pais et grant. Et y a bien pluis de m'm¹ de cites grandes, sanz autres villes. Ly poeple est mult grant en ceo pais,⁸ pluis qen nulle autre de Ynde,⁹ pur¹⁰ la 30 bontee¹¹ du pais. Et en ceo pais nul ne demande pain pur Dieu; qar en tot le pais il ni ad nul poures. Et ad si mult belles gentz, mes H.f.46. mes bien pallez. Et ont ly hommes les barbes bien cleres¹² et a poy de peilz et bien longes; mes a peine ad vne homme l. peilz en sa barbe, mes vn peil cea et vne autre la, come le barbe dun leopard ou dun chat. En ceo pais y a mult belles femmes, pluis qen nulle autre pais par dela la mer. Et pur ceo ascunes appellent celle terre Albane, pur ceo qil y a blanches gentz.

Et la primere cite de ceo pais, qi est a vne iournee de la mer, ad a noun Lacorin¹³; et est plus grant assez qe ne soit Paris. En celle cite¹⁴ y ad vne grant fluuie portant nauie, qi vait¹⁵ iusques a la mer. Nulle cite de monde est si bien garny de nauie come¹⁶ celle est. Et touz cils de la cite et del pais adoerent ydoles. Et en celle pais tous les oysealx sont ii. foithes plus grantz qe cy. La sont owes blanches et rouges entour le col et ont vne grosse boce sur la teste; et sont deux tantz plus grandes qe de cea. Et ad homme bone marche de totes viures. Et y a grant fuisoun des grantz serpentz, des queux homme fait grant feste, et les mange homme as grant solempniteez. Qar qi aueroit fait vne grande feste et eust donne totes les viandes qe homme sauroit deuiser, sil nauoit done vn entremes de celles serpentz, il 40 naueroit rien fait, qar homme ne preiseroit rien, quant qe il aueroit fait.

Moins bone cite y ad en ceo pais, et ad homme tres grant marchee de viures. En ceo pais y a mult des esglises et des religious de leur loy. Et sont en celles esglises grant ydoles come geantz; et a cez ydoles ils donent au manger au iour de leur festes en ceste manere. Ils portent deuant eux les viandes totés quites, si chaudes come ils viegnent de feu, et lessent la fumee monter vers les ydoles, et adonques dient ils qe les ydoles ont mange; et puis mangent ly religious les viandes apres. En ceo pais y a gellines blanches qi nont point de plume, mes ont laine blanche come berbiz. Et les femmes mariez en ceo pais portent vne signe de corne¹⁷ sur leur testes pur estre coneuez de non

¹ thynne berdes, C.² In þat contree ben double sithes [more briddes than ben] here, C. The words in brackets are only in the printed text, the MS. having a lacuna. See the Fr. text.³ þat ben vnmariyd . . . to ben knowen for vnmariyd, C. See note.⁴ la plus bone, S.; ceste terre et la plus belle, G.⁵ terre de Manssi, G.⁶ et pour la bonte du pais nul ne demande, G.⁷ Latorin, S.; Lacorni, G.; Latoryn, C.⁸ nest mieulx garnie ne si bien comme, G.⁹ qe en poiat homme diuiser, S.; que len puisse trouuer, G.¹⁰ pais, om. H.¹¹ bonte et beaute, G.¹² ceo pais, S.¹³ corone, S.; couronne, G.¹⁴ Mansi, S. G.¹⁵ de monde, S.¹⁶ cleres, qar a poinez a vn homme l. peus, G.¹⁷ qi vait—mer, om. S.

pis land þai take a beste þat es called Loyres, and þai teche it to ga in to waters and viuers, and alsone he bringes oute grete fischez, als many and as oft as þai will.

Fra þeine men gase by land many day iournez til anoþer citee þat es called Cassay, þe whilk es þe maste citee of þe werld; and it es als mykill at say as þe Cytee of Heuen. þis citee es of l. myle vmgang, and þer es f.85b. wonder mykill folk þerin.¹ þis citee hase xii. grete zates; and before ilke a zate, as it ware a three myle or foure, es a grete toune and a gude. þis citee es bigge on þe same manere þat Venice es bigged; and þer er þerin xii^m brigges and ma. And on ilke a brigg es a gude toure at ayther end, and men of armes² in þam for to kepe þe toune agayne þe Grete Caan, for it marchez apon his land. And apon a syde of þe citee rynnes a grete ryuer endlang þe citee. And þare dwellez many Cristen men and many marchandes of diuerse naciouns, for þe cuntree es wonder plentifous and gude and full of all maner of riches. þare growes wonder gude wyne, 10 whilke þai call Bygon; and it es riȝt myghty wyne and lykand³ in þe drinkyng. In þis citee was þe kyng of þat land wont to dwell; and þare es a hous of Cristen freres.

Fra þis citee may men ride in schippe or in bate by þat riuer⁴ till ane abbay of mounkes a lytill fra þe citee; and þai er wonder religious after þaire lawe. In þat abbay es a grete gardyne and a faire, and þare growez þerin many treesse of diuerse kyndes. And in þat gardyne er many diuerse bestez, as marmusetes, apes⁵ and oþer many vntil iii^m or iiij^m. And, when þe couent hase eten, a munke takez þe relefe and berez it to þe gardyn; and he knyllez a lytill bell of siluer⁶ þat he hase in his hand, and þan commez oute all þise bestez till f.86. him of þaire clapers.⁷ And he mase þam to sitt on rawe and delez þam þis relefe in faire siluer vessell ouer gylt, and þai ete it. And when þai hafe done, he knyllez þe bell agayne, and þai ga þare þai come fra. þir mounkes saise þat þase bestez whilk er faire and gentill er saules of lordes and gentillmen,⁸ and þase bestes whilk er noȝt 20 so er saules of oþer men.⁹ And þai say and affermes þat þe saules of men, when þai passe oute of þe bodys, entrez in to þase bestez; and þat es fully þaire belefe, and þer may na man turne þam fra þat opinioun. þe saules of grete men, þai say, entrez in to gentill bestez and faire bestez, and þe saules of meen men entrez in to foule bestez; and þerfore giffe þai þaim mete and almous for þe lufe of Godd. I asked þe mounk þat delt þe

mariez. En ceo pais ils approuassent bestoilles, qe homme appelle Loyres,¹⁰ qe vont enuiron lez eawes et mangent les pesshons. Celle bestoille ils gettent en viuers ou en estancs ou en parfondes riuers; et¹¹ tantost ceste bestoille porte hors del eawe des grosses pesshons tantz come lem voet.

Et en passant par cez pais as plusours iournees de ceste cite y a vne autre citee, la plus grande de monde, qi ad a noun Casaie,¹² cest a dire cite du ciel. Celle cite ad bien l. lieues de circuit, et est si fortement enhabitee qen vne mesoun homme fait bien x. mansiouns.¹³ En celle cite y a xii. portes principales; et deuant chescun porte a iii. lieues ou iiij. long ad ville ou cite bien grande. Celle cite siet en vn lac 30 de mer, auxi come fait Venise; et si ad en celle cite plus de xii. mil pountz. Et sur chescun pount y a de bons toures, ou y demoeent des gardeins pur garder la cite pur le Grant Chan, pur ceo qe celle terre marchist a la terre del Grant Chan. Et del vne partie de la cite court vne grant fluuie tot a long de la cite. La demoeent dez Cristiens et multz des gentz, marchantz et autres gentz, des meintes naciouns pur ceo qe le pais est si bon et si plentiuouse. Et si croist mult bon vin qils appellent Bigon, qest bien fort et mult gracieuse a boire. Ceo est vne cite roial, ou le roi de Mancy¹⁴ soloit demorrer; et y demorent multz des religieux Cristiens des ordres mendiuantz.¹⁵

De celle cite homme vait par eawe solaceant et ioiant¹⁶ iusques a vne abbeye des moignes qest assez pres, qi sont bien religious solonc leur loy. En celle abbeye y a vn grant iardin et bele,¹⁷ ou il y a plusours arbres de diuerses maners de fruit; et en cest iardin y a vne montaignette tote plein des arbres. En celle montaignette et en cel iardin demoeent multz des diuersez beistes, come baboins, singes, marmozz, et autres diuerses bestoilles. Et, quant ly couent de celle abbeye ad mange, ly almoigner fait porter le relief el iardin et sonne vne clokette dargent, qil teigne en sa main; et tantost descendent¹⁸ de celle montaignette tiels bestoilles come ieo vous ay dit, bien m'm'm'l ou m'm'm'm'l,¹⁹ et se rengent come pources. Et homme leur donne de relief en belles vesseaux dargent dorrez. Et, quant ils ont mange, homme 40 sonne autrefoitz la clokette, et ils retournent tantost a leur lieux, dont ils estoient venuz. Et dient cils religious qe cez sont almes des nobles hommes, qi sont entrez en celles nobles bestoilles, et ils leur donnent a manger pur lamour de Dieu. Et dient auxi qe les almes des villeines entrent en viles bestes apres leur mort; et ensi le croient et ne les poet homme ouster de celle oppinioun. Celles beistes desuisdites ils font prendre iefnes et les norissent ensi del almoigne tant come ils poent trouer. Et ieo leur demanday sil ne vauisist pas mieltz qils donassent le

¹ in so moche þat in on hous men maken x. housholdes, adds C.

² gentyle, C.

³ apes, marmozettes, babewynes, C. Odoric has "symiæ, catti, maymones."

⁴ sc. burrows; used by Chaucer of conies, "that comyn out of her clapers" (*Rom. of Rose*, 1405).

⁵ soules of pore men and of rude comouns, C.

⁶ et preignent tant come homme voet, S.; et prennent du poisson tant comme len ueult, G.

⁷ mesons, S.; menages, G.

⁸ et ioiant, om. S. G.

⁹ et sont bien iusques a la somme de ii. ou de iii. mille, G.

¹⁴ Mansy, S.; Manssi, G.

¹⁷ et bele, om. S. G.

² wardaynes, C.

⁴ solacyng and disportyne hem, adds C.

⁶ and he smytethe on the gardyn zate with a clyket of syluer, C.

⁸ soules of worthi men, C.

¹⁰ loiers, S.; loierz, G.

¹² Cassaye, S. G.

¹⁵ dil ordre mendiuantz, S.; de lordre des mendians, G.

¹⁸ issent, S. G.

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almous, if it had noȝt bene better to hafe giffen þat relefe to pouer men þan to pase bestez, and he answerd and said þat in þat cuntree es na pouer man and, if þer ware, ȝit it ware mare almous to giffe it to pase saules þat suffers þaire penaunce þare and may ga na ferrere to get þaire mete þan to þe pouer þat hase¹ þaire witte and can and may laboure and get þaire liffig. Þir ilke bestez take þai when þai er ȝung and bringez þam vpp and vseȝ þam to comme to take þe forsaid almous. Many oȝer meruailes sawe I in þat cuntre, þe whilk at þis tyme I speke noȝt of, by cause of schortyng of my buke.

Fra þis citee men gase forþermare in þis land vi. day iournez and commez to anoȝer grete cite, þe whilk es f.86b. called Chibense. Þis citee es xx. myle aboute þe walles; and within þe citee er lx. brigges faire and gude, all of stane, wele and curiously wroght. In þis citee was first þe see of þe kyng of Mancy, for it es a faire citee and a gude.

Fra þeine men gase ouer a grete riuier, þe whilk es called Dalay; and it es þe fairest and þe grettest riuier in þe werld of fresch water, for it es in þe narrowest place þerof mare þan foure myle brade. And þan men entres agayne in to þe Grete Caan land. Þis ilke riuier of Dalay rynnez thurgh þe middes of þe land of þe Pigmens, whilk er men of litill stature, for þai er bot iii. span lang; bot þai er riȝt faire and wele proporciound of þaire mykill. Þai er weddid when þai er a half ȝere alde and getez childer; and þai liffe comounly vii. ȝere or viii.² And, if þai liffe ix.³ ȝere, þai er halden wonder alde folke amanges þam. Þise smale men wirkez wonder wele silk and bombe⁴ and swilke oȝer sutill werkes, ȝa mare sutilly þan oȝer men. And þai feight with craanes⁵ comounly, and hase allway were with þam; and, when þai may sla any of þam, þai ete þaim. Þai trauaile noȝt aboute telyng of land ne oȝer grete laboures; bot þai hafe amanges þam men of oure stature, þe whilk telez þe land and dightez vynes and duse all oȝer grete laboures þat er nedefull to þam. And þise smale men hase als f.87. grete scorne at þe grete men and wonders als mykill of þam as we wald do of geauntz amanges vs. In þat land es a gude citee amanges oȝer, wharin dwellez grete multitude of þir smale men. And amanges þaim dwellez mykill men also and men of comoun stature, þe whilk, if þai get childer, when þai er borne þai er smale as þe childer of þe Pigmenz er; for þe kynde of þe cuntree es swilk þat þare er nane engendred þerin bot swilk smale thinges. Þis citee gers þe Grete Caan kepe wonder wele, for he es lord þeroff. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat þir Pigmenz, if all þai be lytill, þai er riȝt resonable after þaire elde, and wonder sutill of witte and can discernen betwix gude and euill.

Fra þis cite men gase thurgh þe forsaid cuntree by many citeez and tounes till þai comme to a citee þat es

releif as poures; et ils me respondirent qil nauoit nul poures el pais, et combien qil y eust des poures, si lour semble lalmoigne est mielz emplie en celles almes, qi font illeques lour penance et qi ne sciuent ne ne poent rien gaigner ne labourer, quelle ne serroit empliee en poures grentz, qi ont sen et poair de gaigner lour despenses. Plusours autres merueilles y a en celle cite et enuiron el pais, mes ieo nentenk mie a tot deuiser.

De celle cite vait homme par les pais, et a vi. iournees y a vne autre cite, qi ad a noun Chilenfo,⁶ de la quelle cite ly murs ont xx.⁷ lieues de circuit. En celle cite y ad lx. pountz de pierre, si beaux come nulles poent estre. En celle cite fuist ly primere sieges de roi de Mancy,⁸ qar elle est mult belle cite et mult abundante de touz biens.

Puis passe homme a trauers dune grande riuere qad a noun Dalay.⁹ Ceo est la pluis grande riuere de eawe douce qi soit el monde, qar la ou elle est pluis estreite¹⁰ elle ad plus de iiii. lieues de large. Et puis entre homme ariere en la terre de Grant Chan. Celle riuere vait par mie la terre de Pigmeinez. Ces sont gentz de petite estature, qi nount qe iii. espaumes de long; et si sont beals et gracioses solonc lour petitesse, et hommes et femmes. Et se marient au demi an dage et engendrent enfanz; et ne viuent qe vi. anns ou vii., et qi vist viii. aunz homme le tient a durement viel. Celles petites gentz sont les meillours ouerours¹¹ de soie et de cotoun et de toutz choses qi de ceo se fount qi y puissent estre en mounde. Et si ont souent guerre¹² as oiseals de pais, qi les¹³ preignent et qi les mangent. Ceste petite gentz ne labourent ne terres ne vinz; mes il y a grantz gentz entre eux, si come nous sumes, qi curtiuent et labourent les terres, si come il affiert. Et de ces grantz gentz les petitiz se mokent et les¹⁴ escharnissent, auxi come nous ferroms des grantz geauntz, sils estoient entre nous. Il y a vne bone cite entre mie les autres ou y demoere grant fousoun de celle petit gent; et est la cite molt beal et molt grand. Et ly hommes grantz qi¹⁵ demoerent entre eux, quant ils engendrent enfanz, ils sont auxi petit come ly Pigmein; et pur ceo ils sont auques tous Pigmeins, qar la nature de la terre est tiel. Ly Grant Chan fait bien garder celle cite, qar elle est seone. Et, come bien qe ly Pigmein soient petitiz, ils sont bien resonables solonqe lour age, et scieuent de sen et de malice assez.

R.f.57. De celle citee vait homme par le pais, par mointz citees et par mointz villes, iusques a vn cite qi ad a noun Iamchay¹⁶; et est molt

¹ þat hase—liffig, om. C.

⁴ gold, syluer, cotoun, sylk, C.

⁷ xxv. G.

¹⁰ Here H. ends, the last four words being the catch-words for the first of the missing leaves. The remainder of the French text is taken from R., which was copied from the same MS. as H.

¹³ le, R.

¹⁶ Ianchay, S.; Ioinchay, G.

² vi. or vii., C.

⁵ with the bryddes of the contree, C.

⁸ Mansi, S.; Mannsi, G.

¹¹ fesours, S.

¹⁴ mokent et les, om. G.

³ viii., C.

⁶ Chilonfo, G.

⁹ Delay, G.

¹² si fount souent bataille, S.; si ont soueueit bataille, G

¹⁵ qi, S.; qui, G.; om. R.

called Iamcaly; and it es a faire citee and a riche. Þider commez marchauntz fra diuerse landes for to by all maner of marchandys. Þis citee zeldez 3erely to þe Grete Caan, as citesenez þeroff talde me,¹ l. thousand comacyes² of florenes of gold. And 3e schall vnderstand þat a comacy contenes x^m florenes; and so þe somme þat þis citee zeldez 3erely commez to fyue hundreth thowsand florenes of gold. Þe kyng of þat land es a grete lord and a myghty, bot he es subget to þe Grete Caan; and he has vnder him xii. grete princes.³ In þat land es a gude custom vsed in ilke a gude toun. For, if a man will make a feste till his frendez, þare er in ilk a gude toun certayne innes grete and faire; and þan he þat schall make þe feste commez to þe hostiller and saise, f.87b. "Puruay me in þine inne for so many men," and he tellez him þe nowmer of þe men, and what maner of metes he will hafe, and what he will spend. And þan þis hostiller gase and ordayne all maner of thinges þat er nedefull, so þat þare lakkes na thing; and he ordayne mykill better þarfore þan he þat makez þe feste schuld 10 do in his awen hous.

Foure myle fra þe citee of Iamcaly, toward þe heued of þe riuer of Dalay, es anoþer citee, þat es called Menke. In þe whilk citee es a grete nauue of schippe, and þai er all whyte as snawe of kynde of þe wodde þat þai er made off. And þai er made as it ware grete houses, with hallez and chaumbres and oþer esementz.

Fra þeine men gase by many tounes of þat cuntre to anoþer citee þat es called Lanteryn; and it es fra Menke viii. day iournez. Þis citee standez apon a grete riuer þat es called Caremoran, or Caromosan; and it rynnez thurgh þe cuntree of Cathay. And oft tyme it duse grete harme to þe cuntre by ouerflowyng, when it es grete.

noble citee et molt riche et bien rendant. Et vait homme pur la quere⁴ tout marchandizes. Celle citee vait⁵ trop au seigneur du pais; qar il ad toutz les aunz de rente de celle cite, si come cils de la cite dient, l. mil comanz de floryns dor.⁶ Qar ils acomptent la toutz par 20 comanz et vaut chescun comant x. mil floryns; ore purroit homme assoumer come bien ceo purroit estre. Ly roy de ceo pais est molt puissant, et nientmeinz il est dessouz le Grant Chan; et ad ly Grant Chan dessouz ly xii. tiels prouinces. En ceo pais as bons villes y a⁷ vne bone custume. Qar qi voet faire vne feste de ses amys, il y a certains hostiels en chescun ville, ou homme voet⁸ diere al hoste, "Faitz moy demayn⁹ appariler a manger pur tant des gentz," et dit homme le noumbre et diuise hommes ses viaundes; et puis dit homme, "Ieo voil tant despendre¹⁰ et noun plus." Et tantost ly hostiller ferra appariler si bien et si beal qil ne faudra rien, et mieus¹¹ et plus tost et a meindre cost asses qe homme nel ferroit en souin propre hostiel.

Et a v. lieues de celle cite, vers le chief de celle riuer de Dalay,¹² y ad vne autre citee, qi ad a noun Menke. En celle cite y ad grant nauie forement, et sont toutes les niefs blanches come noif de la nature de bois mesmes.¹³ Et sont tres beals niefs et grandez et bien ordeignez et auxi bien qe sils¹⁴ estoient maysouns ordinez par terre, ouesqe sales, chaumbres et autres aisementz.

De la vait homme par le pais par mointes villes et par mointz citeez iusques a vn cite qi ad a noun Lanteryn¹⁵; et est a viii. iournez de 30 la citee dessouz dite. Ceste cite siet sour vne grande riuer et large, qe homme appelle Caramoran. Celle riuer passe parmi Cathay et fait souent grant damage, quant elle croist trop.

¹ as þei of þe cytee seyn, C.

⁴ la pur quere, S. G.

⁷ i a bons villes et i a, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ despendre, om. S. G.

¹³ neyf, de boys de mesme la terre, S.

² cumantz, C.

⁵ vaut, S.; uault, G.

⁸ vet, S.; va, G.

¹¹ et mieus, om. G.

¹⁴ sils, G.; cils, R.

³ prouynces, C.

⁶ dor, om. G.

⁹ demayn, om. G.

¹² Delay, G.

¹⁵ Latoryn, S.; Latorin, G.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

[*Of the Grete Chane of Chatay; of the rialtee of his palays, and how he sitt at mete; and of the grete nombre of officeres that seruen hym.*]

THE land of Catay es a grete cuntree, faire and gude and riche and full of gude merchandyse. And pider commez marchauntz ilk a zere for to fecche spicery and oþer maner of marchandys mare comounly þan till oþer cuntrees. And 3e schall vnderstand þat marchandes þat commez fra Venice or Geen, or oþer placez of Lumbardy or Romany, þai trauaile by see and by land xi. monethes or xii. are þai f.88. comme to Catay, whilk es þe cheeffe rewme of þe Grete Caan.¹ And toward þe este es ane alde citee, and nere to þat citee þe Tartarenes has made anoþer citee, whilk þai call Gaydon. Þis citee hase xii. zatez, and euer betwix a zate and anoþer es a myle, and so all þe vmgang of þis citee es xx. myle and foure. In þis citee es þe 10 sege and þe see of þe Grete Caan in a riȝt faire palays, of whilk þe walles aboute er twa myle and mare; and within þase walles er many oþer faire palays. And in þe gardyn of þe grete palays es a hill, apon whilk es anoþer palays, a faire and a riche; þer es noȝt swilk anoþer in all þe werld. And all aboute þe palays and þe hill er many treesse, berand diuerse maners of fruyt; and withouten þaim er depe dykes and brade, and withouten þaim er many vyuers and stankes, whare on er many fewles of riuer, as swannes and cranes, herouns, butours and mawlardes² and swilk oþer. Withouten þaim also er all maner of wylde bestez of wenery, as hertez and hyndez, bukk and da, and rae, and many oþer. And, ay when þe Grete Caan will hafe his disporte in ryuaying or huntyng, he may wylde fewle slayne with hawkes and dere slaen with hundes or oþer gynnez and passe noȝt his chaumbre. Þis palays with his see er wonder faire and grete; and þe hall of þat palays es richely

CHAPITRE XXIII.

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Del Grant Chan de Cathay; del roialte de soun palais, et coment il siet a manger; et de grant nombre des seruantz qī ly seruent.

R.f.57b.

CATHAY est vn grant pais et beal et bone et riche et bien marcheantz.³ La vont ly marchantz toutz les aunz pur quere espices et toutes autres⁴ marchaundises, et plus comunement qils ne font autre part. Et sachez qe ly marchauntz qī vont de Ianewe ou de Venise, ou dautre part de Lombardie ou de Romaine,⁵ qils⁶ vont par mer et par terre xi. mois ou xii. ou plus ascun foitz auant qils puissent estre al isle de Cathay, qī est la principal regioun de toutz parties de la et est du Grant Chan⁷ de Cathay. Vait homme vers orient par mointes iournes; et troue homme vne bone citee entre my les autres, qe homme appelle Sugarmago.⁸ Cest vne des citez de tout le mound mieux garnie de soie et de mout dautres marchaundises. Puis vait home vncore vers orient a vn autre citee aunciene, qī est en⁹ la prouince de Cathay. Et delez celle citee ly Tartarins ount fait faire vn autre citee, qī ad a noun Caydoun,¹⁰ qī ad xii. portz. Et entre deux portz y a tut dis vne grant lieue, si qe les deux citeez, cest assauoir la veile et la nouelle, ount de circuite plus de xx. lieues. En ceste citee est ly sieges de Grant Chan en vne tres beale palais et grant, de quel ly murs ont de circuit plus de¹¹ deux lieues; 30 et dedeins ces mures y a tout pleyn dautres paleys. Et en la iardyn de grant palays ad vne mountaignette, sur la qel y ad vn autre palays; et est ly plus beals et ly plus riche qe homme purroit deuiser. Et tout entour la palays et la mountaignette y a molt de diuerses arbres portantz moltz de diuerses fruitz; et tout entour celle mountaignette y a fossez grantz et parfoundz, et delez y a grantz viuers dune part et dautre. Et si ad vne beal pount a passer a trauers des fosses. Et en ces viuers y a tante des ouwes sauages et danettes et de cignes et des heironz qe cest sanz noumbre. Et tout entour ces fosses et ces vyuers est ly grant iardyn tout plein des bestes sauages,¹² si qe, quant ly Grant Chan voet auoir desduit ou¹³ prendre des bestes sauages ou de oyseals, il les voet¹⁴ chacer et prendre a ces fenestres sanz isser fors de sa chambre. Cis palays, ou ly sieges est, est molt grand et molt beal. Et par dedeins la palays en la sale y a xxxiiii.¹⁵ columpnes de fyn or; et

¹ E. omits a passage here which is thus given in C. (f. 89): "Fro Cathay go men toward the est be many iorneyes, and þan men fynden a gode cytee betwene þeise oþere, þat men clepen Sugarmago; þat cytee is on of the beste stored of sylk and oþer marchaundises þat is in the world. After go men ȝit to anoþer old cytee toward þe est, and it es in the prouynce of Cathay. And besyde þat cytee the men of Tartarye," etc.

² wylde gees and ganders and swannes and heirouns, C. "Butours" appear to be bitterns.

⁴ maners, S.

⁷ parties de grant Chan. De Cathay vet, S.; parties par dela.

⁹ en, om. S.; qui a noun la, G.

¹² ou dez oiseals, S.; et doysiaus, G.

¹⁴ veut, S.; voit, G.

⁵ Lombardie ou dautre roialme, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ Caidom, S.; Caydom, G.; Caydon, C.

¹³ Quant il lez veot chacer et auoir deduit ou, S.; et quant il veult chacier et auoir deduit de, G.

¹⁵ xxiv, C.; and so Odoric.

³ et beal et bone, S.; et bel et bien marchant, G.

⁶ qui, with "mettent" after "terre," G.

⁸ Surgamago, G.

¹¹ de, om. R.

dight. For within þe hall er xxiiii. pilers of gold; and all þe walles er couerd with reed skynnes of bestez, þat er called Panters. And þai er wonder faire bestez and wele smelland, and by cause of þe gude smell of þe skynnes þer may na wikked aer comme þerin. Þase skynnes er als reed as any blude, and so faire schynand
f.88b. agayne þe sonne þat men may vnnethes luke on þam or behald þam for grete briȝtness. Þe folk of þat cuntree wirschepez þat beste, whare þai see it,¹ for þe grete vertu and þe swete sauour þat commez þeroff; and þai praise þe skynne þeroff als mykill as it ware of fyne gold. In þe midward of þe palays es made ane ascensory² for þe Grete Caan, enourned with gold and precious stanes; and at þe foure corners er made foure dragouns of gold. And þis ascensory es couerd abouen with clathez³ of silk, barred ouerthwert with gold and siluer, and many grete precious stanes er hingand aboute it. And vnder þe ascensory er cundytes full of drink, þat þai þat er of þe grete precious courte drynk off; and be syde þe cundytes er vessell sett of gold, þat men may drink off when
10 þai will. Þis hall es nobilly and wirschepfully arayd and ordaynd in all thinges. First, vp at þe hie deesse,⁴ euen in þe middes, es ordaind þe trone for þe emperour, whare he sittes at his meet, wele hye fra þe pament. His table, on whilk he etez, es made of precious stanes sett in fyne gold, and it es wele bordured aboute with fyne gold sette full of precious stanes. And þe greece, whare he gase vp till his trone, es all of precious stanes, endentid in gold.⁵ And at þe left syde of his trone es þe seete of his first wyf, a gree lawer þan his trone; and it es of iasper, with sydes of fyne gold sett full of precious stanes, and hir burde es of iasper bordurde with gold sett full of precious stanes. Þe seet of his secund wyf es a gree lawer þan þe toþer; and bathe hir seet and
f.89. hir burde es enourned wirschepfully as þe toþer es. Þe seet also of þe thrid wyf and hir table er a gree lawer þan þe secund. For he hase euermare three wyfes with him, whare so euer he ryde, ferre or nere. Next his thrid wyf apon þe same syde sittez oþer ladys of þe emperoure kynne, ilkane a gree lawer þan oþer, efter þai er
20 nere of blude to þe emperour. All þe wymmen of þat cuntree þat er weddid hase standand on þaire heuedes as it ware a mannez fote, made of gold and precious stanes and pacok fethers þat er schynand curiously and wele dight, in takennyng þat þai er vnder mannez subieccioun; and þai þat er noȝt weddid hase nane swilke. Apon þe riȝt hand of þe emperour sittez his eldest sonn, þat schall regne after him, a grece lawer þan his fader. His seet and his borde es araid in all thing as þe empericez es. And þan sittez oþer lordes of þe emperoure kynne, ilkane as þai er of degree, as ladys duse on þe toþer syde. And ilkane of þam has a burde by him self, and riȝt so has þe ladys; and þai er owþer of iasper or of cristall or of amatist or of *lignum aloes*, whilk commez

R.f.58. toutz les murs sount couertz dez⁶ cuirs rouges, qi sount des bestes qe homme appelle Pacies,⁷ qi sont beals bestes et bien odorantz, si qe pur lodour des pealx nul malueis aier ne purroit entrer en le paleis. Celles pealx sount auxi rouges come sanc et si lusantz⁸ contre le solail qe a peine les poet homme regarder. Et plusours gentz adorent celles bestes, quant ils veont, pur la grant vertue et pur le bone odour qe
30 elles ount; et celles pealx ils preisent atant ou plus come ils ferroient plates dor. Et en mye la palays y a vn tour⁹ pur le Grant Chan, qest tout ouerez dor et des pieres precieuses et des grosses perles. Et as¹⁰ iiii. angles de ceo mountour y a iiii. serpentz dor et tout entour il y a des reitez et recia faitz de soi et dor,¹¹ pendant tout entour de ceo mountour. Et par dessouz de ceo mountour sont ly conduites des beuerages qils boeuent en la court lempour; et delez ceo conduit y a molt des vessealx dor, ouesqe lez quex cils del hostiel boiuent au conduit. Et la sale de palais est molt noblement aournes et molt meruailousment et bien parez de toutez choses de qoy homme poet sale parer. Et primerement a chief de la sale est la trone del emperour bien haut, o il siet a table, qi est¹² dez fines pieres precieuses, bourdurez tout entour de fyn or; et celle bordure est pleine dez piers precioses et des grosses perles. Et ly degrez a mounter sont toutz des diuerses piers precieuses et bendes dor. Et au senistre partie de siege de emperour est li sieges de sa primere¹³ femme, vne degre plus bas qe celi al emperour; et est auxi de iaspe bordure¹⁴ dor et des piers precieuses. Et ly sieges de sa seconde femme est vncore vn autre degre plus bas; et est¹⁵ auxi de iaspe et bordurez come lautre. Et ly siege de sa tierse femme est vncore plus bas vn degre qe la seconde. Qar tout foitz
40 ad il iii. femmes ouesqe ly, quelque part qil soit. Et apres ces femmes de ceo mesme couste seont¹⁶ les dames et les damesels de soun lignage, vncore plus bas solonc ceo qe elles sount. Et toutz celles qi sount mariez ount vn countrefait pie de homme sour lour teste de vn cubit de long et tout ouerez des grossez perles dorient, et par dessouz est ouerez des pennes lusantz de paon ou de grue,¹⁷ auxi come vn tymbre ou vn cress de healme, en signe qe ellez sont en subieccioun et dessouz pies de homme; et celles qi ne sont mie mariez ne y portent point. Et puis a la destre partie del emperour siet primerement soun eisnez filz, qi doit regner apres ly; et siet auxi vn degre plus base qe lempour, en tiels maners des signes¹⁸ come celles des emperesses. Et apres seont cils¹⁹ de soun lignage, solonc ceo qils sount. Et si ad ly empereres sa table tout soul, qi est dor et des pierres precieuses, ou de cristal blanc ou iaune bordure dor et des piers precieuses²⁰ ou de

¹ whan þei meeten hem first at morwe, C.⁴ at the chief of the halle, C.⁷ panteres, S. C.; panciers, G.¹⁰ et as—soi, om. G.¹¹ i a larges roiez et recia, faitz de soi, de oor et dez grosses perlez, S. "Et recia" looks like a Latin gloss on "reitez," foisted into the text.¹² qest bordure de fin oor et cel bordure, S.; and so G.¹⁵ et est—lautre, om. S.¹⁸ dez seges, S.; de siegez, G.; seges, C.² mountour, C.; ascensorium, Harl. MS. 175.⁵ medled with gold, C.⁸ et si lusent, S.; et si reluisent, G.¹³ primere, om. S. G.¹⁶ seont, S.; se sient, G.; soient, R.¹⁹ seont cils, S.; cils soient, R.³ large nettes, C.⁶ par dedeinz dez, S.⁹ vn mountour, S.; vn monteour, G.¹⁴ et bordure comme est li autres, G.¹⁷ ou de grue, om. G.²⁰ precieuses, om. R.

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oute of Paradys, or of euour.¹ And all þir burdez er bordured aboute with gold sett full of precious stanes, so þat þer es nane of þam þat þai ne er worthe a grete tresoure. Vnder þe emperour table at his fete sittez four clerkes, þat wrytez all þe wordes þat he spekez at his mete, wheder þai be gude or ill. For all þat euer he saise behoues be halden and done in dede; for his worde may noȝt be agayne called for na thing.

f.89b. Þare er broght furth apon solempne days before þe emperoure tablez of gold, faire and grete, in þe whilk standez pacokes of gold and many oþer maners of fewles of gold, curiously and sutilly wroȝt.² And þir fewles er so wonderfully made by craft of man þat it semez as þai leped and daunsed and bett with þaire wengez and playd þam on oþer diuerse wyse; and it es riȝt wonderfull to þe sight, how þat swilk thinges may be done. By what craft þai moue so, can I noȝt say; bot a thing wate I wele, þat þat folk er wonder sutell of witte towchand any thing þat þai will do, forby any oþer folk of þe werld. For þai passe all þe naciouns of þe werld in suteltee of witte, wheder it touche ill or gude; and þat knawez þaim self wele. And þerfore þai say þat þai luke with twa eghen and Cristen men with ane; for þai hald Cristen men maste sutell and wys after þaim selfen. Folk of oþer naciouns þai say er blynd withouten eghen, as ynentes kunnyng and wirking. I bisied me gretely for to wit and persayfe by what craft þir forsaid thinges ware done; bot þe mayster of þe werk sayd me þat he was so boun by vowe til his godd þat he myght schew þat craft to na man bot till his eldest sonne. Abouen þe emperour table and aboute a grete party of þe hall es made a grete vyne of fyne gold; and it es wonder curiously wroȝt with many braunchez and grapez lyke vnto grapez of vynes growand, of whilk sum er whyte, 10
f.90. sum ȝalow, sum reed, sum blakk, sum grene. All þase þat are reed er made of rubies or cremas or alabaunce³; þe whyte er made of cristall or of berill⁴; þe ȝalow er made of topazes or crisolytez⁵; þe grene of emeraudez; þe blak of onichyns or geraudes.⁶ And þis vyne es þus made of precious stanes so properly and so curiously 20
þat it semez as it ware a vyne growand.⁷

And before the emperoure table standez grete lordes and barouns for to serue the emperoure; and nane of þaim er so hardy to speke worde, bot if þe emperour speke first to þaim, oute taken minstralles þat singez him sanges, or saise him gestez, or tellez iapez or bourdez⁸ for solace of þe emperour. All þe vessell þat er serued in to his hall or his chaumbre, and namely at his awen burde or at burdez þare grete lordes sittez, er of iasper or of cristall or of amatistes or of fyne gold. And all þaire coppes er of smaragdez or of saphires, of topacez or of

amatiste ou de *lignum aloes*, qi vient de Paradis, ou de yuoire, bendez et bordurez dor. Et chescun de ses femmes ad auxi sa table par ly, et ses filz et ly autre grantz seignurs, qi seount apres auxi; et si nad table qi ne vaille vn grant tresour. Et dessouz la table al emperour seont iiii. clerkes⁹ a ses pies, qi mettent en escript quantqes ly emperour dit, soit ben soit mal. Qar tout ceo qil dit y couient qe y soit tenu; qar il ne¹⁰ poet sa parole chaunger ne repeller.

Et deuant la table del emperour as grantz festes lem porte grant tables dor, ou il y a paouns dor et molt dautres maners oisealx, toutz dor et enameles¹¹ et molt noblement ouerez. Et les fait homme dauncer et bauler en batant lez paumes¹²; et en fait homme des grantz museries. Si ceo est par artifice ou par nigromancie, ieo ne say; mes il¹³ les fait tres beau veir, et cy est ceo grant meruaille, coment ceo poet estre. Mez tant puisse ieo diere qe ces¹⁴ sount les plus subtils gentz en toutez sciences dount ils se mellent et en toutez artifices qi puissent estre par vniuerse mounde. Qar de subtilite et de malice et de engin ils passent toutz ceux de mounde; et ils le scieuent bien. Et pur ceo dient ils qils voient de deux oilz, et ly Cristiens ne voient qe dun oil, pur ceo qils sont plus subtils apres eaux; mes toutes autres naciouns ils dient¹⁵ estre auaglez, et en sciences et en oueraignes. Ieo mis molt grant peine assauoir; mes ly maistre me dit qil auoit vowe a soun dieu qil nel apprendroit a nully, forsqe al eysnez de ses filz. Item par dessour la table del emperour et lez autres tables et par dessure vne partie de la sale y ad vne vigne faite de fyn or, qi est entendue tout par dessur; et y a plusours treches de reisins des blanches, iaunes, 30
rouges, viertz et noirs,¹⁶ toutz des pierres precieuses. Ly blancs sount de cristall et de bericle¹⁷ et de yris¹⁸; lez iaunes sount de toupaces; 40
lez rouges de rubiis, dez grenaz et des alabaundines; les vertz sount de emeraudes, des peridoz¹⁹ et des crisolites; et ly noyrs sount des oniches et des geracites.²⁰ Et sount toutz si proprement faitz qil semble qils soient touz proprement reysins.

Et deuant la table del emperour estoient les grantz barouns²¹ et ly autres qi ly seruient; mes nul nest si hardi de dire vn mot, si ly sire ne parle a ly, si ces ne sount menestriers, qi dient chanceons et gestez ou autres reueries²² pur lempour solasser. Et tout la vessellement de quoy lem sert en ces sales et en ces chaumbres sount des pierres precieuses, especialment as grantz tables, ou de iaspe ou de cristall ou dematistes ou de fin or. Et si ad hanapes de emeraudez et de saphires et de toupaces, de peridoz et des plusour autres pierres. De vessel

¹ In C., as in the Fr. text, this is the description of the emperor's table only.

² of grenaz and of alabaundynes, C.

³ garantez, C.

⁴ trois clers de ses gens, G.

⁵ with "pennes" interlined, R.

⁶ reputent, G.

⁷ ira, S.; liris, G.

⁸ seignours et barons, S.

⁹ of berylle and of iris, C.

¹⁰ a verry vyne, berynge kyndely grapes, C.

¹¹ et qil ne, S. G.

¹² ils, R.; ils lez font, S.

¹³ vers et autres, G.

¹⁴ paridodes, S.; peridodes, G.

¹⁵ rimes, G.

¹⁶ richely wrought and enameled, C.

¹⁷ of perydos and of crisolytes, C., after "emeraudes."

¹⁸ gestes or oþer desportez, C.

¹⁹ aumayles, S.; esmailliez, G.

²⁰ ces, S.; ce, G.; se, R.

²¹ beril, S. G.

²² geracites, G.

oper precious stanes. Vessell of siluer make þai nane, ne settez na prys by siluer. For þai will nowþer ete ne drink of þe vessell þat er made þeroff; bot þai make þeroff grecez, pilers and pamentes to halles and chaumbres. Before þe hall dure standez certayne lordes and many oper knyghtes for to kepe þat nane entre in at þe dure bot þai þat þe emperour will, oless þan he be of þe houshald or a mynstrall; oper dare þer nane comme nere.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat my felawes and I ware dwelland sodeours with þe Grete Caan xvi. monethes f.90b. agaynes þe kyng of Mancy, for þai ware at were when we ware þare. And þe cause of oure dwellyng with him was for þat we desired gretely to see his grete nobillay and þe state and þe ordinaunce of his courte, and þe grete excellence of his ricches, to wit wheder it ware swilk as we had herd tell before. And sikerly we fand it mare riche and noble þan we herd say þeroff; and we schulde neuer haf trowed it, if we had nozt sene it with oure eghen. Þare es na swilk courte here in þis land. For kynges and lordes in þir parties halde als fewe men in þaire 10 courtes as þai may¹; bot þe Grete Caan hase ilke a day in his courte at his coste folk withouten nowmer. Bot 3e sall vnderstand þat mete and drynk es mare honestly araid in oure cuntree þan it es þare; and also in þis cuntree men sittez mare honestly at þe mete þan þai do þare. For all þe comouns of his courte hase þaire mete laid on þaire kneesse, when þai ete, withouten any clathe or towail, and for þe maste party þai ete flesche, withouten breed, of all maner of bestez; and, when þai hafe eten, þai wype þaire hend on þaire skirtez. And þai ete bot anes on þe day. Þis es þe aray and þe maner of þe comouns of þe courte of þe Grete Caan. Bot þe aray of him self and oper lordes þat sittez with him es nobill and reall, passand all erthely mennez. For sikerly² vnder þe firmament es nozt so grete a lorde ne sa riche ne na so myghty as es þe Grete Caan of Tartre. Nozt f.91. Prestre Iohn þat es emperour of Inde þe less and þe mare, ne þe sowdan of Babiloyn, ne þe emperoure of Pers, ne nan oper may be made comparisoun off till him. Certez it es mykill harme þat he ne ware a Cristen man; and 20 nozt forþi he will gladly here speke of Godd and suffer Cristen men dwell in his empire. For na man es forboden in his land to trowe in what lawe þat him list leue on. And if all sum men perauenture will nozt trowe me of þis þat I hafe said, and will say it es bot truflez³ þat I tell of þe noblay and þe grete excellence and riches of þe Grete Caan and of his courte and þe multitude of men þerin þat I spakk off before, I recke nozt mykill. Bot he þat will trowe it, trowe it; and he þat will nozt, lefe. For I will neuer þe latter tell sum what þat I sawe with myne eghen of him and of his folk and of þe ordinaunce of his courte, wheder þai will trowe it or þai nil. Neuerþeles I wate wele þat, and any had bene þare or in cuntrez þat marchez þer apon, if all he had nozt bene in his courte, he schuld hafe herd of his noblay and his excellence so mykill þat he schuld lightly trowe me of þat þat I hafe said. And þerfore I will nozt lette þat ne I will tell thinges þat I knawe wele er sothe for þaim þat knaweþ þam nozt ne will nozt trowe þam. Now will I tell 3ow mare of þe Grete Caan and of his state and 30 his ordinaunce, when he will passe oute of a cuntree in to anoþer, and when he makes his grete festez.

dargent nad point, qar⁴ ils ne preisent tant argent qil deignent faire vesseal; mez ils en fount degrez et pilers et pauementz des sales et des chaumbres.⁵ Deuant le huise de la sale sont esteantz mointz barouns⁶ pur garder qe nul ny entre, si ceo nest de la volente et de commaundement de seignur, ou qils soient seruantz ou menestriers del hostiel. Et nul autre est si hardy dapprocher al huis de la sale.

Et poes sauoir qe my compaignoun et moy ouesques noz valetz le seruismes as souldiez par le space de xv.⁷ mois countre le roy de Mancy,⁸ a qy il auoit guerre. Et la cause⁹ fuist pur ceo qe nous eusmes si grant talent¹⁰ de veir sa noblesse et lestat de sa court et lordynaunce et le gouvernement, sil estoit tiel come nous lauioims oi dire. Et certes nous trouasmes de grant ordinaunce de noblesse et excellence de riches et de meruailis en sa court plus assez qe len nous auoit dit. Et iames nous nel eusoms creu, si nous nel eussoms veu, qar a peine purroit nul crere la noblesse ne la richesse et la multitude des gentz qil sount en sa court, sil ne le voeit. Qar ceo nest mie come par de cea. Qar ly seignur par de cea ont au mointz de noubre de gent¹¹ qil poent; et ly Grant Chan ad toutz les iours gentz a ses despenses auxi come sanz 40 noubre. Mes lordinance ne coustage en viures ne la honeste ne la nettete nest mie paraille a la guise de cea; qar la toutz les comunes mangent sanz mappe¹² sour les genilz, et mangent toutz maners de char et poy de payn. Et apres manger ils furbissent lour mains a lour gerouns; et si ne mangent qe vn foitz le iour. Mes li estate des seignurs est tres grant, tres riches et tres noble. Et, come bien qe aucun gent ne me vourroient croire et qil tiendront a fable a eux deuier la noblesse de sa persone et de soun estat et de sa court et de la grant multitude dez gentz qil tient,¹³ nien mayns en dirray ieo vne partie de ly¹⁴ et de ses gentz, solonc ceo qe iay veu la guise et lordinance en partie¹⁵ et par pluours foitz; et qi voudra, il me crerra, si ly plest, et qi ne voudra, il sen lerra. Qar ieo say bien qe, si aucun ad este el pais par de la, come bien qil nad este iusques a lieu ou ly Grant Chan demoere, il auera tant oy parler de ly et de soun estate qil me crerra legerement. Et cils qi aueront este en cely pais ou en lostel de Grant Chan, saueront bien qe ieo dy voir. Sy ne lesseray mie pur ceux qi rien ne scient et qi rien ne croient, sil ne le voient, de deuier vne partie de ly et del estate qil meigne, quant il vait dun pays en autre et quant il fait festes solempnes.

¹ han folk of certeyn nombre, als þei may suffice, C.

⁴ La veselemente dargent na point de compte, qar, G.

⁶ barouns et meinte chivaler, S.; et maintes personnes chivalers et autres, G.

⁸ Mansy, S.; Mansi, G.

¹¹ vont a moins de gens, G.

¹⁴ de ly—gentz, om. G.

² For sikerly—leue on, not in Fr. text or C.

⁵ degres et pilliers de saliez et pauement de chambrez, G.

⁶ barouns et meinte chivaler, S.; et maintes personnes chivalers et autres, G.

⁹ la cause pourquoy nous le seruimes, G.

¹² nape, S.; nappe, G.

¹⁵ par parties, G.

³ holden it for fable, C.

⁷ xvi., S. G.; xv., C.

¹⁰ volente, G.

¹³ multitude ne le croient, nent meins, S.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

[*Wherfore he is clept the Grete Chane; of the style of his lettres; and of the superscripcion abowten his grete seall and his pryuee seall.*]

f.91b. **B**OT first will I tell 3ow why he es called Grete Caan. 3e schal vnderstand þat all þe werld was fordone thurgh Noe flude, oute taken a few menyee, þat es to say Noe and his wyf, his sonnes and þaire wyfes. For Noe had three sonnes Sem, Cham and Iaphet. Cham was he þat sawe his fader priuee membres naked, as he lay and sleped, and went till his breþer and schewed þaim þam in scorne; and þerfore his fader efterward, when he wist, gaf him his malisoun. Bot Iaphet went bakward till his fader and couerd his priuee membres. Þir three sonnes of Noe after þe diluuy parted amanges þam all þe erthe. Seem,¹ by cause he was þe eldest broþer, chose² þe best party and þe grettest, whilk es toward þe este, and it es called 10 Asy. Cham³ tuke Affryk, and Iaphet tuke Europe. Cham was þe myztieſt of þir breþer and þe ricchest; and of him come many generaciouns ma þan of his oþer breþer. Of ane of his sonnez þat hight Chus come Nemproth þe geaunt, þe whilk was þe first king þat euer was; and he began to bigg þe toure of Babilon. In whas tyme þer come many fendez in liknes of men and lay by wymmen of his kynreden and gatt on þam geauntz and oþer monstres of horrible figure, sum withouten heuedes, sum with hund heuedes, and many oþer disfigured and misschapen men. Of þe kynreden also of Cham come þe payenes and diuerse maner of men of þe iles of Inde. And for he þis Cham was so myghty þat na man myght agayne stand him, he gert call himself Goddes sonne and lorde of all þe werld. And þerfore saie sum men þat þe emperour of Tartare gert call him Cham, f.92. for he es halden þe maste excellent emperour of þe werld and occupies þe same land þat he was lorde off. And of Sem, as þai say, come þe Sarezenes; and of Iaphet þe folk of Israel and we þat dwellez in Europe. Þis es⁴ þe 20 opinioun of þe Sarzenes and of þe Samaritanes; and þus made þai me at vnderstand, ay till I come to Inde; and, fra I come þare, I knewe wele þat it was oþerwise. Neuerþeles it es sothe þat þe folk of Tartre come of þe

CHAPITRE XXIV.

Pur quoy homme lappelle Grant Chan; del estil de ses lettres; et del escripture entour ses seax, le grant et le petit, &c.

SY vous dirray primerement pur quoy homme⁵ lappelle Grant Chan. Vous deuez sauoir qe tout le mounde estoit destruit par la fluuie de Noe, forsque Noe et sa femme et lour enfantz. Noe auoit iii. filz, Sem, Cham et Iaphez. Cis Cham fuist cil qi vist le dos de soun pierre dormant descouert et le moustroit au doy et se mokeyt de ly; et pur ceo fuist il maldit. Et Iaphez turna soun veaire dautre⁶ part et le couery. Cis iii. freres seiserent toute la terre. Et cis Cham pur sa crualte prist la plus grant partie et la meillour partie orientele, qi est appelle Asye.⁷ Et Sem prist Affrique, et Iaphez prist Europe. Et pur ceo est la terre partie en iii. parties. De⁸ ces iii. freres Cham fust ly plus grant et ly plus puissant; et de ly descendirent plus de generacions qe des autres. Et de 30 soun fils Chus⁹ nasqui Membroch ly geaunt, qi fust ly primer roy qi vnqes fuist el mounde, qi comencea a foundere la tour de Babyloigne. Et ouesqe ceo ly enemis denferne venoient souent coucher ouesqe femmes de sa generacioun, et engendrèrent diuersez gentz monstres et gentz defigurez, ascuns sanz testes, ascuns as grantz orailles, ascuns a vn oil, ascuns geantz,¹⁰ ascunz au pie de chiuall, et autres as autres R.f.60. membres defacionez.¹¹ Et de celle generacion de Cham sont venuz ly paiene gent et les diuers gentz qi sont as¹² isles de mer par tout Ynde. Et, pur ceo qil estoit le plus puissant et nul ne poet encontredire ly, il appelloit¹³ filz de Dieu et souerein¹⁴ de tout le mounde. Et pur ceo ly Cham cis emperers sappelle Cham¹⁵ et souerein de touz. Et de la generacion de Sem sont¹⁶ venuz lez Sarazins et de la generacion de Iaphet est venu le poeple de Israel; et puis, nous qi demoeroms en Europe, cest loppinioun qe¹⁷ de Iaphet sientes tous descendus, ce qe aultrement mauoient donnez entendre auant qe ieo alasse vers Ynde, mez puis trouuay ieo tout autrement. Nientmeinz

¹ Seem, over an erasure.

² Cham, over an erasure.

³ Iaphet son frere tourna dautre, S.

⁴ puis, S.; om. G.

⁵ as, S.; es, G.; om. R.

⁶ soudan, S. G.

⁷ sont—Iaphet, from S.; and so G.; om. R., "Sem" also being over an erasure.

⁸ qe—aultrement, R., in a later hand over an erasure; qe lez Sirienz et li Samaritanz ont et qils mauoient, S.; and so G.

⁹ Cham for his crueltee toke, C., following R. literally both here and below.

¹⁰ And þough þat wee duellen in Europe, this is, etc., C.

¹¹ Assaie, S.

¹² ascuns geantz, om. S.

¹³ ne poet encontre li, ils se appellent, S.; ne pooit contre lui, il sappelloit, G.

¹⁴ Et pur ceo cis emperers le Chan se appelle Chan, S.; et pour celui Cham cilz empererez sappelle Chan, G.

¹⁵ homme, S.; len, G.; om. R.

¹⁶ entre, S.; pour cause de ces iii. freres, G.

¹⁷ deffigurez et deffassonez, G.

kynreden of Cham, and all þase þat dwellez in Asy þe mare. Bot þe emperour of Cathay hat Caan and noȝt Cham, and for þis skill.

It es noȝt ȝit gane viii^{xx} ȝere sen all þe folk of Tartre was in subieccioun and thrall till oþer naciouns aboute þam, and ware made hirdmen and kepers of bestez. Bot amanges þam ware vii. principall kynredens; of whilk þe cheeffe kynreden and þe maste worthy was called Tartre, þe secund was called Tangut, þe third Eurac, þe ferthe Valair, þe fyft Semok, þe sext Menchy, þe seuent Tobak. Now it befell so, þat in þe first kynreden was ane alde man, þe whilk was in his tyme a wyght man and a hardy, bot he was noȝt ryche; and his name was Chaanguys. Þis man lay on a nyght in his bedd, and þer came til him in a visioun a knyght all whyte armed, sittand apon a whyte hors, þe whilk said vntil him, "Caan," quod he, "slepez þou?" And he answerd and said, "Nay." "Godd," quod he, "þat es all myghty, sent me to þe, to schew þe his will. His will es þat þou say to 10
f.92b. þe seuen kynredens, þat þou schall be þaire emperour. And þou schall conquere and wynne all þe landes þat er about ȝow; and þai¹ schall be in ȝoure subieccioun, as ȝe hafe bene in þaires. For þis es þe will of Godd all myghty." Apon þe morue he went to þe vii. kynredens and talde þam his visioun, and þai scorned him and held him a fule; and he went fra þam schamed and confused. And on þe nyght next folowand þe same whyte knyght appered to þe vii. kynredens and bad þam on Goddes behalf þat þai schuld make Chaanguys þaire emperour, for he schuld delyuer þaim oute of þe subieccioun of oþer naciouns and conquere and wynne many rewmes. And apon þe morue þai made Chaanguys þaire emperour by comoun ascent, and sett him in a chaier and didd him all þe wirschepe and reuerence þat þai myght, and called him Chaan, as þe whyt knyght called him before. And, when he was chosen on þis wyse and made emperour, he thoȝt he wald proue þaire trewth and bowsounness, wheþer he myght seurlly trist in þam or noȝt; and he made many statutez and lawes, whilk þai call Ysachan. Þe 20
first statute was þat þai schuld be obedient to Godd all myghty and trowe þat he schuld delyuer þam oute of all thraldom, and þat þai schuld call apon him in all þaire nede. Anoper statute was þat all men þat myght bere armes schuld be armed and be nowmbred, and to ilk ten schuld be a mayster, and to ilk xx^u a maister, and to ilk hundreth a maister, and to ilk thowsand a maister, and to ilk ten thousand a maister, and to ilk xx^m a maister. And after þis he comaunded to all þe grettest and þe ricchest of þe vii. kynredens þat þai schuld forsake all þat
f.93. þai had in heritage and lordschepe, and þat þai schuld fra þeine forward hald þam payd of þat he wald gyffe þam of his grace; and þai did so. Also he bad þat ilkane of þam schuld bring his son before him and slae his

verite est qe ly Tartarins et cils qi demoerent en la grant Asye descenderount de Cham. Mes ly emperers de Cathay ne sappelle mie² Cham, mes Chan; si vous dirray la verite coment.

Il nad pas plus de viii^{xx} anz qe toute Tartarie estoit en subieccioun et en seruitute des autres naciouns enuiron, qar ils estoient toutz 30
besteaux et ne fesoient qe garder bestes et mener³ en pasture. Mes entre eux ils auoient sept naciouns principaux, qi estoient souereigneiz de toutz eux. Ly primer nacioun ou lignage est appelle Tartar; ces sount ly plus nobles et ly plus prises. Ly seconde lignage est appelle Tanghot,⁴ ly tierce Eurach,⁵ ly quarte Valeir, ly quint Semoch, ly vi. Mengly,⁶ le vii^{me} Cobooch.⁷ Ore auient ensy qe de primer lignage il y auoit vn prodomme viel, et nestoit mie riche, quy auoit a noun Changuys.⁸ Cist gist vne noet en soun lit et vist vne ausioun, qe il venoit deuaunt ly vn chiualer, tout blanc et arme⁹ des armes blanches, et seoit sour vn blanc chiual, et ly dit, "Chan, dor tu? A toy menuoye le Dieu immortele; et est sa volente qe tu dies a vii. lignages qe tu soiez¹⁰ lour emperour, qar tu conqueras les pays qi sount¹¹ entour. Et serront ly marchisantz¹² en vostre subieccion, ensy qe vous auez este en lour; qar ceo est la volente de Dieu immortele." Et, quant il vient a matyn, Changuys se leua et le ala dire as vii. lignages, les quex se mokoient de ly et disoyent qil estoit asotiz; si semparti tout hountous. Et la noet ensuant cis chiualer blanc vient as vii. lignages et lour commaunda de part le Dieu immortel, qils feissent lour
emperour de Chan¹³ et ils serroient hors de tout subieccion et tenroient les autres regnes¹⁴ entour eux en lour seruitute¹⁵; si qe lendemayn 40
ils eliserount Changuys pur emperour et le ferount seoir sour vn feutre noir et puis ouesqe le feutre ils le leuerount a grant solempnite et
R.f.60b. lassistrent en vne chayere et ly firent toutz reuerence et lappellerent Chan, si come ly blanc chiualer lauoit appelle. Et, quant il fust ensy elist, il voloit assaier sil poet fier en eux et sils voleient estre obeisantz; si fist adoncques plusours estatutz et ordinancez, qils appellent Ysa Chan.¹⁶ Ly primer estatut fuist qils obeissent et croissent¹⁷ en Dieu immortel et tout puissant, qil les voleit ietter de seruitute et qe toutdis ils appellassent en lour eide en toutes busoignes. Lautre estatut fuist qe toutz les hommes de pays qi¹⁸ poaient armis porter feussent noumbrez, et a chescun x. lom baillast vn maistre, et a c. un maistre, et a mil vn maistre, et a¹⁹ x. mille vn maistre. Apres il commanda a toutz lez principaux de ces vii. lignages, qils lessassent et renunciassent a quant qils auoient de heritage, et de illoques en auant ils se tenissent a paieiz de ceo qil lour dorroit de sa grace; et ils le firent tantost. Apres²⁰ il commanda as principaux desusditz, qe chescun feit

¹ þei þat marchen (sc. border) vpon ȝou, C.

⁴ Gangoth, S.; Tangoth, G.

⁷ Coboth, G.; Coboghe, G.

¹⁰ serras, S.

¹³ lour emperour Changuys, S.; leur empereour Changis, G.

¹⁵ subiection et seruitute, G.

¹⁸ qi—porter, om. S.

² mie, S. G.; om. R.

⁵ Eurarch, S.; Curach, G.

⁸ Changis, G.

¹¹ le pais qui est, G.

¹⁶ Ysachan, S. G.

¹⁹ et a—maistre, om. G.

³ et mettre et amener, S.

⁶ Mengli, S. G.; Megly, C.

⁹ et arme—chiual, om. S.

¹² ly marchisantz, om. S. G.

¹⁴ regions, S. G.

¹⁷ croissent, S.; creussent, G.; om. R.

²⁰ fistrent. Tantost apres, G.

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III

awen son with his awen handes and smyte off his heued; and þai did so, withouten any tariing. And when he sawe þai made na lettyng of þat he bad þam do, þan he bad þam folowe his banere.¹ And þan he wan all þe landes aboute him and made þam subiettes till him.

Afterwardes it befell on a day þat þe Chaan rade with a lytill cumpany of men to see þe landes þat he had wonnen; and euen sudaynly he mette with a grete multitude of his enmys. And he, as a doghty man, for to giffe his men ensauple and will to feight, went baldely before all his men apon his enmys; and þare was he smyten doune of his hors and his hors slaen. And, when his men sawe him at þe erthe, þai wend he had bene deed and fledd away, and þaire enmys folowed þam and wist noȝt þat þat was þe kyng þat was so smyten fra his hors. And, when Chaan sawe his enmys ware ferre fra him, he went til a wodde þat was nere besyde and hidd him in a thikk busk. And, when þe enmys ware commen agayne fra þe chace, þai went to seke in þe wodde, if any ware hidd þerin, and þai fand many and slewe þam ilkane. So it fell þat þai come nere þe place whare þe kyng was hidd and sawe a fewle sitte apon a tree vnder þe whilk þe king lay in hidels; and þat fewle men callez f.93b. ane owle. And, when þai sawe þat fewle sitte so still, ilk ane of þam said till oþer þat þare was na man. And so þai went þaire way; and þus was þe kyng saued fra deed and went away on þe nyght and come to his men. And, when þai sawe þaire lord on lyfe, þai ware wonder gladd and thanked allmyȝty Godd and þe forsaid bridd þat had saued þaire lord fra þe deed and delyuerd him oute of þe handes of his enmys. And euer sen þat tyme men of þat cuntree has done grete wirschepe to þat fewle forby all oþer fewles, and luffez it so mykill þat, wha so may get a fether þeroff, he kepez it wirschepfully, as it ware a relyque, and beres it on his heued with grete reuerence, supposing to be blissed þerby and delyuerd fra all maner of perils. Afterwardes þe emperour Chaan assembled all his men and rade apon his enmys and destruyd þam to þe vtterest. 10 20

And, when he had wonnen all þe landes aboute him vnto þe mount Belyan, þe white knyght appered to him agayne and said vntil him, "Chaan, þe will of Godd es þat þou passe þe mount Belyan, and þare schall þou conquere þat land and many oþer and make þam subiettes vnto þine empire. And, for þou sall fynd na gude passage þider, ga to þe mount Belyan, þe whilk es apon þe see syde, and knele þare nyne sythes agayne þe este in þe wirschepe of Godd allmyghty, and he sall schew þe a way how þou schall passe." And þe Chaan did as he badd; and, alsone as he come þare, þe see, þat before bette apon þe mount, withdrewe it and schewed a faire

venir son eisnez fils et de leur propres mainz chescun copast la teste de soun filtz sanz delay; et tantost ly comandement fust acomply. Et, quant ly Chan vist qils ne mettoient point de obstacle² en chose qil comandast, il pensoit qil poat bien fier en eaux et commanda tantost qils fuissent toutz apparilles pur seur sa baner. Et puis ly Chan mettoit en subieccioun toutes les terres enuiroun.

Après auient vn iour qe cely Chan chiuachoit a poy de compaignie pur regarder la force du pais il auoit gaygne; si encontra grant multitude de ses enemis. Et pur³ doner bone⁴ ensample a ses gentz se fary primes dedeinz les enemis; et la fust il abatuz de soun chiual et ly chiual occis. Et, quant les gentz virent leur seigneur a terre, ils furent toutz abaihiz et quidoient qil fust mort; si se mistrent toutz a fuir, et les enemys chaceoient apres, qar ils ne sauoient⁵ mie qe ly emperers fust demorez.⁶ Et, quant ils furent esloignez pur les autres chacier, ly emperers soy ala a rescoundre⁷ en vn espesse bois. Et, quant ils estoient retournez de la chace, ils aloient quere par mie ces bois sil y auoit nul rescounduz,⁸ et troueront plusour et les mistrent a mort. Et, si qils aloient cerchauntz vers le lieu ou ly Chan estoit,⁹ ils virent vn oyseal qe homme appelle *Bubo*¹⁰ seoir sour vn arbre dessure ly. Sy disoient entre eux qe la ny auoit nulli,¹¹ puis qe cis oyseal estoit sour celle arbre; et ensi retourneront autre part, et fust lempers sauue de mort. Si emparty secrement de nuyt et ala vers ses gentz, qi en furent molt haitiz¹² de sa venue et rendirent graces a Dieu immortele et a cel oyseal, par quoy leur sirez estoit sauuez. Et pur ceo R.f.61. sour toutz oyseals de mounde ils honourent cel oyseal; et qi Dieu auoir de la plume, il la garde molt precieusement en lieu de reliques, et la portent sour leur testes ouesqe grant reuerence et quident estre benures et sauuez de toutz perils cils¹³ qi les ount. Et pur ceo portent ils 40 toutz plumes sour testes. Après ceo ly Chan se ordina et assembla ses gentz et ala sour ceux qi lauoient assaily et les destruit et mist a seruitute.

Et, quant ly Chan auoit gaigne et mis a subieccion toutes les terrez et les pays de cea la monte Belean,¹⁴ ly chiualer blanc vient a ly autrefoitz en dormant et ly dit, "Chan, la volunte de Dieu, immortele¹⁵ et tout puissant, est qe tu passez la mont Belean et la¹⁶ gaigneras la terre et metteras en ta subieccion plusours nacions. Et, pur ceo qe tu ne trouez point de bone passage¹⁷ pur aler vers ceo¹⁸ pais, va au mont Belean, qi est sour la mer, et tagenoille ix. foitz countre orient en le honour de Dieu immortel, et il te moustra chemyn par ou tu passeras." Et ly Chan ly fist ensy; et tantost la mer, qi touchoit al mountaigne, se comencea retrere¹⁹ et moustroit beal voie de ix. pies de

¹ to make hem redy and to sewen his banere, C.

⁴ vraie, G.

⁷ reposte, G.

¹⁰ *rubo*, G.

¹³ cils, S.; ceulz, G.; sils, R.

¹⁶ le, R.

¹⁸ vers celles parties et ces, S.; and so G.

² oustage, S.; contredit, G.

⁵ cuidoient, G.

⁸ muchiez, G.

¹¹ nulli, S.; nullui, G.; om. R.

¹⁴ Belian, S.; Bellian, G.; and so below.

¹⁷ tu ne troueras bone passage, S.; tu trouerras maluais passage, G.

¹⁹ se retrea, over erasure, S.; se va retraire, G.

³ et pur—enemis, om. S.

⁶ remis et demure, S.; demoures, G.

⁹ estoit muciez, G.

¹² a eise, et enioyes, S.; liez, G.

¹⁵ immortele—puissant, om. S. G.

f.94. way of ix. fote brade betwene þe mount and þe see. And so passed he and all his men and conquerd all þe land of Cathay, whilk es þe maste land of þe werld. And by cause of þir ix. knelings and ix. fote of way þe Chaan and þe men of Tartre haldez þe nowmer of ix. in grete wirschepe. And þerfore, when any man makez a presand of horsez, or of fewles, or of bowes, or of arowes, or of any oþer thing þat þai vse to send to þe emperour, if þai make þat presand of þe forsaid nowmer, þai sall hafe mare thank þeroff, and mare acceptable sall it be to þe emperour þan if he gafe him a hundreth falde so mykill in oþer nowmer. For þaim think þe nowmer of nyne þe halyest nowmer þat es, by cause þe messangere of Godd expressed þat nowmer so specially.

Qwhen þe Grete Chaan had conquerd and wonnen þe land of Chatay, and many oþer landes had putte vnder his subieccioun, he fell greeffe seke and feled wele þat he myght nozt couer of þat sekeness, bot þat him most nedeze dye þeroff. And þan he gert call byfore him his xii. sonnes, and bad þat ilkane of þam schuld bring him ane arowe; and þai did so. And he bad þam fast togyder with three bandez, and þai did as he bad þam. And, when þai ware so bunden, he bad his eldest son þat he schuld breke þam so bunden togyder; and he assayd, and myzt nozt breke þam. And þan he bad anoþer of his sonnez ga to and breke þam, and he myght nozt. þus he bad til xi. of his sonnez, bot nane of þam myght breke þe arowes whils þai ware so bunden togyder.

f.94b. At þe last he said till his 3ungest son, "Son," quod he, "ga and louse 3one arowes, ilkane fra oþer, and breke þam ilkane by þam self"; and he did as he bad and brakk þam ilkane after oþer. And þan þe kyng asked his oþer sonnez, why þai myght nozt breke þam; and þai answerd agayne þat, for þai ware so fast bunden togyder, þai myzt nozt breke þaim. þan answerd þe emperour, "How myzt 3our 3ungest broþer breke þam so lightly and so wele?" "For þai ware lowsed," quod þai, "and twynned ilkane fra oþer." "Right so," quod þaire fader, "will it fare of 3ou. For, als lang as 3e er knytt togyder with þir three bandes, þat es to say, of lufe and lewtee and of accorde, þer may na man of þis werld stryfe ne disese 3ow; bot, alssone as þe knotte is lowsed of þir bandes, þat es to say, alssone as 3e er diuised and stryfez ilkane with oþer, alssone 3e schall be confused and schent and destruyd. And, if 3e luffe stedfastly togyder, 3e schall be lordes of all naciouns." And, when he had teched his sonnes on þis wyse and had ordayned for his empire thurgh þe counsaile of þe grete lordes of his rewme, sone after he dyed. And after him regned Cichota his eldest sonne and was called Chaan, as his fader was. And his oþer breþer went furth and conquerd many landes and rewmes, euen vnto Pruyse and Russy; and ilkane of þam gert call him Chaan. Bot all ware þai subiettes to þe eldest broþer; and þerfore was he called þe Grete Chaan, and all his successours after him. After Cichota regned his eldest broþer Guys Chaan; and after him regned Mango Caan, þe whilk was baptized and worthed till a worthy and a deuote Cristen man and a gude. He

f.95. graunt his lettres of perpetuele peess till all Cristen men for to wonne in his rewme, and sent his broþer Halaon

large. Et ensy il passa ouesqe ses gentz et gaygna la terre de Cathay, qi est la plus grant roialme qi soit el mounde. Et pur ces ix. agenoillementz et pur les ix. pies de chemyn ly Chan et toutz les Tartarins ont depuis le noubre de ix. en tres grant reuerence. Et pur ceo qi voet¹ faire present, soit des chiualx, ou de oysealx, ou darches, ou de saiettes, ou de fruit, ou dautre chose, toutdis ils enuoient le nombre de ix.; si est ly presentz plus benignement receux qe sil y auoit c. ou cc., qar y lour semble qe ceste nombre² soit seintefie pur ceo qe le messenger³ de Dieu immortel le diuisa.

Item, quant ly Chan auoit gaigne le pays de Cathay et souzmis plusours pais enuyroun, il cheust en maladie et senti⁴ bien qe ly coueneit⁵ morir. Si dit a ses xii. filz qe chescun ly apportast vne de ses siettes; et ils le firent tantost. Puis il dit qe homme les liast ensemble de iii. liens,⁶ et puis il les bailla al eisnz de ses filz et li dit qil les brisast tout ensemble. Et ly filz safforcea, mes il ne les poiast⁷ briser. Si ly dit ly Chan qil les baillast al seconde, et puis as autres de lun al autre,⁸ mes nul deux ne les poast briser. Si dit ly Chan au plus ieone, "Deseuerez lun de lautre⁹ et brisez chescun par ly"; et il si fist. Et puis dit ly Chan al eisnes et as autres, pur qoy ils ne les auoient brises; et ils respondirent, qils ne poaient, pur ceo qe elles estoient lies ensemble. "Et pur qoy," dit il, "les ad vostre petit frere brisez?" "Pur ceo," font ils, "qe elles estoient desseuerez lune de lautre." Et adonques dit ly Chan, "My enfantz, ensi est il de vous. Qar tant qe vous serrez ensemble liez de iii. liens damour, de loialte et de concord, nul ne vous purroit greuer; mez, si vous desseuerez¹⁰ de ces liens, qe ly vn nayde al autre, vous serrez destruitz et mis a nient. Si vous ensoueinez et amez¹¹ lun lautre; si serres seignurs et souerainz de toutz." Et, quant il auoit fait ces ordinances, il morra.¹² Et regna apres ly Eccocho¹³ Chan soun esnez filz. Et ly autres freres alirent gaigner mointe pais et mointe regioun iusques a la terre de Puisse¹⁴ et de Rossie; et se¹⁵ firent appeller Chan. Mes ils estoient toutz obeisantz a lour eisnez frere; et pur ceo estoit il appelle Grant Chan, et toutdis puis si sont ensy appelez. Apres Eccocho¹⁶ regna Guyo¹⁷ Chan, et puis Mango Chan, qi fust bon Cristien baptize et dona lettres de perpetuel pees a toutz Cristiens. Et enuoia son

¹ li veolt, S.; li veult, G.

⁴ sceut, S. G.

⁶ et ils lez firent tantost a iii. liens, S.; en iii. lieus de iii. liens, G.

⁸ baillat a touz de lun a lautre, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ estes deseueres, S. G.

¹² deuia, S. G.

¹⁵ cis, S.; se, G.; si, R.

² ce non, G.

⁵ qil deuoit, S. G.

G.

⁹ lez seates lun dil autre, S.; quil les deseuraist toutes les vnes des autres, G.

¹¹ Si vous enseyne, ametz, S.; Ce vous ensengue ie. Et aimes, G.

¹³ Occhote, S.; Otthete, G.; Ecchecha, C.

¹⁶ Occhote, S.; Ottethe, G.; Ecchecha, C.

³ passage, G.

⁷ poat, S.; pot, G.

¹⁴ Prusse, S. G.

¹⁷ Guye, S.; Guie, G.; Guyo, C.

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with a grete oste for to wynne þe Haly Land oute of þe Sarzenes handes in to Cristen mennez handes, and for to destroy Machomete lawe, and also for to take Calaphes of Baldac, þat was emperour and lord ower þe Sarzenes. Halaon went furth and tuke Calaphes and fand with him grete plentee of tresoure, so grete þat him thoȝt þare schuld noȝt hafe bene mykils mare in all þe werld as was funn with him.¹ And þan Halaon said vntill him, "Qwhy," quod he, "wald þou noȝt wage men ynew with þi tresoure for to agaynstand me and defend þi land?" And he answerd and said, "I had men ynew of myne awen," quod he. And þan said Halaon, "þou was þe Godd of þe Sarzenes, and Godd hase na mister of mete ne drink²; and þerfore þou schall neuer for vs hafe mete ne drink, bot ete, if þou will, þi precious stanes and þi tresoure, þat þou gaderd so fast togyder and luffed so mykill." And þan he spered him in amanges his tresour withouten mete or drink; and so he died for hunger and for thirst. He, þis ilk Halaon, conquerd and wan all þe Haly Land in to Cristen men handes. In þe meen 10 tyme þe Grete Caan died; and forþi þe iournee chaunged efter to þe werse.³ After Mango þe gude regned anoþer þat hight Chebysa and was called Caan; and he was a gude Cristen man also, and regned xlii. ȝere. He f.95b. foundid a gude citee and a grete in þe kyngdom of Chatay, þe whilk es called Iong; and it es mare þan Rome. Anoþer Caan regned after him, and he renayed þe Cristen lawe and become a Sarzene,⁴ and all þe Caanes after him vnto þis tyme.

And wit ȝe wele þat þe rewme of Chatay es mare þan any rewme in þis werld; and so es he þat es Grete Caan þe grettest kyng of all oþer kynges and ricchest of gold and all maner of tresoure and of grettest astate. þe style of his lettres es þis, *Caan, filius dei excelsi, omnium vniversam terram colencium summus imperator et dominus dominancium*, þat es to say "Chaan, Goddes son all myghty, and þe souerayne emperour of all þase þat tillez þe erthe and lord of all lordes." þe circumscripsioun of his grete seel es þis, *Deus in celo, Caan super 20 terram, eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum*, þat es to say, "Godd in heuen, and Caan apon erthe, his strenth. þe seel of þe emperour of all men." And þe wrytyng aboute his priuee [seel] es þis, *Dei fortitudo. Omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum*, þat es to say, "þe strenth of Godd. Seel of þe emperoure of all men." þis emperour and all þe folk of his land, þof þai be na Cristen men, neuerþeles þai trowe in grete Godd, þat made heuen and erthe; and, when þai will manace any man, þai say on þis wyse, "Godd wate þat I schall do þe ane euill turne."

frere Halaoun⁵ ouesques grant multitude des gentz pur gaigner la Terre Seinte et pur la mettre en mains dez Cristiens, et pur destruire la ley Machometh, et pur prendre le Califfe de Baldak,⁶ qi estoit emperers et sires de toutz les Sarazins. Et, quant cis Califfe fuist pris, lem troua tant de tresour qe en tout le remenant de mounde en deueroit⁷ a peynes tant auoir.⁸ Si le fist Halaon venir deuant ly, et ly dit, pur qoy il nauoit pris assez de soudeours pur vne partie de ceo tresour pur defendre tant pais. Et ly Califfe respoundy qil quidoit auoir assez 30 des gentz⁹ propres. Et adonques dit Halaon, "Tu estoiez auxi come Dieu dez Sarazins, et ly deux ne deuient point manger de viande mortel.¹⁰ Et pur ceo tu ne mangeras qe pierres precieuses et perles et le tresour qe tu amoiez tant.¹¹" Si le fist mettre en prisoun et tout soun tresour delez ly; et la morust de faim et de soif. Et puis eust Halaoun¹² gaigne toute la Terre de Promissioun et mis en mains des Cristiens; mes ly Grant Chan morust, si fust ly affaires toute empeschez.¹³ Apres Mango Chan regna Cobila¹⁴ Chan, qi fuist auxi Cristiens et regna xlii. aunz. Il founda la grant citee de Iongo¹⁵ en Cathay, qi est plus grant assez qe ne soit Rome. Ly autre Grant Chan qi vient apres deuient paiens, et toutz¹⁶ ly autres apres auxi.

R.f.62. Ly roialme de Cathay est ly plus grant roialme qi soit en mounde. Et auxi ly Grant Chan est ly plus puissant emperers qi soit souz le firmament. Et ensi sappelle¹⁷ il en ses lettres, *Chan, filius Dei excelsi*,¹⁸ *omnium vniuersam terram colencium summus imperator et dominus omnium dominancium*. Et la lettre entour soun petit seal est tiel, *Dei fortitudo. Omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum*. Et de soun grant seal est lescricioun tiel, *Deus in celo et Chan super terram, eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum*. Et, come bien qils ne 40 sount maintenant Cristiens, nient mains ly emperers et toutz ly Tartaryns croient en Dieu immortel; et, quant ils voillent ascun manacer,¹⁹ ils dient, "Dieu sciet qe ie te ferrey tiel chose." Si auez²⁰ oy pur quoy il sappelle Grant Chan.

¹ men fownden him of so highe worschipe, þat in alle þe remenant of þe world ne myghte a man fynde a more reuerent man, ne highere in worschipe, C.

² it is conuenient to a god to ete no mete, þat is mortalle, C.

³ a payneme, C.

⁴ en dorroit, S.; len en troueroit, G.

⁵ de viande mes terre, S.

⁶ si fut li freres emperers qauoit noun Mango Chan. Apres lui, S.; and so G.

⁷ Iong, S. G.; Izonge, C.

⁸ appelle, R.

⁹ ore vous ay ieo dit . . . Si vous dirray, S.; and so G.

¹⁰ Halaon, S.; om. G.

¹¹ tant de tresor, S.; autant, G.

¹² de quoy tu auoies tant, G.

¹³ et tut le terre auxint dil roialme de Cathay, qi est, S.; et tous les autres apres ensuiant, G.

¹⁴ excelsi, om. G.

¹⁵ and þat was gret sorwe and losse to alle cristen men, C.

¹⁶ Baldach, S.; Baudas, G.

¹⁷ seons, S.; siens, G.

¹⁸ quant Halaon ot, G.

¹⁹ Bobla, S.; Cobla, G.; Coblya, C.

²⁰ avaunser, S.

CHAPTER XXV.

[Of the gouernance of the Grete Chanes court, and whan he maketh solempne festes; of his philosophres; and of his array, whan he rideth be the contre.]

f.96. **HERE** hafe I talde 3ow why he es called þe Grete Caan, and now will I tell 3ow of þe aray and þe gouernaunce of his courte, when he makez grete festez; and þat es principally at foure tymes in þe 3ere. þe first es at þat tyme þat þe Grete Caan was borne; þe secund es at þat tyme þat he was presented in to þaire tempill, þe whilk es called Moseak, whare he was circumcised; þe oþer twa festez er of þaire mawmet.¹ þe first of þam es at þat tyme þat þaire mawmet was first sett in trone in þaire temple; and þe toþer es at þat tyme þat þaire mawmet began first to speke and giffe answeze and to do myracles. Oþer festez makez noȝt þe emperour so sollemply, bot if it be at þe weddinges of his sonnez. At ilkane of þir festez es 10 wonder grete multitude of folk gaderd; and þai er all wele arayd and ordaynd by thowsands, hundreths and vintaynes, and ilkane wate what he schall do and bisily tentez till þaire officez, þat þare be na defawt funn. First er ordaynd iiij^m riche barouns and myghty, for to hafe þe gouernaunce and þe ordinaunce of þe feste and to serue þe emperour. And all þir barouns has corouns of gold apon þaire heuedes wele dight with precious stanes and perle; and þai er cledd in clathez of gold and cammaca and swilk oþer, and þai er als riche as þai may be made.² And þai may wele hafe swilk clathes, for þai er of lesse prys þare þan wollen clathez er here.³ And þir festez er made in tentes made of clathes of gold or of tartarene or camaca; and þai er so curiously made f.96b. þat na man may ymagyn mare curious. Þir foure thowsand barouns er departed in foure companys; and ilk a company es cledd in a suyt by þam self of a colour diuerse fra þe oþer companys. þe first⁴ company es of 20 dukes, erles, markysez and amyral; and þai er cledd in clathez of gold and of silk of grene colour, þe secund of reed colour, þe thrid of blew colour, þe ferthe of ȝalow colour. And þaire garmentz er all so curiously and

CHAPITRE XXV.

Del gouernement de la court de Grant Chan, quant il faist festes solempnes; de ses philosophes; et de soun array, quant il chiuache par la pais.

RE vous dirray le gouernement de la court de Grant Chan, quant⁵ il fait festes solempnes; ceo est principalment iiij. foitz lan. La primere feste est de sa natiuite; lautre de sa presentacioun en lour Meseache,⁶ cest en lour temple, ou ils fount vn manere de circumcisioun; et lez autres deux sount de les ydoles. La primere est, quant lydole⁷ fust⁸ primerement mis en lour Meseache et entronize⁹; lautre, quant lydole comencea primes a parler ou faire miracles. Plus ne fait il des festes solempnes, sil ne marie de ses enfantz. Ore sachez qe a chescun de celles festes y a molt grant poeple¹⁰ et molt bien ordeigne et molt arraiez par milleiners, par centeiniers et par diseiniers. Et sciet bien chescun de qoy il doit seruir; si entent¹¹ chescun si bien a ceo qil doit faire qil nad nul defaute. Il y a primerement ordeinez m'm'm'm¹ barouns riches et puissantz pur garder, gouerner et ordeiner la feste et lempour seruir. Et cestes 30 festes solempnez sount faitz de hors en tentes faitz de draps dor et de tartaires molt noblement. Et toutz cils barouns out corounes dor sour lour testes, molt nobles et molt riches as perres precieusez et as grosses perles dorient; et sount toutz vestiz des draps dor ou de tartaires ou de camochaz, a plus fetissement¹² qe homme puet en mounde deuier. Et sount celles robes orfrasez tout entour et semez des pierres et des perles molt richement. Et ils le poent bien faire, qar draps dor et de soie sount la a melour marche assez qe ne sount draps de layne icy.¹³ R.f.62b. Et sount cils m'm'm'm¹ barouns deuisez en iiij. compaignies¹⁴; et chescun milliere est vestuz dez draps tout dun colour et si bien aornes et attirez¹⁵ si richement qe cest meruaille a voier. Ly primers millers, qest des ducs countes et des marchiz et des amiraux, sount toutz vestis des draps dor tissuz¹⁶ a soie vert et bordurez dor et des piers precieuses, si come ieo vous ay dit. Ly secound milliers est tout vestuz des draps diaspres de soie vermaille as oueraignez dor et as orfrais et as perles molt noblement ourez; ly tierce milliers dez draps de soie pourpre ou Ynde; et ly quarte milliers des draps iaunes. Et toutz lour vestimentz sount si noblement et si richement oures dor dez pierres et des

¹ ydoles, C.

² and alle þo robes ben orfrayed alle abouten, and dubbed fulle of precious stones and of grete oryent perles, fulle richely, adds C.

³ ben gretter chep þere a gret del þan ben clothes of wolle, C. (cf. S. G.)

⁴ S. G.; om. R.

⁵ est, S. G.

¹¹ attende, S.

¹⁴ parties, G.

⁶ Moesach, S. G.

⁹ entronicez, S.; en croniquez, G.

¹² gentement, G.

¹⁵ attirez, mo. S. G.

⁴ This description is more literally rendered in C.

⁷ lydole, S. G.; om. R.

¹⁰ moult de gens, G.

¹³ qe i sont dela le mer, S.; que nest drape de laine, G.

¹⁶ tassez, S.

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so craftily ebrowded and dight with gold and precious stanez and perle þat, what man of oure land as had ane swilk, men myzt sauely say he ware na pure man; for gold and precious stanes es of mykill gretter prys here þan it es þare.¹ And ilkane of þir barouns beres before him a table of iaspre, or of euour, or of cristall; and before þaim gase mynstrallez, playand on diuerse instrumentes of music. And, when þe first thowsand es passed and hase done þaire seruys, þai draw þam o syde; and þan commez þe secund thowsand, and þan þe thridd, and so þe ferthe, and duse þaire seruise as þe first thowsand didd. And nane of þam spekez a worde; and þus þai ga aboute þe hall.

At a syde of þe emperour table sittez many philosophers and grete clerkez of diuerse sciencez, sum of astronomy, sum of nigromancy, sum of geomancy, sum of pyromancy, sum of ydromancy, and many swilk oþer sciencez. And sum has before þam astrolabres of gold, sum speres² of precious stanes, sum þe scalpe³ of a deed 10 man, sum vessell of gold full of hate coles, sum vessell of gold with water and wyne and oile. Sum also has f.97. orlogez wonder craftily made, sum vessell of gold full of sand, and oþer of þam diuerse instrumentes occordand for þaire science. And at certayne houres, when þai see tyme, þai say to men þat standez before þam, "Makez now peesse"; and þan ane of þase men saise to all þe hall with a lowd voice, "Now peesse." And þan saise ane of þe philosophers, "Now ilk man do reuerence and bowghe him to þe emperour, whilk es Goddes sonne and lord of all þe werld, for now es tyme." And þan ilk man enclynez his heued toward þe erthe; and þan saise þe philosopher to þam, "Liftez vp zoure heuedes agayne." And at anoþer heure saise anoþer philosopher, "Ilk man putte his lytill fynger in his ere"; and þai do so. And at anoþer heure saise anoþer philosopher, "Ilke man lay his hand before his mouth"; and þai do so. And sone after anoþer philosopher biddez ilk man lay his hand apon his heued; and þai do so. And þus ilk heure þir philosopheres biddez diuerse thinges; and 20 þai say þase thinges hase grete beteknyngs.⁴ And I ast priuely what þise thinges myght bemene; and ane of þe philosophers said þat þe enclynynge of þe heued þat tyme beteknez þat all þase þat louted þan schall be obedient and trew to þe emperour, so þat for na giftez ne for na hetyng þai schall neuer be fals ne traytours to him. And puttyng of þe fynger in þe ere bemenez þat nane of þase schall here ill be spoken of þe emperour, nowþer of fader ne broþer, sibbe ne fremmed, þat ne he schall schew it to þe emperoure, or to his counsail. þe f.97b. laying of þe hand before his mouth bemenez þat nane of þam sall speke euill of þe emperour. And on þe same wyse of all the oþer thinges þat þai biddo, þai say þat þai hafe grete betakenyng. And 3e schall vnderstand þat

perles qe, si vn homme de ceo pais auoit vn soul de lour robes, il purroit bien dire qil ne serroit il empoueres; qar li or, lez pierres et les perles vaudroient vn grant tresour par de cea, plus qe il ne font⁵ par de la. Et enci qe ils sont apparelez, ils vont ii. et ii. ordeinement deuaunt le emperour sanz mote dire, forsqe eux encliner. Et chescune porte deuaunt ly vne tablette de iaspe ou de yuoyre ou de cristall; 30 et vont ly menestriers deuaunt eux sonantz molt diuers instrumentz. Et, quant ly primers millers est ensy passez et ad fait sa moustre, si se trete a vne part; et puis entre ly seconde milliers et fait auxi, et puis ly tirce, et puis ly quart. Et nul deux dit vn soul mot.

Et a vne couste de la table del emperour seount plusours philosophes, sagis⁶ dez plusours sciences, come de astronomie, de nigromancie, de geomancie, de piromancie, de ydromancie, de augurrie, et dez plusours autres sciences. Et si ascunz ont deuaunt eux astrolabes dor ou des perres,⁷ ascuns los⁸ de la teste dun morte, ascuns vessealx dor pleine de zabloun, ascuns vessealx dor pleine de charbouncles⁹ ardantz, ascuns vessealx dor pleins deawe et de vin et de oyle, et ascuns oryloges¹⁰ molt noblement ourez, et plusours autres maneres des instrumentz solonc lour sciences. Et as certains houres, quant y lour semble qil soit temps, ils dient as vallettz deuaunt eux, qi sount deputez acomplir lour commaundement, "Faites pees"; et adoncques dient ly vallettes, "Ore pees. Escotez." Puis dit vn dez philosophes, "Chescun face reuerence et encline al emperour qest filz de Dieu et seignur souerein de toutz autres de mounde, qar il est meintenat heure." Et lors R.f.63. chescun¹¹ basse sa teste vers la terre; et puis dit cis philosophes, "Leuez sus." Et puis vn autre heure dirra vn autre philosophe, "Mettez 40 le petit doy en vostre oriele"; et tantost ils le fount. Et puis a vn autre heure dit vn autre philosophe, "Mettez vostre main deuaunt vostre bouche"; et ils le fount. Et puis dit vn autre, "Mettez vostre main sour vostre teste"; et ils le fount. Et puis dit homme qils houstent, et cest fait. Et ensy de heure en autre¹² ils dient diuerses chosez; et dient qe celles choses ount molt grant mestiere. Et ieo lour demaundy a part quel misteire et quelle significacioun celles choses auoyent; et vn des mestres me respondy qe ly basser de la teste a celle heure auoit tiel misteire, qe toutz cils qi le aueroient basse serroient a toutditz mais obeisantz et loials al emperour, qe pur donnes ne pur promesse ils ne purroient iames estre corumpuz ne encliner pur nul auoir a ly faire tresoun. Et doy mettre en loreille, ils disoient qe nul de ceux ne purroit oyr parler ne dire nulle chose a contraire al emperour, qil ne ly deisist tantost, sil fust vncqore son pierre ou soun frere qi leust dit. Ensy de chescun chose qils dient et qils fount faire, ils deuissent diuerses mestres. Et soyez certains qe homme ne fait nul chose

¹ And whan þei ben þus apparaylled, þei gon, ii. and ii. togedre, fulle ordynatly before the emperour, withouten speche of ony woord, saf only enclynynge to him, adds C.

² sc. spheres; speres, C.

³ qil vaudroit, S.; quil ne valent, G.

⁴ les ont, G.

⁵ chescun, om. R.

⁶ brayn panne, C.

⁷ sagis, om. S. G.

⁸ carbonz, S.; charbon, G.

⁹ en heure, S. G.

¹⁰ han dyuerse significaciouns, C.

¹¹ ou speres, S.; ou de pierres precieuses, G.

¹² orologes, S.; orillies, G.

men dyghtez ne makez na thing to þe emperour, þat es to say nowþer clathez, mete, ne drink, ne nane oþer thing, bot at certayne tyme when þe philosophers tellez, þe whilk thurgh þaire science and calculacioun aspiez and considerez certayne houres couable for to do swilk thingez. And, if any man begynne were agayne þe emperour in any cuntree, alssone þe philosophers knawez it and tellez þe emperour and his counsaile, and he sendez his oste þider to restreyne þe malice of his enmys.

Qwhen þe philosophers hase bidden all thinges þat langes to þam for to bidd, þan þe mynstrallez begynnez to do þaire melodys agayn, ilkane after oþer. And, when þai hafe done þaire mynstralcy a grete while, þan ane of þe emperoures officers gase vp apon a stage, richely made and curiously, and criez with a lowde voice, "Peesse," and þan er all men still. And þan all þase þat er of þe emperour kynne gase and araiez þam wele and richely in clathez of gold, and ilkane of þam commez with many whyte hors wele araied and richely on þe best maner þat þai may. And þan saise þe steward of þe courte þat lord and þat lorde, and neuens þaire names, "Comme and f.98. do reuerence to þe emperour of all þe werld." And þus he neuens þam all on rawe, ilkane in þaire degree; and þan commez ilkane of þam after oþer before þe emperoure and presendez him whyte horsez in þe noumer of nyne.¹ And efter þaim commez grete barounes and presandez him with sum iowell or sum oþer riche gyft, ilk ane after his degree aschez.² And, when þai hafe all on þis wyse made þaire presandez to þe emperoure, þan makez prelatez of þaire lawe þaire presandez. And efterwardes þe cheeffe prelate giffez a grete benysoun, sayand ane orisoun of þaire lawe. And þan begynnez þe mynstralles þaire melody agayne. And, when þai hafe made mynstralcy a whyle, þai er bidden be still, and þan men bringez before þe emperour lyouns, lebardes and oþer maner of bestez and briddez and fischez and nedders, for to do wirschepe to þe emperoure; for þai say all thing þat has lyf schall do wirschepe to þe emperour and be obedient to him. And þan commez iugillours and enchantours and dose many meruailes; for þai make to comme in þe aere as it semez þe sonne and þe mone to do him reuerence, whilk schynes so bright þat men may noȝt behald þam. And seyne þai make so grete myrknes þat it semez nyght; and efterwardes þai make þe light to appere agayne. And þan þai make damysels to comme in carolland, as men thinkes þat seez. Seyne þai make oþer damysels to comme in, bringand cowpez of gold full of meere³ mylk, and proffers lordes and ladys to drink off. And after þis þai make knyghtes to iust in þe aere wele

qi al emperour appartient,⁴ ne draps,⁵ ne pain, ne bain, nautre chose, forsque toutdiz as certains houres qe ly philosophes deuisent. Et, sil court guerre al emperour nulle part, ou qe homme face ascune contraire en toute sa terre, cis philosophes le veient tantost et le dient al emperour et a soun conseil, "Sire, lem fait maintenant tiel chose en vostre terre et en tiels parties"; et tantost ly emperers enuoie⁶ vers celles parties.

Et, quant ly ditz philosophes ont ensy parfait lour commandementz, ly ministriers commencent a soner chescun de soun instrument, lun apres lautre, et fount vne grande melodie. Et, quant ils ount vne piece sonez dez instrumentz, vn des ministres⁷ del emperour mounte en haut sus vne estage, oures molt fetisement, et crie et dit, "Faites pees"; et puis chescun se teise. Et lors sont toutz cils de la parente del emperour appareille⁸ molt noblement des draps dor, et ad chescun appareillez des chualx blancz tantz come il poet finer.⁹ Et puis dit ly senschall de la court N. et N., et nome primerement le plus noble, "Soyez appareillez a tiel noumbre des chualx¹⁰ blancz pur seruir le souerein emperour nostre¹¹ Seignur"; et autre tiel, N. de N., soit auxi appareille¹² a tant de nombre, et autre tiel a tant, et ensy nome toutz ceux de la parent del emperour, lun apres lautre. Et, quant il les ad toutz nomez, ils entrent, lun apres lautre, et presentent les chualx blancz al emperour et passent outre. Et puis apres trestoutz ly autres barons, chescun ly donne vne present, ou ioyau ou autre chose, solonc ceo qe ils fount.¹³ Et puis apres toutz les prelatz¹⁴ de lour ley et religious et autres, chescun ly donne ascun chose. Et puis, quant ils ont toutz offert al emperour, ly plus grant des prelatz donne sa beneceoun, en disant vne oreisoun de lour ley. Et puis comencent ly ministriers autrefoitz a soner. Et, quant ils ont vne piece¹⁵ sone, homme les fait taiser¹⁶ et fait homme venir deuaunt lempereur leouns priueez et autres bestes et aigles¹⁷ et voutours et plusours autres maners des oiseals et pesshouns et serpentz pur ly faire reuerence; qar ils dient qe toute creature viue doit obeire a ly et ly faire reuerence. Et apres y viegnent ioglours et enchantours, qi fount trop de meruailes; qar ils fount vener en lair le solail et la lune par semblance pur ly faire reuerence, qi donnent si grant clarite qe a peins lun veoit lautre. Et puis fount la nuyt, si qe homme ne veoit gent¹⁸; et plus il fount reuener le iour. Et fount venir daunces¹⁹ de plus beals damesels de mounde, ceo semble as gentz. Et puis font venir des autres damesels portantz des coupezes dor pleins de lait des iumentz,²⁰ et donnent a boir as seignurs et as dames. Et puis fount venir des chualers iustantz en lour armes²¹ molt faitissement de laymeres et autre

¹ presenten the white hors to the emperour and þan gon hire wey, C.

³ sc. mare's; mylk of dyuerse bestes, C.

⁵ robes, G.

⁸ appareillez—appareillez, om. G.; molt—appareillez, om. S.

¹⁰ des chualx—de nombre, om. G.

¹³ solonc se qil soit, S.; selon ce quil sont, G.

¹⁶ cesser, G.

¹⁹ daunser, S.; danssier, G.

² So MS., with doubtful sense; after þat þei ben of estate, C.

⁴ partient, S.; apartiegne, G.; appartenont, R.; appartient, Roy. MS. 20A.1.

⁶ enuoie gentz, S.; gens, G.

⁷ ministrels, S.; menestrieux, G.

⁹ tanz qils poiant finer, S.; tant comme il en pueent finer, G.

¹² et a autre N. et N. soietz auxint appareillez, S.

¹⁵ vn petit, S.

¹⁸ riens, S.

²¹ en leir armetz, S.; en lair armes, G.

¹¹ vostre, S.

¹⁴ tous les autres barons chascun et les prelas, G.

¹⁷ et aigles, om. G.

²⁰ des iumentz, om. G.

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f.98b. armed; and þai smyte so sammen with þaire speres þat þe trunschouns of þam flyes aboute all þe tablez in hall.¹ And, when þis es done, þai make hertez and wylde bares comme and hundez persuand þam. Þise and many oþer meruailles þai do, ay to þe emperour hafe eten.

Þis emperour, þat es called þe Grete Caan, hase many men kepan² in his courte, as I said before, and mynstralles to þe nowmer of xiii. comacies. I talde 30w before how mykill a comacye contenez. Bot 3e schall vnderstand þat all þir mynstrallez dwellez noȝt continually in the emperours courte, bot what mynstrall so commez before him, of what nacioun so euer he be, he es ressayued in his courte and his name writen. And þerfore, where so euer he go fra þat tyme forward, he claymez him self for ane of his mynstralles, and þerfore es þare sa grete nowmer of þam. He hase also xv. comacies of men ordaynd for noȝt elles bot for to kepe fewles of diuerse kyndes, as gerfawcouns, gentill fawcouns, laneres, sagres, sperhawkes, nyghtgales syngand, and papeiays 10 spekand. He hase also a thowsand olyfauntes.³ And he hase⁴ many phisicionen, of whilk cc. er Cristen men, and xx⁴ Sarzenes; bot he traistez maste in Cristen men.⁵ Þare er also in his courte many barouns and oþer officers þat er cristend and conuerted to Cristen faith thurgh preching of gude Cristen men þat dwellez þare; bot þer er many þat will noȝt be aknawen, ne late men wit þat þai er Cristen men.

f.99. Þis emperour may dispend als mykill as him list spend, for he makez na monee bot owþer of lether, or of papire, or of barkez of treesse.⁶ And, when þis monee es waxen alde, and þe prynte þeroff defaced by cause of vsyng, it es broȝt to þe kynges tresoury, and his tresourer giffez new for alde. Þis monee es prynted on bathe þe sydes, as monee es of oþer cuntreez, and it gase⁷ thurgh all þe Grete Caan landes. For þai make na monee þare of gold ne siluer, when it es broght þider fra oþer landes by diuerse naciouns, bot þe emperour gers enourne his palace þerwith and gers make þeroff oþer necessities at his awen list. In his chaumbre on a piler 20 of gold es a ruby and a charbuncle, ayther of a fote lang⁸; and þis charbuncle lightnez all þe chaumbre on þe nyght. He hase also many oþer precious stanes and rubies in his chaumbre; bot þir twa er þe grettest and maste precious of all oþer.

harnois qi a iouste affiert⁹; et froissent lour launces bien et roidement,¹⁰ si qe ly tronsonz veulent¹¹ par toutz les tables. Et puis fount venir chaces des cerfs et des cenglers et des chiens courrantz. Et tant font de diuerse chose qe cest meruaille a veer; et fait homme de tiels ieux iusques a leuer des tables.

Cis Grant Chan ad molt grant gent pur ly seruir, si come ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit, qar il y ad des ministriers qi sount toutz a ly le noumbre de xiii. cumancz. Mes ne moerent mie toutz ouesqe ly; qar toutz ly ministriers qi veignent deuant ly, de quelc nacioun qils soient, il les fait retenir de soun hostiel, et sont mis en escript. Et pur ceo, come bien qils aillent par toutz terres, toutfoitz se reclayment ils pur ly, et pur ceo y a si grant multitude.¹² Et des valettz qi gardent oysealx, oustours, girfaucz, esperuiers, faucons gentils, laniers, 30 sacrez,¹³ papegaurz parlantz,¹⁴ et oisealx chauntantz, et auxi des bestes sauages et des olifantz¹⁵ priues¹⁶ et auters, baboignz, singez, marmoz, et autres diuerses, si ad xv. cumancz des valettz. Et des phisiciens Cristiens il ad cc.; et de mires Cristiens il en ad ccx.,¹⁷ et si ad xx. R.f.64. Sarazins. Qar¹⁸ trop se fie lom plus en lourage des Cristiens qe des Sarazins. Et lautre comune familie est¹⁹ auxi come saunz nombre, et si ount toutz leur nessessairs de la court lempereur. Et si ad en sa court plusours barouns et seruitours qi sount Cristiens et conuertiz²⁰ a la bone foy par lez prechementz des religious Cristiens qi la demoerent, mes il y a plusours qi ne voillent mie qe homme sache qils soient Cristiens.

Cis emperers poet despendre tant come il voet saunz estimacioun; qar il ne despent ne ne fait point de moneye, fors de cuyr emprentes ou de papper. Et y a²¹ de tiel moneye de plus grant et de plus petit, solonc la diuersete de seinal qi y est. Et, quant celle moneye ad tant corru²² qe elle se gauste, adonques homme la porte al tresorer²³ lempereur, et il lour bailla de la nouelle moneye pur la vielle. Et celle moneye vait par toute la pais et par toutes ses prouinces. Qar par de la ils ne fount moneye ne dor ne dargent; et pur ceo poet il assez despendre. 40 Et del or et del argent qe homme porte en soun pais il fait toutdis²⁴ aourner soun palais et faire diuerses choses et chaunger et muer, solonc ceo qe ly plect. Il ad en sa chambre en vn des pilers dor vn rubiez charboncle²⁵ dun pie de long,²⁶ qi de noet enlumine toute la chaumbre. Item y ad molt de autres pierres precieuses et molt dautres rubiz; mez cel la est ly plus grant et li plus precieuse.

¹ and þei rennen togidre a gret raundoun, and þei frusschen togidre fulle fiercely, and þei breken here speres so rudely þat the tronchouns fien in sprotes and peces alle aboute þe halle, C.

² kepan, erased.

³ and also of wylde bestes, as of olifauntz, tame and othere, babewynes, apes, marmesettes, and oþere dyuerse bestes, the mountance of xv. cumancz of ȝomen, C.

⁴ hase, om. MS., with "haues" interlined later.

⁵ And of phisiciens Cristene he hath cc.; and of leches þat ben Cristene he hath cc. and x., and of leches and phisiciens þat ben Sarrazines xx., but he trusteth more in the Cristene leches þan in the Sarazines, C.

⁶ of half a fote long, C.

⁷ fetisement come a iostes affiert, S.; faiticement de tout ce qui a ioustes affiert, G.

⁸ ordonement, S.; ordonneement, G.

⁹ sacrez, om. S.

¹⁰ priues, S. G.; primes, G.

¹¹ Et lautre comune est, S.; and so, G.

¹² et y a—qi y est, om. S. (cf. Engl. text).

¹³ toutdis—faire, om. S.

¹⁴ vne grosse charbuncle, S.; vn rubi charboncle, G.

þe Grete Caan dwellez in somer in a citee toward þe north, þat es called Saduz, whare þe aer es riȝt calde; and in wynter he dwellez in þe citee of Camalach, whare þe aer es riȝt hate. Bot þe place whare he es comounly dwelland es at Gaydoun,¹ whare þe aer es atemperee after þe qualitee of þat cuntree. Neuerþeles til men of þis cuntree it ware ouer hate. And, when þis Grete Caan schall ryde fra a cuntree to anoþer, þare er ordaynd foure osten for him, riȝt grete of folk, of whilk ane oste wendez before him a day iournee. And þis oste liggez ilke ane nyght whare þe emperour schall ligg on þe morue; and þare er all things fun redy puruayd þat f.99b. þam nede. In þat oste er fyfty comacy of men, what of hors men, what of fote men; and ilke a comacy contenez x^m, as I talde ȝow before. Anoþer oste es on his riȝt syde, as it ware half a day iournee fra him, and þe thridd on his left syde als ferre fra him. And þe ferthe commez behind him, as it ware ane arow draght; and in þat oste er ma men þan in þe oþer three. Ilkane of þir osten hase þaire iourneez limited; and þare þer 10 þai schall luge ilk a nyght, þai schall fynd before þam redily puruayd all maner of thinges þat er necessary to þam. And, if it hapne þat any man of þir osten dye by þe way, alssone þai putte anoþer in his steed, þat þe forsaide noumer be all way keped hale.

And ȝe schall vnderstand þat þe Grete Caan rydez neuermare apon a hors, bot if he ryde till any place with a priuee meneȝee. Bot he rydez in a chariot with foure whelez; and þerapon es a chaumbre made of a tree þat men callez *lignum aloes*, þe whilk commez oute of Paradys terrestre at certayne tymes with fludes þat rynnez oute of Paradys. And by cause of þe kynde of tree þat it es made off þis chaumbre es of noble smell; and it es couerd all ouer within with plates of gold sett full of precious stanes. And foure olyfauntes and foure whyte stedeȝ² trapped with riche clatheȝ drawez þis chariot. And fyfe or sex grete lordes in riche appaȝaile rydez aboute þe chariot, so þat na man schall come nere him bot lordes, o less þan he call any man till him. And 20 f.100. abouen on þat chaumbre in a lytill caban sittez men with foure or fyue gerfawcouns,³ þat, if þai fynd any wilde fewle by þe way as þai ryde, þai may late þam flie for to make þe emperoure gammen. And before þis chariot rydez na man nere it by a bowe schote, bot þir forsaide lordes. And on þe same aray of chariotes and of men er þe empericeȝ ledd thurgh þe cuntree, ilkane of þam by þam self; bot þai haue nower nere so many men in þaire hostez as þe emperoure hase. Also þe eldest sonne of þe emperour rydez by anoþer way in his chariot on þe

Cis emperers demoere en este en vne cite qest vers bise, qad noun Saduz⁴; et la⁵ fait il assez froide. Et en yuerne il demoere en la citee de Camaalech, qest en bien chaud pais. Mes le pais ou il demoere plus comunement cest a Caydo ou a Iong,⁶ qi est en bone pais et assez bien atempres solonc la pais de la, mes a ceus de ceo pais⁷ serroit il trop chaud. Et, quant ly dit emperers voet chiuacher dune pais en autre, il fait ordiner iiii. hostes de ses gentz, dont ly primer host gist⁸ a noet la ou ly emperers doit giser lendemayn; et la troue chescun toutz ses necessaires. Et en ceo primer host y ad des gentz l. cumancz, quoy de chial quoy de pee, dount chescun cumanc a monte x. mil, 30 si come ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit. Et vn autre hoste vait en coste a destre a demie iournee pres, et vn autre vait a senestre; et en chescun host y ad bien atant des gentz come en le primer hoste. Et puis est ly quart host, qest vncqore plus grant qe nul dez autres et uayt ouesques ly par deriere ly le treite dun arch. Et chescun hoste ad ses iournes ordeyneȝ en certeinȝ lieux, ou ils deuont demoer la noet; et la R.f.64b. trouent ils quantes lour est necessaires.⁹ Et, sil auient qe ascun del host moert, tantost homme mette vn autre en soun lieu, si qe le nombre est toutdis entier.

Et sacheȝ qe ly emperour en sa persone ne chiuache point, auxi ne fount ly autres grantz seignurs par de la, si ceo nest qils voillent aler ascun part secretement ouesques poy des gentz pur estre mesconuz. Qar il vait en vn chariot a iiii. roes, sour quoy il y a vn beal chaumbre faite dun manere de bois qi vient de Paradys terrestre, qe homme appelle *lignum aloes*, qe les fluuiez de Paradys meynent hors en sa seisoun, si come vous iay autrefoitz dit. Et si est celle chaumbre molt odorant pur cause de ceo bois. Et est la chaumbre tout couert par dedeins de plates de fin or et ouesque pierres precieuses et ouesque grosses perles. Et quatre olifantz et quatre granz¹⁰ destriers, toutz 40 blanz et couertes dez riche couertours meignent¹¹ ceo charriot. Et iiii. ou v. ou vi. des plus grantz seignurs vont entour le charriot mountez et apparilleȝ molt noblement,¹² si qe nul napproche le chariot forsque cils seignurs, si lempers nappelle ascun pur parler a ly. Et sur la chaumbre de chariot en qoy il siet sont assez¹³ sour vne perche iiii. ou v. ou vi. gerfauconz, au qe,¹⁴ si li emperour veit nul oyseal sauuaȝe qil voille prendre ou qil voille veoir le desduit, il lesse voler vn de ses girfauconz et puis apres vn autre, quant il ly plest, et ensy prent le desduit en passant par my la pais. Et nul ne chiuache deuant ly de sa compaignie, mes toutz apres ly; ne nul nose approcher le chariot de tret dun arch, forsque cils seignurs qi sont entour ly. Et tout le host vient bealment¹⁵ apres ly, ou yl y ad grant multitude. Et auxi en vn tiel chariot et a tiels hostes ordeineȝ y vont les empresses dautre part, chescun par ly a iiii. hostes, si come ly emperers; mez noun pas a si grant multitude dez gentz. Et son¹⁶ eisnez filtz vait par autre chemin en vn autre chariot en celle mesme guise. Si ount

¹ Gaydo or in Iong, C.⁴ Saduri, S.; Sadus, G.⁷ mes a nous, S.⁹ quanques il leur fault la nuit et ce qui leur est necessaire, G.¹¹ moeuent, S.¹⁴ a fin qe, S. G.² grete destreres alle white, C.⁵ qar en cest temps la, S.⁸ dont le primer vet deuant li vn iour, qar cis host gist, S.; and so G.¹⁰ om. S. G.; genz, R.; quatre dromedays, Roy. MS. 20 A. 1.¹² molt bien apparilleȝ et molt noblement, S.; and so G.¹⁵ bealment, om. G.³ ben sett vpon a perche iiii. or v. or vi. gerfawcouns, C.⁶ Iunge, S.; Iong, G.⁹ assis, S. G.¹⁶ son, S.; a son, G.; ses, R.

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same aray, with a grete multitude of folk. For þare es so mykill peple in þat land þat it es wonder to see. Sum tyme it fallez, when þai wende nozt ferre, þat þe empericez and þe emperours childer wendez togyder in a company, and þaire men menged owerheued; neuerþeles þai er departid in foure osten, as I said before.

And 3e schall vnderstand þat þe land of þe Grete Caan es diuided in xii. prouincez¹; and in ilk a prouince es a kyng reall. And þase kynges hase oþer smaler kynges vnder þaim, and all þase kynges er subiectes to þe Grete Caan, whas empire es so large þat a man wende þe vmgang þeroff by water and by land in vii. 3ere. For þer er many grete desertes thurgh whilk men most nede passe, in þe whilk men schall fynd nowþer citee ne towne. Bot þer er in certayne placez comoun ostriez ordaynd, whare trouailling men may fynd all thinges þat er nedefull to þam in þaire iournee. And þer es a wondrefull custom in þat land, bot it es riȝt profitable. For, f.100b. when any tythings er herd in þe cuntree, and namely þat er noyouse or any thing agaynes þe emperour, he schall hafe worde within a day and a nyght, if all it be ferre þeine, 3a three day iourneez or foure. For he has all way embassatours and messangers in ilk a prouince aboute him, þe whilk, alsone as any rumour begynnez to ryse þat touchez þe emperour, þai take dromedarys or oþer horsez þat þai can gett and in all þe haste þat þai may þai prike till ane of þir forsaid ostriez. And, when þai come nere it, þai blawe in a horne, and þe messangers þat er þare, when þai here þe horne, knawez wele þat þer es sum tythings to bere to þe emperour and makez redy þaire dromedaries or þaire horsez for to bere þe lettres with þe tythings furth till anoþer ostrie. And þare do þai on þe same wyse, and þus þai do fra ostrie to ostrie till þai come at þe emperour; and on þis wise hase þe emperour within a schort while all þe tythings þat er in any cuntree aboute him. And on þe same wyse es it of þe emperour curroures, when þer es any hasty tythings for to make. For ilke a curroure hase a lang corde full of belles, and, when he commez with þe emperoure lettres nere any of þir forsaid ostriez, by þe ringyng of þe 20 belles þe currour þat es ordaynd for to be þare knawez wele þat þare commez lettres for to be borne hastily to þe emperour and he makez redy for to ga. And, when þe toþer commez, he delyuers þis currour þe lettres, and him self restez him þare, and þe toþer rynnez furth in all þe haste he may till þe thridd ostrie and restez him þare, as þe toþer didd; and þus þai do fra ostrie to ostrie to þai come at þe emperour. Þir curroures er called in þaire langage Chidibo, þat es als mykill at say in þaire langage as messangere.

f.101. Ilkane of þir forsaid twelfe prouincez hase þerin twa thowsand citeez and ma, and townes withouten nowmer. Also, when þis emperour rydez thurgh any citee or toune, ilke man makez a fyre before his dore whare þe emperour schall come, and þai caste þerin encense or oþer thinges þat may giffe gude smell to þe emperour. And, if Cristen men of religioun dwell nere whare he schall passe, as þai do in many citeez in þat

entre eux atantz des gentz qe ceo est merueille a veer; et nul ne creroit la somme, sil ne la veoît. Et ascun foitz auient, quant ils ne vount mie loinz, qe les emperesses et ly enfantz vont toutz ensemble et sont lours gentz toutz medles et deuises en quatre parties seulement. 30

Item ly empires de ceo Grant Chan est deuises a xii. prouinces; et en chescune prouince y a plus de ii. mil citees et des villes saunz nombre. Ceo pais est molt grant, qar il y a xii. rois principalx en cellez xii. prouinces; et chescun² de ces rois ad plusours rois dessouz ly, R.f.65. et toutz sount obeissantz a Grant Chan. Et dure sa terre et sa seignurie tant qe lem ne irroit mie del vn chief iusques a lautre par mere et par terre en plus de vii.³ aunz. Et par mie le desert, ou lem troue nulles villes, y a hostels ordinez, ou⁴ ly trespassantz trouent tout ceo qi mestier lour est pur aler par le pais. Et si ad vn merueilleuse custume el pais, mes elle est profitable, qe quant ascun chose contrarie, ou quant nouelle qi touche lempereur, vient el pais, ly emperers sciet cellez nouells en vn iour de iii. iournes loinz ou de plus. Qar ly ambassedours montent tantost sour dromedeirs ou sour chiualex et chiualexent fuyant tant come ils poent iusques vers vn de ces hostiels. Et, quant ils approchent a cel hostiel, ils sonnent vn corn et tantost cis del hostiel entent bien qe ascunz nouelles veignent et appareille tantost vn 40 autre pur prendre les lettres et pur courrer auant as autres hostiels, si come⁵ lautre ad corruie iusques la; et ly autre demoere la et repaste ly et sa beste. Et ensy font ils del hostel en hostel tancqes ils viegnent al emperour; et pur ceo ad il tantost les nouelles. Et auxi, quant lempereur enuoie ses curroures hastiement par le pays, chescun ad vn large correie pleine de campanettes, et, quant⁶ ils approchent ensy des hostiels des autres curroures qi sount auxi ordeinez pur iournes, ils sonnent lour campanettez, et tantost ly autres sappareille et court sa voie iusques a vn autre hostiel; et ensy court ly vn al autre molt igneement. Et sont cils curroures appelez Chydydo⁷ solonc lour langage, cest a dire messenger.

Item, quant ly emperers vait ensy de pais en autre, si come ieo vous ai dit, et il passe par mie les citees et les villes, chescun fait feu deuant sa mayson et mette dedeinz poudre des choses bien odorantz pur doner bone odour a seignour,⁸ et toutz gentz sagoillent encountre ly et ly fount grant reuerence. Et la ou ly religious Cristiens demoerent, si come⁹ ils fount en mointe cite en la terre, ils ly vont deuaunt¹⁰

¹ C. has here the sentence "ilkane—withouten nowmer" (below, l. 26) and otherwise follows the French text.

² et chescun—dessouz ly, om. G.

³ si come—iusques la, om. S.

⁴ pur doner au seignur, S.; pour lonneur du seigneur, G.

⁵ vi, G.

⁶ et quant—campanettes, om. S. G.

⁷ come—ils ly, om. S.

⁸ par iournez ou, S. G.

⁹ Chidibo, S. G.; Chydydo, C.

¹⁰ deuaunt a processoun, om. S.

land, þai go agayn him with procession with crosse and haly water, syngand with a hye voice, *Veni, Creator spiritus*. And, when he seez þam comme, he commaundeþ þe lordes þat rydez nere him to make way þat þa men of religioun may comme to him. And, alsone as he seez þe crosse, he doffez his hatte,¹ whilke es made full richely with perlez and precious stanes, and þai say þare þat þat hat es worthe a kyngdom. And þan he lowtez deuotely to þe crosse; and þe prelate of þase religious men saise twa orisouns before him and giffez him benysoun with þe crosse, and he lowtes to þe benisoun full deuotely. And þan þat same prelate giffez him sum maner of fruyt, as appels or peres or swilk oþer, to þe nowmer of nyne on a plate of gold. For the maner es swilk þare þat na straunge man schall comme before þe emperour bot if he giffe him sum thing, after þe alde lawe þat saise, *Nemo apparebit² in conspectu meo vacuus*, þat es to say, "Na man comme in my sight tome hand." And þan ga þai hame agayne to þaire place.³ And on þis same maner dose men of religioun þat dwelles whare þe 10 emperice and þe emperour eldest sonne commes.

f.101b. And 3e schall vnderstand þat all þir men þat er in þe forsaid osten of þe Grete Caan, of his wyfes and of his eldest sonne er noȝt all way dwelland in his courte; bot, ay when þai er bidden go with him, þai er redy at his comaundement, and, when þe iournee es done, þai wende hame agayne to þaire awen howsez, all safe þa þat er of þe emperour courte, and þat es a grete nowmer, þe whilk er ordaynd for to serue þe emperour and his wyfez and his childer, and for gouernaunce of þe courte. For þare er contynuelly with him in his courte l. thowsand men at hors and cc. thowsand fote men, withouten diuerse ministres⁴ of þe palace and withouten þase also þat er ordaynd for to kepe certayne wylde bestez and fewles of diuerse kyndez, whilk I spakk of before. [Vndre⁵ the firmament is not so gret a lord, ne so mighty, ne so riche, as is the Grete Chane; nought Prestre Iohan, þat is emperour of the highe Ynde, ne the sowdan of Babyloyne, ne the emperour of Persye. Alle þeise ne 20 ben not in comparisoun to the Grete Chane, nouþer of myght, ne of noblesse, ne of ryaltee, ne of ricchesse; for in alle þeise he passeth alle erthely princes. Wherefore it is gret harm þat he beleueth not feithfully in God. And natheles he wil gladly here speke of God, and he suffreth wel þat Cristene men dwelle in his lordschipe and þat men of his feith ben made Cristene men, ȝif þei wile, þorgh out alle his contree; for he defendeth no man to holde no lawe other þan him lyketh.]

In þe land of þe Grete Caan has ilk man als many wyfes as him list, for sum hase c., sum xl., sum ma, sum less. And þai wedd þare þaire sibbe wymmen, all safe moders and doghters and sisters; half sisters of þer fader syde wedd þai, bot noȝt of þer moder syde. Also þai wedd þe wyfez of þaire breþer, when þai er deed, and þaire stepdames efter þe deed of þaire faders.

a processoun ouesqe la croiz et leawe benoite et chantent *Veni, Creator spiritus, &c.*, a haute vois, et vont vers ly. Et, quant il les oyt, il 30 commande a ses seignurs qi ciuachent delez ly qils facent venir ces religieux. Et, quant ils approchent et il veit la croiz, il houst sa Galahoth,⁶ qi siet sour soun teste en guise de vn chapeau de feutre, qi est fait dor et des pierres precieuses et des grosses perles et est si riche qe homme le preieroit bien vn roialme en ceo pais, et sencline a la croiz. Et puis le prelat de ces religieux dit auant ly des orisons, et puis ly donne la beneceoun ouesqe⁷ la croiz; et il sencline a la beneceoun molt deuoutement. Et puis ly donne ascun fruit en noubre de ix. en vn plateal dargent, ou poires ou pommes ou autre fruit, et il en prent vn; et puis lem donne as autres seignurs qi sont entour ly. Qar la custume est tiel qe nul estrange ne doit venir deuaunt qi ne ly donne ascun chose, solonc la ley aunciene qi dit, *Non⁸ accedat in conspectu meo vacuus*. Et puis ly emperers dit a sez⁹ religieux qils se retrahent ariere a la fin qils ne soient confolez de la grant multitude des chiualx qi veignent dariere. Et auxi cils qi demoerent la ou lez emperesses passent y fount auxi; et ensi fait homme al eisnez filz. Et a chescun ils presentent ensy de fruit.

Et saches qe ceste gent, dont il y a tant en ces hostes entour ly et entour ses femmes et soun filz, ne demoerent mie continuelment 40 ouesqe ly, mez toutfoitz qe ly plest ils sont maundeþ, et puis sen retournent a lour hostielx, fors seulement cils qi sont demoerantz ouesqe ly pur ly seruir et ses femmes et ses enfantz et la court gouverner. Et, come bien qe toutz ly autres soient departez, il en demoere viuement et¹⁰ continuelment ouesqe ly a la court l. mil hommes a chiual et cc. mil de pie, saunz menestriers et saunz ceux qi gardent bestes sauvages et diuers oiseals, des quex ieo vous ai dit la noubre par deuaunt. Dessouz la firmament nad point de si grant seignur ne de si puissant come est ly Grant Chan, ne dessure terre ne dessouz, qar ne Prestre Iohan, qi est emperour de la haut¹¹ Ynde, ne ly souden de Babiloigne,¹² ne lempereur de Percie nad comparisoun a ly, ne de puissance ne de noblesse ne de richesce, qar en tout ceo il passe toutz les princes terriens. Dount cest grant damage qil ne croit firmement en Dieu. Et nient meinz il en oyt tresuolentiers parler de Dieu, et si suffre bien qil y soit Cristiens qi voet par tout son pais¹³; qar homme ne defent a nully tenir tiel loy come il voet.

En ceo pais lun ad c. femmes, lautre lx., lautre plus et lautre meinz. Et preignent lour parentez a femmes, hors pris lour meres, lour filles, et lour seors de par la mer; mez lour soroures de par le piere dun autre femme poent ils bien prendre, et les femmes a lour freres apres 50 lour mort et lour marastres auxi.

¹ his galath, þat sitte syt vpon his hede, in manere of a chapelet, C.

² and þanne the Emperour seyth to the religious men, þat þei withdrawe hem agen, þat þei ne be not hurt ne harmed of the gret multytude of hors þat comen behynde him, C.

⁴ mynstrelles, C.

⁷ ouesqe—beneceoun, om. S.

¹⁰ viuement et, om. S. G.

¹³ qils soient Cristiens qi vont en son pais, S.; quil soit des Crestians qui voient en son pais demorer, G.

³ *Non apparebis, etc.*, Exod. xxiii. 15.

⁶ Galahet, S.; Galafiet, G.

⁹ ces, S. G.

¹² Biloigne, R.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

[*Of the lawe and the customs of the Tartarienes duellynge in Chatay; and how that men don, whan the Emperour schal dye; and how he schal be chosen.*]

THAI vse wyde garments in þase parties withouten pelure¹; and þai er of purpure or of tartarene or chamelet.² And þai er open at þe sydes and laced togyder with lacez of silke. And sum vsez garmentz of pelour,³ and þe hare turned outward; hudes vsez þai nane. And on þis same maner er wymmen of þat cuntree cledd, so þat vnnethes may men knawe þe tane forby toþer, outaken þat wymmen þat er f.102. wedded beres takyns on þaire heueds, as I talde 3ow before. Þaire wyfez dwellez noȝt togyder, bot ilkane of þam by þam self; and þaire husbandes gase now till ane of þam now till anoþer, as him list. Þaire housez er made of stikkes, and þai er rounde and hase bot a wyndowe, whare at þe light commez in and þe reke gase oute⁴; and þe thakk of þam and þe walles er of filtre, and þe dores also.⁵ And, when þai ga to þe were, þai cary þaire housez with þam apon cartes, as men in oþer cuntreez duse tentes and pafeliouns. And þai make þaire fyre in myddes of þir housez. Þai hafe grete plentee of all maner of bestes, oute taken of swyne; and þat es for þai brede nane.⁶ Þai trowe all in a Godd, þat made all thing; bot neuerpeles ȝit hafe þai mawmets of gold and of siluer, of filtre and of clathe, to þe whilke þai offer þe first mylke of þaire bestez and þe first of þaire mete and þaire drink before þai ete or drink any þeroff. And sum tyme þai offer to þam horsez and oþer diuerse bestez. Godd of kynde call þai Yroga; and, what name so euer þe emperour hase, þai eke þerto Caan. Þat tyme þat I was þare þe emperour name was Thyak, and þai called him Thyak Caan. And his eldest sonne hight Theophue, and, when he schal be made emperour, he schal be called Theophue Caan. Þe emperour had þat tyme oþer twelfe sonnes withouten Theophue, of whilk ane hight Cunnyt, anoþer Ordu, þe thridd Chahadoy, þe ferthe 20 Burgu, þe fyft Vengu, þe sext Nachaly, þe seuent Cadu, þe viii. Syban, þe ix. Creten, þe x. Balac, þe xi. Babilan,

CHAPITRE XXVI.

De la loy et les custumes des Tartarins demorrantz en Cathay; et comment lem fait, quant ly Grant Chan¹ morra; et coment il serra eslit, &c.

R.f.66. **L**ES gentz de ceo pais portent toutz larges draps⁸ saunz feroures; et sount vestiz des purpures des tartaires,⁹ des¹⁰ draps dor. Et sount lour draps¹¹ fendiz a couste et fermez a laces de soi. Et vestent des pellices, le peil de hors; et ne portent ne ne vestent houche ne chaperoun. Et tout en tiele manere qe ly hommes sont vestiz les femmes sount vestis en celle mesme guise, si qe lem ne conust lun de lautre, forsqe les mariez¹² qi portent lenseigne¹³ sour lour testes. Et lour femmes ne demoerent point ensemble, ancis demoere chescun par ly; et ly maritz vait coucher ouesqe quel qil voet. Chescun ad sa maisoun, et hommes et femmes; et sount maisons roundes, faitz des bastons, et y a vn rounde fenestre dessure, qi lour donne clarite et par ou la fume sen ist. Et la couerture de la meisoun et ly paroiz et le huys¹⁴ sount toutz de feutre. Et, quant ils vont¹⁵ en guerre, ils fount mener lour maisons sour chariotez 30 ouesques eux, auxi come lem fait tentes et paulouns. Et fount lour fieue el mye lieu de lour maysouns. Ils out tresgrant multitude des bestez de toutes maners, forsqe des porceaux; qar ils ne roissent point. Et si croient bien en vn dieu, qi tout crea et fist. Et tout meinz ils out ydoles dor, dargent et de feutre et de drap. Et a celles ydoles ils offroient toutdis lour premier lait de lour bestes et auxi de lour viandes et de lour boires auaunt qils en mangent. Et offerent souent chiuaxl et bestes. Et dieu de nature ils¹⁶ appellent Yroga.¹⁷ Et lour¹⁸ emperour, quelque noun il ad, ils aioustent toutdis Chan. Et, quant ieo y fuy, lempereour auoit a noun Thiant, si lappelloient Thiant Chan. Et soun esnez filtz auoit a noun Tossue¹⁹; et, quant il serra emperour, homme lappellera Tossue Chan. Il auoit vncqore xii. [filtz] saunz cely, dount les nouns furount Cunuc,²⁰ Ordu,²¹ Chahaday,²² Buryu,²³ Nengu,²⁴ Nocaby,²⁵ Gadu,²⁶ Sibau,²⁷ Cuten, Balac,²⁸ Bibilan,²⁹

¹ furroures, C.

² pylches, C.

³ and the helynge of here houses and the woves and the dores ben alle of wode, C.

⁴ Chan, om. R.

⁵ dez camocas et des, S.

⁶ lour signes, S.; leur signe, G.

⁷ ils, S. G.; qils, R. Perhaps we should read "bestes a dieu de nature, qils."

⁸ Et leur empereour auoit non Tiant Chan. Et son aine filz, G.

⁹ Cuunert(?), S.; Cunut, G.; Cuncy, C.

¹⁰ Burren, G.

¹¹ Cadu, S. G. C.

¹² Babiloun, S.; Babytan, C.

¹³ and þei ben clothed with precious clothes of Tartarye and of clothes of gold, C.

¹⁴ and also þat serueth for delyuerance of smoke, C.

¹⁵ robes, G.

¹⁶ robes, G.

¹⁷ et le huys, om. G.

¹⁸ Orda, G.

¹⁹ Nongu, S. G.; Negu, C.

²⁰ Syban, S.; Syhan, G.

²¹ bryngen non forth, C.

²² des tartaires, om. G.

²³ les mariees, G.

²⁴ vont, S. G.; font, R.

²⁵ Yroga, G.

²⁶ Tessoux, S.

²⁷ Chayhaday, S.

²⁸ Nocaby, S.; Notaby, G.

²⁹ Balach, S. G.; Balacy, C.

f.102b. and þe xii. Carygan. And he had three wyfes, of whilk þe first and þe principall was Prestre Iohn doghter, and scho was called Serioth Caan; þe secund hight Borach Caan, and þe thridd Charauk Caan.

þe men of þat cuntree begynnez all þat þai do in þe newe mone, and wirschepez it mykill; and þai do grete wirschepe also to þe sonne, and mase many knelinges þerto. And þai ryde comounly withouten spurres; bot þai hase owþer in þaire hand a whippe or a wand or sum oþer thing for to cacche¹ þaire horsez with. þai hald it a grete synne to putte a knyffe in þe fire, or to take oute flessch of a potte or a caldron with a knyffe, or to smyte a hors with a brydle, or to breke a bane with an oþer, or to cast mylke or any oþer liquor þat men may drynke apon þe erthe.² And þe maste synne þat man may do, þai say, es to pisse in þaire housez whare þai dwell. And he þat pissez þare and þai may wit it, þai will slae him; and þat place þat a man has pissed in bose be halowed or elles dare na man entre in to it. And of þir synnes bus þam schryfe þam to þe prestes of þaire lawe; and, 10 when þai er schriften, þai giffe a grete soume of monee for to bye oute þaire penaunce withall. And, when þai hafe þus boght þaire penaunce, þai schall passe thurgh a fyre to make þam clene of þaire synnes. And on þe same maner a messenger, when he bringez a presand to þe emperour, he schall passe thurgh a fyre with þe presand þat he bringez for to make it clene, so þat he bring na venym ne oþer thing for to grefe þe emperour. What man amanges þaim þat es taken in avowtry, or womman owþer, þai slayne, and all³ thefez and robbours þat f.103. er taynted þeroff. All þe men and þe wymmen of þat land er gude archers; and als gude werrayours er þe wymmen as þe men, and als fast will þai rynne. And þai do all maner of craftez, þat es to say talyour craft and sowtzer craft and swilk oþer. Bot namely þai vse to dryue þe ploghe and þe cart and þe wayne; and þai er wrytzes, als wele as men, and makes housez and all oþer necessaries, out takne bowes and arowes and oþer wapnez, þe whilke men all anely makez. Wymmen þare vsez breke, als wele as men. All þe folk of þat land 20 er wonder obedient to þaire soueraynes, and þai feight neuermare amanges þam self; ne þai er na thefez ne na robbours, bot ilke ane of þam lufez oþer and wirschepez oþer. þai vse noȝt comounly to do reuerence ne wirschepe to straunge men, if all þai be men of grete astate. þai ete hundes and lyouns, meres and foolez, mys and ratouns, and all oþer bestez grete and smale, oute takne swyne and bestez þat ware forbedd in þe alde lawe. And þai ete all þat commez of þe beste, safe þe dung. And þai ete rȝt lytill breed, bot if it be in lordez courtes.

Garegan. Et de ses iii. femmes la primere et principale, qi fuist fille Prestre Iohan, auoit a noun Serioch⁴ Chan, lautre Borak⁵ Chan, et lautre Carauke⁶ Chan.

Lez gentz de ceo pais commencent toutz les choses affaire en la nouelle lune, et honourent molt la lune et la soleil et sagenoient souent encontre. Et toutes les gentz du pais cheuachent comunement saunz esperons; mes ils portent toutdis vn fuet en leur mainz pur chacer leur chiuax. Et fount molt grant conscience et tinent a molt grant pecche a bouter vn cotel el feu, et au trere hors de la char du pot 30 R.f.66b. ouesques vn cotel, et a soi apoier a fuet de quoy lem fiert les chiuax, ou a ferir vn chiuax de frein, et a briser vn osseau ouesques vn autre os,⁷ et a gettere sour la terre lait⁸ ou autre liquor qe homme purroit boire, et a tuer et a prendre⁹ petitiz enfauntz. Et ly plus grant pecche est de pisser en leur maysons o ils demoerent.¹⁰ Et qy pisseroit, a certes¹¹ lom locciroit. Et de chescun de ces pecches y leur couient a confesser a leur prestre et a paier grante somme dargent pur leur penaunce. Et couient qe ly lieu ou homme ad pisse soit benoit ou autrement nul noseroit entrer. Et, quant ils ont paie pur leur penance, homme les fait passer parmie vne feu, ou parmy deux, pur eux mettre¹² de leur pecchez. Et auxi, quant ascun messenger vient et porte ascun presente al emperour, il couient qil, ouesque les choses qil porte, passe parmy deux feux ardantz pur les purifier, qil ne porte venym ou autre malueis chose, qi purroit greuer au seignur. Et auxi, si nul homme est pris en auouterie ou femme¹³ en fornicacioun, homme les occist.¹⁴ Ils sont toutz bonez archiers et treihent molt bien; et auxi bien chiuachent et courent femmes come ly hommes. Et les femmes font toutz choses¹⁵ et fount toutz mestiers, draps, stiuaux¹⁶ et autres choses. Et meignent les chartz et les chariotz,¹⁷ et fount maisouns et toutz autres mistieres,¹⁸ exceptez arcz et sagettes et armures, qe ly hommes 40 fount. Et toutz les femmes portent braiez, auxi bien come ly hommes. Toutz les gentz de ceo pais sont molt obeisantz a leur souerainz, et ne combatent point ne ne tencent les vns as autres; et si ny ad nulles robbours el pais, et honourent molt lun lautre. Mes nul honour ils ne portent as estranges, tant soient ils grantz princes. Ils mangent les chiens, leons,¹⁹ renardz, iumentz, pullains, asnes,²⁰ ratz et soriz, et toutz autres bestes grandz et petitiz, forsque porcealx et bestes qi furent defendus el viel testament. Et mangent tout la beste, dehors et dedeins, qils ne houstent rien forsque les fiens. Et si mangent molt poi de payn, si ceo nest as courtz des grant seignurs. Et nont en

¹ chacen with, C.

² and who þat steleth ony thing, anon þei sle him, C. (not in the printed editions).

³ Barach, S.; Barath, G.

⁴ leet, S.; lait, G.; om. R.

⁵ a esciant, G.

⁶ occit. Et si homme emble riens, homme loccit, S.

⁷ lez charewes et chariettes, S.; les chars et les charettes, G.

⁸ lez owes, S.; leups, G.

² or for to take and sle lytil children, adds C.

⁶ Caratik, G.

⁹ et amer ou aprendre, S.; et a tuer ou pendre, G.

¹² nettre, S.; netoier, G.

¹³ choses—toutz, om. S. G.

²⁰ asnes, om. S. G.

⁴ Seroch, S.; Serot, G.

⁷ vn oos sur ou ouesques vn autre, S.; vn os sur oues, G.

¹⁰ dormant, S.

¹³ femme, om. S. G.

¹⁶ cendaulz, G.

¹⁸ choses, S. G.

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And in many placez þai hafe nowþer peise ne wortēs,¹ ne oþer maner of potagez; bot in for þaire potage þai vse broth and sothen flesch. For þai ete nerehand nane oþer mete bot flesch and þe broth þeroff. And, when þai hafe eten, þai wye þaire hend on þaire clathez vnhonestly; for þai vse nowþer burde clath ne sawnape,² bot anely in lordez howsez. And also, when þai hafe eten, þai putte þaire dischez and þaire dublers agayne vnwesched in þe pottez or þe caldrouns with þe flesch þat þai lefe, ay till [þai] will ete eftsones. And riche men drinkez mylk
f.103b. of meeres and of camels and assez and oþer bestez; and of þat mylke will þai be riȝt drunken. Þai hafe also anoþer maner of drinke made of water and hony; for in þat cuntree es na wyne, and namely amanges comouns, for þai lede bot a wricched lyf. Þai ete bot anes on þe day, and at þat tyme þai ete riȝt litill. For a man of þis cuntree etez mare on a day þan twa of þaim on three days. And, if a messenger comme oute of a straunge cuntree vnto þe emperour, he schall hafe na mete þare bot anes on þe day and riȝt lytill þat anes.

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Qwhen þai ga to were, þai hafe þam riȝt warly and wysely, and duse all þe bisynes þat þai may to conquere and wyne and ouercomme þaire enmys. And ilke ane of þame beres with him twa bowes or three, and many arowes and a grete ax. And þe gentils hase schorte swerdez scharpe on þe ta syde; and þai hafe platez made of coerbuille³ and helmes of þe same on þaire heuedes and trappour to þaire hors. And he þat fleez in bataile, þai slee him. When þai ensege a castell or a walled toun, þai behete þaim þat er enseged so faire proffers þat it es wonder; for þai will graunt þam what sum euer þai asch. Bot, als sone as þai hafe ȝolden þam, þai slae þam and cuttez off þaire eres and layes þam in vynegre for to sowce and makez of þaim a dayntee meet for grete lordes.⁴ And it es þaire entent and þaire purpose⁵ to bring all landes in þaire subieccioun. For þai say þaire prophecy tellez þam þat þai schall be ouercommen with schotte of archers, and þat þase men sall turne þam to þaire lawe. Bot þai wate noȝt what men þai schall be, and þerfore þai suffer all maner of nacions dwell amanges þam
f.104. and men of all maner of lawes and sectez withouten any lettyng. Þis folk, when þai will make þaire ydoles or þe ymage of any of þaire frendez for to hafe þam in mynde euermare, þai make þam naked; for þai say þat trew lufe hase na couering, ne þare schuld na man luffe a creature for þe bewtee withouten, bot all anely for affeccioun of þe persoun and for þe gude vertuz þat þe body es enournd with of kynde.⁶ It es grete peril to pursue þe Tartarenes, when þai flee oute of bataill; for þai will schote behind þam fleand and slae men als wele as before

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plusours lieux ne pois ne feues, ne autres potages, forsque le bruet de la char. Qar poi⁷ y mangent autre chose forsque char et bruet. Et, quant ils ount mange,⁸ ils essuent lour mainz a lour girouns; qar ils ne vsent point de mappes ne de tuailles,⁹ si ceo nest deuant les grantz seignurs; mes le comune nen ad nulles. Et, quant ils ont mange, ils mettent lour esquelles saunz lauer¹⁰ el pot ou en le chaudroun ouesque le remenant¹¹ de la char et del bruet, tancques ils voillent autre foitz manger. Et ly richez hommes boient lait de iumentes ou de camailles ou de asnes ou dautres bestes; et¹² senyueront bien de lait et dun autre beuerage qi est fait de miel et de eawe cuite ensemble, qar ils nount el pays ne vin ne ceruaise. Ils viuent molt cheytiument; et ne mangent qe vn foiz le iour et vncqore bien poy, ne en court nen autre part. Et de certain vn soul homme de ceo pais mangeroit plus en vn iour qe vn de eux mangeroit en iii. iours. Et si estrange messenger vient au seignur,¹³ homme ne ly donne a manger qe vn foiz le iour, et bien poy.

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Quant ils guerroient, ils guerrent molt sagement et toutdis mettent peine dencloure lour enemys. Chescun ad¹⁴ ii. arcz ou iii.¹⁵ et de sagettes¹⁶ grant foisoun et vne grant hache. Et ly nobles hommes ont espeies courtz et larges et trenchantz a vne couste; et si ont plates et healmes de cuir boily et couertures des chiualx.¹⁷ Et qi fuit de la bataille, homme loccist. Quant ils tiegnent siege entour chastell ou ville fermee, ils promettent a ceux dedeinz affaire tant des biens qe cest meruaille et tout quantqe cils dedeinz demandent ils lour ottoient¹⁸; et puis, quant ils se sont renduz, ils les occient toutz et copent les orailles et les mettent en vin egre¹⁹ en soucy, et de ceo ils fount entremes pur les grantz seignurs. Ils ont entencioun de toutz terres mettre a dessouz de eux; et dient qils scieuent bien par prophecies qils serrount vencuz par force darchers²⁰ et qils se conuertirount a la loy de ceux qi les vencqueront. Mes ils²¹ ne scieuent quel gent ne quel loy les venqueront, et pur ceo soeffrent ils gentz de toutz loys a demoerer paisiblement en lour terre. Item, quant ils veulent faire lour ydoles ou lymage dascun lour amy pur auoir remembrance de ly, ils fount toutdis lymage tout nue sanz guyse de vestement; qar ils dient qe en bon amour nad point de couerture, et qe homme ne doit point amer pur la beal vesture ne pur le beal parement, mes soulement pur le corps tiel qe Dieu lad fait et pur les bonez vertues dont le corps estoit garni naturellement, noun pas pur beal vesture, qi nest point de nature. Cest grant peril a poursuivre les Tartarinz, sils fuyent en bataille; qar en fuyant trehent ils dariere eux et occient gentz et chiualx. Et, quant ils

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¹ nouþer pesen ne benes, C.

⁴ and sowcen hem in vynegre, and þereof þei maken gret seruise for lordes, C.

⁶ of nature, C.

⁹ tables, S. G.

¹² et—lait, om. S.

¹⁵ ou iii. ou iiiii., G.

¹⁸ acordent, G.

²¹ mes ils—venqueront, om. G.

² non naperye, ne towaylles, C.

⁷ qar poi—bruet, om. S. G.

¹⁰ suer, S.

¹³ a seoir, G.

¹⁶ flechez, G.

¹⁹ en vin egre, om. G.

³ quyrboylle, C.

⁵ Alle here lust and alle here ymaginacioun is, C.

⁸ mange, S; mengie, G.; om. R.

¹¹ demourant, G.

¹⁴ ad, S.; a, G.; de, R.

¹⁷ des chiualx, om. G.

²⁰ dars, G.

þam. When þai schall feight, þai hald þam so nere togyder and so thrang¹ þat, whare þer er xx^m men, sum men wald suppose þer ware noȝt x^m. þai conquere oþer landes wele and mannfully, bot, [when] þai hafe conquered þam, þai kepe þam noȝt wele. þai lufe better to ligg in þe felde in tentez þan owþer [in] tounes or in castelles. þai commend bot lytill any men witte bot þaire awen. Amanges þaim es oile of² olyfe of grete valu, for þai say it es soueraynly medecinale. All þe Tartarenes hase smale eghen and lytill berdes and thynne.³ And þai er comounly fals, for þai hald na thing þat þai hete. þai may wele suffere penaunce and diseese and hardness of trauaile, forby all oþer folk; for þai lered it at hame in þer awen cuntree, whare þai liffe with grete wricchedness and scantness.

Qwen any of þam schall dye, þai stikke a spere by him in þe erthe; and, when he drawez nere to þe deed, f.104b. ilke man fleez oute of þe hous ay till he be deed; and, when he es deed, þai bere him in to þe felde and puttez 10 him in þe erthe. And, when þe emperour es deed, þai sett him in a chaier in þe middes of his tent; and þai sette before him a table couerd with a clathe, and þai sette þer apon breed and flesch and oþer metez and a coupe full of mere mylke. And þai sette by him a mere with hir foole and a hors saddled and brydled; and þai lay apon þe hors als mykill gold and siluer as he may bere.⁴ And be syde þis tente þai make a grete grafe, and puttez þerin þe tent with þe emperour and all þe oþer thinges and grauez þam togyder. And þai say þat, when he commez to þe toþer werld, he schall noȝt be withouten a hous, hors, gold ne siluer; and þe meere, þai say, schall giffe him mylke for to drink and bring him furth many horsez, so þat he be wele stored in þe toþer werld of all thing þat him nede. For þai trowe þat, when þai er deed, þai schall in anoþer werld ete and drinke and hafe dalyaunce with wymmen, as þai hafe here. And fra þe tyme þat þe emperour be layd in þe erthe na man schall be so hardy to speke of him in presence of any of his frendez. [And ȝit⁵ natheles somtyme falleth of 20 manye þat thei maken hem to ben entered preuylly be nyghte in wylde places, and putten aȝen the grasse ouer þe pytt for to growe; or elle men coueren the pytt with grauell and sond, þat no man schall perceyue where ne knowe where the pytt is, to þat entent þat neuer after none of his frendes schull han mynde ne remembrance of him. And þanne þei seyn þat he is ravisht in to anoþer world, where he is a gretter lord þan he was here.]

And, when þis emperoure es deed and grauen in þe maner þat I talde ȝow before, þe seuen kynredens gaders þam togyder and chesez his sonne or þe next of his blude for to be emperour. And þai say on þis wyse, "We will and we pray and we ordayne þat þou be oure emperour and oure souerayne lorde." And þan he answers and saise, "Will ȝe be obeyaunt vnto my comaundementes in all thinges þat I bidd ȝow do withouten

voillent combatre, ils sont si sarrez ensemble qe, si il y a xx. mil hommes, ne quidra pas qil y ait x. mil. Ils gaignent bien autre terre, R.f.67b. mes ils ne la scieuent garder; qar ils ont mieus⁶ apris a gesir en tentes⁷ dehors qe en villes ou en chasteux. Ils ne preisent rienz le sen 30 dautres nacions. Et entre eux est oille doliue molt chier, qar ils le tiegnent pur molt noble⁸ medicine. Toutz ly Tartarins ont petitiz oils et poy de barbe et bien clere. Ils sont faux et treitours, et quoy qil promissent ils ne teignent riens. Ils sont molt dure gent et poent⁹ trop endurer de peyne et de maleyse plus qe nul autre gentz; qar ils lont¹⁰ bien apris en lour pais mesmes, si ne despendent rien.

Quant aucun doit morrer, homme mette vne launce deles ly; et, quant tret vers sa mort, chescun sen fuyt hors de la maisoun tancqes il soit mort; et puis homme le mette en terre as champs. Et, quant ly emperers moert, homme lassist en vne chaire en my lyeu de sa tente; et met homme vne table deuant ly ouesqe la mappe et char et viaundes et vne hanap plein de lait de iument. Et met homme vn iument delez ly, ouesqe soun pullayn, et vn chival ensellez et enfrenez; et mettent sour le chival or et argent, et mettent entour ly destraym.¹¹ Et fait homme vne fosse grande et large; et, ouesqe la tente et ouesqe toutez les autres choses, homme le mette en terre. Et dient qe, quant il viendra en lautre siecle, il ne serra mye saunz hostiel, ne saunz chival, ne saunz or, ne saunz argent, et la iument ly dorra lait et ly ferra autres chivalx tancqes il soit bien garni en le autre siecle. Qar ils dient¹² qe apres la mort ils soient en lautre siecle mangentz 40 et boiuantz et solaceantz ouesqe femmes, si come ils sont icy. Et puis qil serra mis en terre, nul nest si hardiz de iames parler de ly deuaunt nul des amys. Et vncqore plusours les¹³ fount mettre en terre secretement de nuyt en lieux plus sauages et remettent ariere le herbe pur croistre sour la fosse, ou homme¹⁴ le couere molt bien de zabloun et dareyne, a la fyn qe homme ne sache ou la fosse est, si qe il ne retourne iames en memorie a nul des amys. Et adonques dient ils qil est raui en lautre siecle et qil est plus grant sires de la qil nestoit par de sea.

Et ensy apres la mort del emperour ly vii. lignages sassemblent et elysent soun filz ou soun plus prosme.¹⁵ Et ly dient ensy, "Nous voilloms et vous prioms et ordinoms qe vous soiez noz sires et noz emperers." Et il respont, "Si vous voilles qe ieo regne sour vous, ferra R.f.68. chescun de vous ceo qe ieo ly comanderay, ou demorer ou aler, et cely qe ieo comanderay qil soit tuez, qe tantost qil soit occis?" Et ils

¹ wille schokken hem togidre in a plomp, C.

² and þei putten abouten him gret plentee of stree, adds C.

³ tentes, S. G.; toutes, R.

⁴ ils ont, S.; il lont, G.; ils sont, R.

⁵ le, S. G.

⁶ prochein proeme, S.; prochien proisme, G.

⁷ de, MS.

⁸ And ȝit—was here, from C.; omitted in E.

⁹ pur grant, S.; pour moult bonne, R.

¹⁰ et mettour destrey, S.; et y met len de lestrain, G.

¹¹ ou homme—dareyne, om. G.; ou homme troeue bien sablon ou de arreine, G.

¹² not thikke hered, but schiere, C.

¹³ moult, G.

¹⁴ et poent—gentz, om. S.

¹⁵ quident, S.; cuident, G.

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any agaynsaying?" And þai say agayne, all with a voice, "We will." And he saise to þaim. "Wit 3e þan þat f.105. fra heyne forward my worde sall be of als grete strenth, and als scharpe and scherand, as my swerde." And þan es he sette apon a blak filtre,¹ with þe whilk þai lift him vppe and settez him in his trone and corounes him. And þan all þe citeez and gude tounes of þat land sendez him presandes; and he schall hafe at þat tyme three score cartefulles and ma of gold and siluer, withouten iowels and gold and precious stanes þat grete lordes giffez him, þe whilk passez mannez estimacioun, and also withouten horsz and clathez of gold and cammaca and tartarene withouten nowmer.

CHAPTER XXVII.

[Of the roialme of Tharse and the londes and kyngdoms towards the septentrional parties, in comynge down from the lond of Chathay.]

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THIS land of Catay es in Asie þe depe, and it marchez toward þe west apon þe kyngdom of Tarse, whare off ane of þe three kynges þat soght oure Lorde in Bethleem was kyng sum tyme. And all þa þat er commen of his lynage er Cristen. In þe land of Tarse þai ete neuermare na flesch ne drinkez na wyne. On þis syde þat rewme, towards þe west, es þe land of Turquesten; and it lastez toward þe west vnto þe kyngdom of Persy and toward þe north vnto þe kyngdom of Corasme. In þe cuntree of Turquesten er bot few citeez, and þe best citee þeroff es called Eccoazar. þare er large pastures and mykill, bot þer es bot lytill corne; and þerfore þe comouns of þat land er all hird men and lyez þeroute in logez and drinkez a maner of drink made of water and hony.²

On þis syde þat land es þe land of Corasme, þe whilk es a plentifulous cuntree and a gude, bot þer es na wyne. f.105b. And it hase on þe este syde a grete deserte, þat lastes mare þan c. day iourneez. þe best citee of þat land es 20 called Corasme, and after it es þe land called. Folk of þat cuntree er gude werrayours and rȳt hardy. On þis

respondent touz a vne vois, "Quantz vous comandrez serra fait." Puis dit li emperers, "Adonqes saches qe de si en auant ma parole est trenchant si come mespeye." Puis homme lassoit³ sour vne feutre noir,⁴ et ensy homme le mette en sa chaire, et le coronne lom. Et puis toutez lez bones villes ly enuoyent presentz, tanqes il auera bien celle iourne plus de lx. chariottez dor⁵ et dargent, saunz toutz les ioiaulx des seignurs dor et des pierres precieuses, qi sont⁶ saunz estimacioun, et saunz chialx et saunz draps dor et de camokas et tartaires, qi sount saunz nombre.

CHAPITRE XXVII.

Del roialme de Thars et des terres et roilmes vers lez parties septemtrionels, en descendant de la terre de Cathay.

ESTE terre de Cathay est en Asye le parfounde; et puis a de cea est Asye la maiour. Ly roialme de Cathey marchist vers occident al roialme de Tharse, qi fust a vn de rois qi vient⁷ requere nostre Seignur a Bethleem. Et cils⁸ qi sount de lignage 30 de ceo roi sount auques toutz Cristiens. En Tarse ils ne mangent point de char, ne ils ne boyuent point de vin. Et a de cea vers occident est le roialme⁹ de Turquesten, qi sestent vers occident au roialme de Persye, et deuers septemtrioun iusques al roialme de Chorasme.¹⁰ En ceo pais de Turquesten y a poy des bones citees. Ly meillour citee de cest roialme ad a noun Coccozar.¹¹ Il y a¹² grantz pasturages et poy des blez; et pur ceo sount auques toutz pastoures et gissent en tentis, et boiuent ceruoise fait de miel.

Et puis a de cea est la roialme de Chorasme, qi est bone terre et plenteuouse saunz vin, qad vers orient vn desert, qi dure plus de c. iournees. Et la meillour cite de pais ad a noun Chorasme, et de celle cite pren le pays soun noun. Les gentz de pais sount bones guerrerz

¹ sc. felt; a blak stede, C.

⁴ noir, om. G.

⁷ vindrent, G.

⁹ Et de ceo vers occident est le roialme, S.; et de la est vers occidan le royaume, G.; occident au roialme, R.

¹¹ Occozar, S.; Occorar, G.; Octorar, C.

² a maner ale made of hony, C.

⁵ charges de or, S.; chargiez dor, G.

⁸ sils, R.

¹² Il y a—de miel, om. S.

³ li fait seer, S.; le fait seoir, G.

⁶ sont, S. G.; font, R.

¹⁰ Gorasme, G.

syde es þe land of Comany, oute of þe whilk ware putte a folk þat er in Grece and er called Comany. And it es ane of þe grete kyngdommes of þe werld, bot it es noȝt all inhabit; for in a place of þat land it [es] so calde, and in anoþer party so hate, þat þare may na man dwell in þam. And þer es so grete plentee of fliez in þat land þat men wate neuer whare þai may turne þam. In þat land also er bot few treesse berand fruyt.¹ And in þat land men liggez in tentes and in loogez and driez bestez dung and brynnenez for defaute of fewaile.

þis land comez downward toward Pruys and Ruscy. And thurgh þis land rynnez þe riuier of Ethill, whilk es ane of þe grete riuers of þe werld; and it es sum tyme of þe ȝere so hard frosen þat men fyghtes þerapon in grete batailes² on horsez and on fote ma þan a c^m at anes. And a lytill fra þat ryuer es þe grete see Occean, þat þai call Maure. And betwene þaim twa liggez þe maste parte of þe land of Corasme. And toward þe heued of þat land es þe mount Caspye.³ And betwene þat mount and þe grete [see] of Maure es a strayte way and 10
straite passage to ga toward Inde. And þerfore kyng Alysaundre gert make þare a citee, þat was called f.106. Alysaundre, to kepe þe cuntree, þat na man schuld passe þare bot if he had leue; bot now es þat citee called *Porte de fer*.⁴ þe principall citee of Comany es called Sarak or Sarachy. And þis es ane of þe ways to ga in to Inde. Bot by þis way may noȝt many men ga, bot if it be in wynter; and þis passage es called Berbent. Anoþer way þer es for to ga fra⁵ þe land of Turquesten thurgh⁶ Persy; bot in þat way schall men ga many iourneez thurgh wilderness. þe thridd way es to ga fra Comany by þe grete see Occean and thurgh þe kyngdom of Abcaz. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat all þise kyngdommes and landes vnto Pruysse and Ruscy er halden of þe Grete Caan of Catay, and many oþer þat marchez on þam. And þerfore he es a grete lord of myȝt and of landes.

et hardiz. Et a de cea est ly roialme de Comanie,⁷ dount ly Comainz qi demoerent en Griee furent iadis enchacez. Cest⁸ vn dez plus 20
grant roialmes de mounde, mais il nest mie toute⁹ enhabite; qar al vn des parties il fait si grant froit qe nul ne purroit demorer,¹⁰ et dautre part y fait si chaud qe nul ne poet durer.¹¹ Et tant y a des mouschez qe lom ne sciet quelle part tourner. En ceo pais y a poy darbres R.f.68b. fruit portantz, nautres. Ils gissent en tentes et ardent fiens des bestes pur defaute de busche.

Ce realme descent cea vers nous vers Prusse et vers Rossie. Et par my ceo pais court la riuere de Ethil,¹² qi est vn des plus grant riuieres de mounde; et giel si fortment toutz les aunz qe moitfoitz lom¹³ ad combatuz sour la glace a host bannyz, a ciuall et a pie, de¹⁴ c. mille persones de chescune part. Et entre¹⁵ celle riuere et¹⁶ la grante mer oceane, qils appellent la mer Maure, gist¹⁷ toutz cis roialmes. Et vers le chief dessouz en ceo roialme est ly mount Cochaz,¹⁸ qi est la plus haute de mounde; et est entre la mer Maure et la mer de Caspye. La y a molt estroit passage pur aler vers Ynde. Et pur ceo fist Alisaundres la faire vne citee, qils appellent Alexandree, pur garder la pais au fin qe lom ny passast saunz soun conge; et maintenant lom appelle celle citee La Porte de Fer.¹⁹ Et la principal citee de Comanie ad a noun Sarac.²⁰ Ceo cy est vn des trois chemyns pur aler en Ynde. Mes pur ceo chemyn ne purroit passer grant 30
foisoun de gent, si ceo nestoit par yuere. Et ceo passage lom appelle le Derbent.²¹ Lautre chemyn est daler de roialme de Turquesten par Persie, et par plusours chemyns y a²² plusour iournes de desert. Et ly tierz chemin est qi vait²³ de Comanie et vait par la grant mer et par le roialme de Abchaz. Et sachez qe toutz cils roialmes et toutz cestes terres dessouzditz iusques a Prusse et a Rossie²⁴ obeissent toutz al Grant Chan de Cathay, et plusours autres pais et marches as autres coustes; pur qoy ses poairs est molt grant et sa seignurie.

¹ is but lytill arberye ne trees þat lere frute ne opere, C.

⁴ the gate of hell (i.e. "d'enfer," for "de fer"), C.

⁷ Camanye, G.

¹⁰ endure, G.

¹³ meint homme, S. G.

¹⁶ est, S. G.

¹⁹ cite celsite ou le port de pere, G.

²² et par ce chemyn i a, S.; and so G.

² bailes, MS.

³ thurgh, corrected to "fra."

⁶ iadya. Sachetz qe ceo est, S.; iadix sachiez. Cest, G.

¹¹ demourer, G.

¹⁴ plus de, G.

¹⁷ gist—royalms, om. S.

²⁰ Sarath, S.; Sarach, G.

²³ vient, S. G.

³ sc. Caucasus.

⁶ and thurgh, corr. to "thurgh."

⁹ toute, om. S.

¹² Chil, S. G.; Ethille, C.

¹⁵ outre, S.; oultre, G.

¹⁸ Choas, S. G.; Chotaz, C.

²¹ Berlent, S. G.; Derbent, C.

²⁴ et a Rossie, om. S. G.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

[*Of the emperour of Persye; and of the lond of derknesse; and of other kyngdomes that belongen to the Grete Cane, and other londes of his vnto the see of Grece.*]

HERE hafe I talde 3ow of landes and kyngdommes toward þe north, to comme doune fra þe land of Catay vnto þe landes of Pruyse and Ruscy, whare Cristen men dwellez; and now will I tell 3ow of oþer landes and kyngdommes in commyng doune fra Catay to þe see of Grece toward Cristen land on þe toþer syde. And for als mykill as, next þe Grete Caan of Catay and Prestre Iohn þe emperoure of Inde, þe emperour of Perse es þe grettest lorde, þerfore I will first speke of him and of his kyngdom. And 3e schall vnderstand þat he has twa kyngdommes, of whilk ane begynnez estward at þe kyngdom of Turquesten and it lastez westward to þe ryuer of Phison, þe whilk es ane of þe foure fludez þat commez oute of Paradyse. And 10
f.106b. toward þe north it lastez to þe see of Caspye; and southward it lastez to þe desertes of Inde. And þis land es gude and plentifous, and mykill folk þerin and many citeez. Bot twa principall citeez of þat land er called Bactria and Seormegraunt. Þe toþer kyngdomme lastez fra þe ryuer of Phisoun toward þe west vnto þe land of Medy and Ermony þe mare, and toward þe north vnto þe see of Caspy, and southward to þe land of Inde. And þis es a plentifous cuntree and a gude. And þare er þarin three principall citeez, þat es to say Nessabon, Saphaon, and Sarmassane.

And þan es þe land of Ermony, þe whilk was sum tyme diuided in foure kyngdommes. Þis es a grete land and a plentifous and gude. And it begynnes at Perse and lastez toward þe west on lenth vnto þe land of Turkey; and on brede it lastez fra þe citee of Alisaundre, þat now es called *Porte de Fer*,¹ vnto þe land of Medy. In þis land of Ermony er many faire citeez, bot Taurisius es maste of name. 20

þan es þe land of Medie, þe whilk es riȝt lang, bot noȝt full brade. And it begynnez estward at þe land of Perse and Inde þe less, and lastez westward to þe kyngdom of Caldee, and northward to Lytill Ermony. In þis land of Medy er many grete hilles and lytill playne. And þare dwellez Sarzenes and anoþer maner of folk, þat men callez Cordynes. Þe principall citeez of þat land er called Seras and Kermen.

CHAPITRE XXVIII.

Del empire de Persye; de la terre tenebrouse; et des autres roialmes de Cathay iusques al mer de Griee.

QUE puis qe ieo vous ay deuise la terre et les roialmes vers lez parties septemtrioneles en descendaunt de la terre de Cathay iusques a la terre des Cristiens vers Prusse et vers Russye, si vous² deuiseray des autres terres et roialmes descendantz par autre couste vers destre iusques a la mere de Griee vers la terre des Cristiens. Et pur ceo qe apres Ynde et³ apres Cathay ly emperers de Persye est ly plus grant sires, si en parleray de roialme de Persye primerement, ou il y a deux roialmes. Ly primer roialme 30
comence vers orient vers le roialme de Turquesten et sestent vers occident iusques a la riuer de Physon, qi est vne des iiij. riuers [qi] viegnent de Paradyse. Et vers septentrion sestent iusques a la mer de Caspie; et deuers mydi iusques au desert de Ynde. Et est cis pais bone et pleyne et bien poeplie, et y a plusours bons citees. Mes ly deux principalx sount Boccura et Seornergant,⁴ qe ascuns appellent Sormagant.⁵ L'autre roialme de Persye sestent par la riuer de Phisoun vers les parties doccident iusques au roialme de Mede et a la grant Armenie, et vers septentrion a la mere de Caspie, et vers mydy a la terre de Ynde. Ceo est auxi vn bone pais et pleynteuous, et y a trois principalx citees, Nessabor et Saphaon et Sarmassane.⁶

Après est Armenie, en qy y soleit auoir iiij. roialmes. Ceo est vne noble pais et habundant des biens. Et comence a⁷ Persye et sestent vers occident de long iusques a Turkye; et de large dure a la citee Alexandre, qest appelle maintenant Port de Fer, dount iay parle par dessouz, au roialme de Mede. En ceste Armenie y a trop de bonez cites, mes Tauriso est la plus renome.

Puis est le roialme de Mede, qi est molt long, mes y nest mie molt large; qi comence vers orient a la terre de Persye et a Ynde la 40
menour, et sestent vers occident vers le roialme de Calde, et vers septentrion descent vers la petite Armenie. En celle regioun de Mede y a⁸ molt des grandeiz mountaignes et poy de terre playne. Il y demoerent Sarrazins et vn autre manere de gent qi sount appellez Cordins. Ly mellours deux citeez de ceo roialme sont Saras et Karmen.⁹

¹ gate of Helle, C.

² apres Ynde et, om. S. G.

³ Smorgant, S.; Sinorgant, G.; Sormagant, C.

⁴ a, om. R.

² vers Prusse obeissans au grant Chan de Cathay, si vous, G.

⁴ Saitira et Seomorgant, S.; Saccira et Steomargat, G.; Boyturra and Seornergant, C.

⁵ Nessabor, Saphan, et Sarmasse, S.; Messabor, Sarphan et Sarmasi, G.; Messabor, Caphon, and Sarmassane, C.

⁸ a, om. R.

⁹ Seas et Garemen, S.; Seras et Karmen, G.; Sarraz and Karmen, C.

f.107. And þan next es þe kyngdom of Georgy, þe whilk begynnez estward at a grete hill þat es called Abior. In þis land dwellez many diuerse naciouns; and þis land es called Halamo. And it lastez vnto Turkey and to þe grete see; and southeward it marchez apon Ermony þe mare. In þis land er twa cuntreez; þe tane es called Georgy and þe toþer Abcaz. And ayþer of þam has a kyng, and bathe er þai Cristen; bot þe kyng of Georgee es vnder þe subieccion of þe Grete Caan. Bot þe kyng of Abcaz es subiecte till na man, for his land es riȝt strang of þe self and þerfore he defendez him wele agayne all men.

In þis land of Abcaz es a grete meruaile; for þare es a cuntree þe whilk es nere three day iourneez vmgang, and it es called Hamson. And þat cuntree es couerd all ouer with mirkness,¹ so þat men þat er withouten may [noȝt] see anything² þerin; and þer dare na man ga in to þat cuntree for þe mirkness. And neuerþeles men þat dwellez in þe cuntree nere aboute it saise þat þai may sum tyme here þerin þe voice of men, and horsez nye, and cokkes cawe, and þareby wate þai wele þat sum maner of men dwellez þare, bot þai wate noȝt whatkyn men þai er. And þai say also þat þis mirkness come thurgh myracle of Godd, þat he schewed þare for Cristen men; and þat fynd þai writen in alde storyes amanges oþer wonders and meruailes. For þare was sum tyme a wikked tiraunt þat was emperour of þe land of Perse, and he was called Taures. Þis emperour persued Cristen men in his tyme, all þat ware within his empyre; and he went aboute ferre and nere with a grete oste for to destruy f.107b. þam, or elles to gerre þam make sacrifice to his mawmetz. And in þat cuntree dwelled many Cristen men, þe whilk forsuke all þaire gudes and þaire ricchess and fledd by cause of þe persecucioun of þat tiraunt, and wald hafe gane in to Grece. And, when þai ware all gadred sammen in a faire playne, þe whilk es called Megon, þe emperour þat was warned of þaire fleyng lay before þam with his oste for to fall apon þam and sla þam. And, when þe Cristen men sawe þam com to þam wardes, þai ware riȝt ferde, and þai sette þam all apon þaire kneesse and besoght Godd to helpe þam and saue þam fra þaire enmys. And alssone come a thikke mirkness and vmbelapped þe emperour and all his oste, so þat þai myȝt nower go away; and so dwell þai ȝet in þat mirkness and euermare schall.³ And þe Cristen men went whare þai wald; and þerfore may þai say with þe prophete Daud on þis wyse, *A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris*,⁴ þat es to say, "Of oure Lorde es þis done, and it es wonderfull in oure sight." And me think þat þis miracle and swilke oþer schuld stirre Cristen men to be mare deuote ynentez Godd þan þai er now on days⁵; for withouten doute, ware ne þer ware so mykill wikkednes and syn amanges Cristen men, þai schuld be lordes of all þe werld and soueraynes. For Godd es euermare redy for to succoure and helpe his lele seruandes, þat seruez him duely with a clene hert, so

Apres est ly roialme de Georgie,⁶ qi comence vers orient a vne montaigne grant, qe homme appelle Abzor,⁷ ou y demoerent molt diuerse gent de diuerses naciouns; et appelle homme la pais Alamo. Cis roialmes sestent vers Turkye et vers la grant mere, et vers mydi marchist a la grant Armenie. Et si ad deux roialmes en ceo pais; lun est ceo roialme de Georgie, lautre est la roialme de Abchaz. Et toutdis sont el pais deu rois, et sount ambedeux Cristiens; mes cis de Georgie est en la subieccioun de Grant Chan. Et le roy de Abchaz ad le plus fort pais, et cest toutdis vigourement defenduz countre toutz ceux qi lount assailly, si qils ne les poiant vnqes mettre en subieccioun de nully.

R.f.69b. En ceo roialme de Abchaz y ad vne grant meruaile; qar vn prouince de pais, qad bien iii.⁸ iournes de circuit et lappelle Hauysoun,⁹ est toute couerte de tenebris saunz nul clarite, si qe nul ne poet veer ne null nose entrer. Et nient pur tant cils de pais dient qe ascun foitz lom oit vois des gentz et chualx hinnir et coks¹⁰ chaunter, et sciet¹¹ bien de certain qil endemoerent des gentz, mes homme ne sciet quels gentz. Et dient qe ces tenebres auient par miracle de Dieu. Qar vn malueis emperour de Persye, qi auoit noun Saures,¹² persuiuait toutz Cristiens pur eux destruire et pur faire sacrifice¹³ a ces ydols; et chiuachent¹⁴ par tout a host banniz pur toutz Cristiens confondre. En ceo pais demoerent moltz des bons Cristiens, ly quex lesserount toutz leur biens et voiloient fuir vers Gricce. Et, quant ils furent en vne pleyn qi ad a noun Megoun,¹⁵ lors leur vient a deuant ly emperers oue tout soun host par vn valle pur les Cristiens toutz detrencher. Si soy mistrent ly Cristiens as genoilles et firent leur priere a Dieu. Et tantost vne espesse nue venoit et couert lempereur et tout soun host, et tant y duroit en tiel manere qils ne poient aler ne auaunt ne ariere. Et ensy demoerent toutz soiz¹⁶ en celles tenebres qe vnqes puis nent issierount. Et ly Cristiens sen alerent la ou leur plesoit, et leur enemis demorerount conclus et confunduz sanz cop ferir. Nous pooms bien dire, *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris*. Et ceo fust vn grant miracle qe Dieu fist pur eux, si qe y piert.¹⁷ Pur quoy toutz Cristiens deueroient estre plus deuoutz enuers nostre Seignur qils ne sount; qar, saunz doute, si ne fust la maluaiste et le pecche des Cristiens, ils serroient¹⁸ seignurs de tout le mounde. Qar la banere Ihesu Crist est¹⁹ toutdis disploie et apparille pur tout²⁰ aider

¹ derknesse, C.

² and so schulle þei euermore abyden in þat derknesse tille the day of dome be the myracle of God, C.

³ þan ony other men of ony other secte, C.

⁴ iiii, S.

⁵ et sciet—des gentz, after "sciet quels gentz," G.

⁶ chiuacheyt, S.; cheuauchoit, G.

⁷ si cum il piert vnore, S.; et encores y pert, G.

⁸ par tout pur, S. G.

⁹ any, erased, and "no" interlined.

¹⁰ George, S.; Geon, but with "George" below, G.

¹¹ or Hanyssoun.

¹² Saures, G.; Saures, C.

¹³ Megon, S.; Mongon, G.

¹⁴ fussent, G.

¹⁵ Ps. cxvii. 23. C. omits the English translation as usual.

¹⁶ Abor, S.; Abzor, C.

¹⁷ gens, G.

¹⁸ sacrifier, S. G.

¹⁹ tot voie, S.; tout quoy, G.

²⁰ est, S. G.; om. R.

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þat he will send þam þe ouerhand of þaire enmys, as þe prophete saise, *Quomodo persequabatur vnus mille, et duo fugarent decem milla*,¹ þat es to say, "Ane of þi trewe seruandes pursued a thousand mescreauntes,² and twa chaced x^m." And Daudid saise on þis wyse, "On þine a syde sall fall a thowsand, and on þine oþer syde x^m." And how þis may be he tellez efterward in Haly Wrytte, *Quia manus Domini fecit hoc*, þat es to say, "For þe myght of oure Lorde Godd duse all þis."³ And þus it may appertely be proued þat, and we will be gude men, oure enmys may noȝt agayne stand vs.⁴ Oute of þis land commez a riuier þat by certayne taknez schewez þat men dwellez þerin; neuerþeles þare dare na man comme þerin.

And ȝe schall vnderstand þat in þir forsaid rewmes of Georgy and Abcaz and of Ermony þe less er dwelland gude Cristen men and deuote. For þai schryue þam ilke a woke⁵ and er howseld; and sum of þam er schryuen and howseld ilke a day. And⁶ in þis þai schewe mare deuocioun þan we do, þat er vnnethez anez in a ȝere 10 schryfen and howseld.

Next þis land es þe rewme of Turkey, þe whilk marchez apon Grete Ermony. And þare in er many cuntreez, as Lycony, Saure, Capadoce, Bryke, Quificion, Pytan and Geneth. In ilkane of þir cuntreez er many citeez faire and gude. Þis land of Turkey lastez to þe citee of Sakara, þe whilke standes apon þe Grekez see; and also it marchez apon Surry, þe whilke es a grete cuntree and a gude, as I talde ȝow before. Also f.108b. amanges þir forsaid landes towardes Inde es þe land of Caldee, þe whilk lastez fra þe hilles of Caldee estward vnto þe citee of Niniue, þat standez apon þe riuier of Tygre, on lenth; and on brede it begynnez northward at þe citee of Maraga and lastez southward to þe grete see Occian. Þe land of Caldee es a playne cuntree, and þare er bot few riuers þerin.

And next þe land of Caldee es þe land of Mesopotamy, þe whilk begynnez estward at þe riuier of Tygre at a citee þat men callez Mosell, and it lastez westward to þe riuier of Eufrates at a citee þat men callez Rochays; and on brede it lastez fra þe mountez of Ermony vnto þe desertez of Inde þe lesse. And it es a playne cuntree and a gude and plentifous, and few riuers þerin. And twa hie mountaynez er þerin,⁷ of whilk þe tane es called Symar and þe toþer Lyson. And it marchez to þe land of Caldee.

a ses bons seriantz. Vns verrais prodhomme en chaceroit mil malueis, si come Daudid dit en le sautier, *Quomodo persequabatur vnus mille, et duo fugarent decem milia; et cadent⁸ a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tuis*. Et quoment ceo poet estre, qe vn poet⁹ chacer mil, Daudid mesmes le dit ensuant, *Quia manus Domini¹⁰ fecit hec omnia*. Et nostre Seignur mesmez dit par la bouche del prophete, *Si in viis meis ambulaveritis, super tribulantes vos¹¹ misissem manum meam*. Si qe nous poems veoir apertement qe, si nous voilloms estre bons, nuls enemis ne purroient endurer countre nous. Item de celle terre tenebrouse ist fors vne grant riuere, qi moustre bien par enseignes qe y demoerent des gentz; mes nul nose entrer.

Et saches qe en ces roialmes de Georgie et de la¹² petite Armenie ils sount bons Cristiens et bien deuoutz. Qar ils se confessent et communient toutez les semaignes vn foitz ou deux; et si ad plusours qi si communient toutz les iours. Et ensy ne faceoms nous mie par de cea, come bien qe seint Paul¹³ le comaunde, *Omni diebus dominicis ad communicandum hortor*. Ils gardent ceo precept, mes nous le¹⁴ gardoms mie.

R.f.70. Item en¹⁵ cea est Turkye, qi marchist a la grant Armenie. Et si ad plusours prouinces, sy come¹⁶ Capadoche, Saure, Brique, Euesytoun, Pytoun, et Gemyech. Et en chescun y ad molt bonez cites. Ceste Turkye sestent iusques a la cite de Sachala,¹⁷ qi siet sour la mer de Grece; et si marchist a Syrie. Syrie est grant pais et bone, si qe ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit. Vncqore y ad par dessure vers Ynde le roialme de Caldee, qi sestent des montaignes de Caldee vers orient iusques a la cite de Niniuee, qi siet sour la riuere de Tygre; et de largesse comence vers bise a la cite de Maraga, et sestent vers midy¹⁸ iusques a la mer oceane. Et en¹⁹ Caldee y a playn pais et poy de mountaignes et poy de riueres.

Puis est le roialme de Mesopotamie, qi comence vers orient au flum²⁰ de Tygre a vne citee qi ad a noun Mosel, et sestent vers occident²¹ iusques au flum Deuftrate a vne cite qi ad a noun Roaiz²²; et de large vait de mont Darmenie iusques al desert de Ynde la menour. Cest vne bone pais et playne, mes il y ad poy²³ des riueres. Il ny ad qe ii. mountaignes en ceo pais, dont lun ad noun Symar²⁴ et lautre Lysoun.²⁵ Et marchist ceste terre al roialme de Caldee.

¹ Deut. xxxii. 30, with "persequatur" and "fugent" (cf. Fr. text).

² And oure Lord him self seyth (Ps. lxxx. 15), be þe prophetes mouth, etc. (cf. Fr. text), adds C.

³ ones or twyes in the woke, C.

⁴ And so do wee not on this half, alle be it þat seynt Poul commandeth it, seyenge, etc. (cf. Fr. text). Thei kepen þat commandement, but wee ne kepen it not, C. The passage quoted is not from St. Paul.

⁵ vous poietz, S.; vous poes, G.

⁶ et de Abchaz et de la, S. G.

⁷ apres en, S. G.

⁸ Hikonie, Capadochie, Caure, Quesiton, Pycan et Gimeth, S.; Hikonie, Capadoce, Saur, Brique, Quesiton, P'ithan, et Guireth, G.; C. follows R. generally, but has "Quesiton, Pytan and Gemethe."

⁹ en, S. G.; om. R.

¹⁰ Bothaiz, S.; Rohais, G.; Roianz, C.

¹¹ Phison, G.

¹² It hath (il y a) but ii. mountaynes in þat contree, C.

¹³ magnus Dominus, S.

¹⁴ escripture, S. G.

¹⁵ mescreaunce, MS.

¹⁶ enduren aȝenst vs, C.

¹⁷ et cadent—tuis, om. S. G.

¹⁸ vos, S. G. C.; eos, R.

¹⁹ le, S. G.; les, R.

²⁰ vers Mede, S.; vers miedi, G.

²¹ oriant, G.

²² Simur, G.

And þe schall vnderstand þat Ethiopie marchez¹ estward to þe grete deserte, westward to þe land of Numidy, southward to Mauritanie, and northward to þe Reed See. And Mauritanie lastez fra þe hillez of Ethiopie vnto Liby þe hye; and it liggez on lenth endlang þe grete see Occeane southward, and northward it marchez apon Numidy and Liby þe hie. In Numidy dwellez Cristen men; and it marchez apon þir forsaid landez and to þe deserte of Egipte, of whilk I spak before. And þan es Liby, þe hie and þe lawe, þe whilk commez f.109. doune toward þe Spaynisch see. In þe whilk cuntree er many diuerse folk and diuerse naciouns. Here hafe I talde 3ow of many cuntreez þat er on þis syde of þe grete kyngdom of Catay, of þe whilk many er obeischaunt to þe Grete Caan.

CHAPTER XXIX.

[Of the contrees and yles that ben bezonde the lond of Cathay, and of the frutes there; and of xxii. kynges enclosed within the mountaynes.]

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AND now will I tell 3ow of landes and cuntreez and iles þat er bezond þe land of Cathay. And þarfore he þat will ga fra Cathay til Inde þe less and þe mare,² he schall [ga] thurgh a kyngdom þat es called Cadhilhe, þe whilk es a grete land. And þare growez a maner of fruyte grete as gourdes; and, when it es rype, þai open it and fyndez þerin a beste with flesch and blude and bane, and it es lyke to a lytill lambe withouten wolfe. And men of þat cuntree etez þat beste, and þe fruyt also. And þat es a grete meruaile.³ Neuerþeles I said þam þat me thoght it na grete meruaile, for in my cuntree I said þam ware treesse berand a fruyte þat becommes briddez flyand, þe whilk men callez Bernakes, and þer es gude mete of þam; and þase þat falez in þe water liffez and fliez furth, and þase þat falez on þe land dyez. And, when I had talde þam þis, þai

Vncqore y a vers les parties meridionels moutz de pays et moutz des regions, si come la terre de Ethiope, qi marchist vers orient as grantz desertz, vers occident a la roialme de Nubie, vers midy a la royalme de Moritane, et vers bise a la Rouge Mer. Puis est Moritane, qi dure de les mountaignes de Ethiope iusques a Lybie la haut. Et gist ceo pais toute a long de la mer occeane vers mydi, et vers bise marchist a Nubie et a la haut Lybie. Et si est Nubie⁴ qi sont⁵ Cristiens, et marchist a ces terres dessusditz et al desert de Egipte. Et ceo est Egipte de quel ieo vous ay autrefois parle. Et puis Lybie le haut et puis Libie le basse, qi descent aual vers la grant mer Despaigne; en les quex pais y a plusours roialmes et moutz des diuerses gentz. Ore vous ay ieo deuise plusours pais de cea le grant royalme de Cathay, dount ly plusours sont obeissantz⁶ al Grant Chan.

CHAPITRE XXIX.

Des pais et des isles qi sont par dela la terre de Cathay; et des diuers fruitz illoques; des xxii. rois enclosez entre mountains.

R.f.70b.

RE vous dirray ensuiant dascuns pays et dascuns isles qi⁷ sont par de la. Si vous di qe, en passant par la terre de Cathay vers la haute Ynde et vers Bacharie,⁸ lom passe par vne region qe homme appelle Caldilhe,⁹ qi est¹⁰ molt beal pais et grant. La croist vne manere de fruit auxi come cahourdes¹¹; et, quant ils sont maures, hommes les fent¹² par mie et troue homme dedeins vne bestoile en char¹³ et en os et en sanc, auxi come vne petit aignel saunz layn, si qe lem mange et la fruit et le bestoile. Et cest bien grant meruaile de ceo fruit, et si est grant oure de nature. Nient pur tant ieo lour dis qe ieo ne le tenoie mie a molt grant meruaile, qar auxi bien y auoit il arbres en nostre pais,¹⁴ qi portent fruit qi deuient oisealx voillantz, et sont bone pur manger; et cils qi cheiount en leawe viuent et cils qi cheiount en terre moerent tantost. Et de ceo se meruaillent il fortment. En ceo pais y a

¹ git þere is toward the parties meridionales many contrees and many regyouns, as the lond of Ethiope þat marcheth, etc., C.

² toward the highe Ynde and toward Bacharye, C.

³ qi sont—est Egipte, om. G.

⁴ Ore vous dirra ensuiant acuns ils qi, S.; or vous dirai ie aucun pais ensuiant, et des autres pais et des iles qi, G.

⁵ Cadilho, S.; Cadilhe, G.; Caldilhe, C.

⁶ fend, S.; fent, G.; fount, R.

⁷ Of þat frute I haue eten, adds C.

⁸ obeissantz, om. S. G.

⁹ est, S. G.; om. R.

¹⁰ en char, om. G.

¹¹ Et ceo est Nubie, S.; Et est ceste Ethiope, G.

¹² Bachaire, S.; Betherrez, G.

¹³ gourdes, S. G.

¹⁴ nostre pais dangleterre, G.

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meruailed þam gretely þeroff. In þis land also er grete appils of noble smell and noble sauour; and men may fynd of þam on a clustre c. and ma, and þe lefez of þe treez er twa fote lang and sum langre. And in þat cuntree er treesse berand garioflez and nute mugez and grete nuttez of Inde and oþer diuerse spiceriez. And þare er vynes þat beres so grete bobbes of grapez þat a wyght man may vnnethez bere ane of þam.

- f.109b. In þis same land er þe hillez of Caspy, whilk men callez Vber. And amang þase hilles er þe Iewes of þe ten kynredens enclosed, whilk men callez Gog and Magog; and þai may comme oute at na syde. For kyng Alysaundre chaced þam þider, for he wend to hafe enclosed þam þare thurgh wirking of man; and, when he sawe þat he myght noȝt, he praid to Godd þat he wald fulfill þat he had begon. And, if all he ware a haythen man, Godd of his speciall grace herd his praier and closed þe hilles sammen, þe whilk er so grete and so heghe þat na man may passe þam. And on þe toþer syde es¹ þe see of Caspye; bot² on þat syde may þai noȝt wynne 10 oute for þis cause, for þat see commez vp oute of þe erthe vnder þe forsaid hillez and rynne on þe ta syde þe cuntree thurgh a grete deserte and fra þeine it lastez to þe land of Perse. And if all it be called a see, neuerþeles it es nane, bot it es a lake, þe grettest in þe werld. And if all þe folk þat er enclosed þare myght, and þai wald, passe ouer þat see by schippe, neuer þe latter þai wate noȝt whare þai myght aryfe, and also þai schuld noȝt vnderstand þer langage. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat þe Iewes has now na land of þaire awen to dwell in in all þe werld, bot anely amang þir hilles. And ȝit þai pay tribute þarfore to the quene of Amazoun, and scho
- f.110. gers þase forsaid hilles wonder wele be keped, þat þai þasse noȝt oute ouer þam to þaire awen cuntree, þe whilk marchez apen þase hillez. And noȝt forþi sum tyme it happens þat sum of þam clymbez ouer þase hilles and gase oute, bot þare may na grete nowmer of þam clymbe ouer þam togyder by cause of þe grete height of þam and þe ill clymbyng. And þare es nan oþer passage oute, bot at a narowe stie,³ þe whilk was made thurgh 20 sleight and wirking of men. And þat passage es bot foure myle lang, and þan es þare a grete deserte, whare men may fynd na water ne na dwellyng for men, by cause of dragouns and nedders and oþer venymous bestez, so þat na man may passe þare away, bot if it be in þe wynter. And þis straye passage call þai þare Clyrem; and þe qwene of Amazoun gers kepe it wele, as I said before. And, if it hapne þat any of þam passe oute, þai can speke

longes pommes de bone odour et de bon sauour, dont il y a plus de c. en vne trecche et atauntz en vne autre; et ount grandez foilles longues et larges de deux pies de long et de plus. En ceo pais, et es autres pais la entour, croiscent moltz arbres qi portent clous de gyrofle et noiz muscates et grossez noiz de Ynde et de canele et moyntes autres espices. Et si ad vignes qi portent si grant reisyns, dont vn fort homme aueroit assez affaire a porter vn soul tresche de reisins oule toute la grape.

En celle mesme regioun sount les montaignes de Caspie, qils appellent Vber el pais. Et entre celles montaignes les Iuys de x. lienes sont enclos, qe homme appelle Goth et Magoth, et ne poent⁴ isser aundres part. La furent enclos xxii. rois ouesqe leur poeple, qi 30 demoerent entre les montaignes de Sychie.⁵ La les chacea ly roi Alisaundres entre celles montaignes et les quidoit eclore par loueraigne de⁶ ses hommes; mes, quant il vist qil ne poet au chief venir, il pria Dieu de nature qil vousist acomplir ceo qil auoit comence. Et, come bien qil ne fust dignes destre oies, nient meinz Dieu de sa grace cloust les montaignes ensemble,⁷ si qils demoerent la enserrez⁸ et toutes enclos de hautes montaignes tout entour forsque dune coste, et de ceste coste est la mer de Caspie. Ore purroit ascun demander, puis qe la mer est dune coste, pur qoy ils nent issent par cell mer⁹ pur aler la ou ils vouldroient aler? Mes a ceo ieo respoun qe celle mer de Caspie ist fors par terre et par dessouz¹⁰ les montaignez et court par la desert a vne couste de cely pays et puis¹¹ sestent iusques as fins de Persye.

- R.f.71. Et, come bien qe homme appelle mer, ceo nest mie mer ne ne touche a nul autre mer, ancis est vn lac, le plus grant de mounde. Et, come bien qils se meissent¹² en cel mer, ils ne saueroient ou¹³ ariuer, qar ils ne scieuent langage nul forsque la leur; et pur ceo ne poent ils isser. Et sachez qe ly Iuys nount point de propre terre en tout le mounde forsque celle terre entre¹⁴ les montaignes. Et vnqore rendent ils tribut de celle terre¹⁵ a la reinne de Amasonie, la quelle les fait garder molt curioement qils nent issent fors deuers¹⁶ la cost de sa terre, qar sa 40 terre marchist a celles montaignes. Il auyent moit foitz qe ascuns de ces Iuys y mountent et auallent par les montaignes, mes grant nombre des gentz ne purroit mounter, qar les montaignez sount hautes et roistes,¹⁷ si qils sont la¹⁸ maugreez eaux. Qar ils ne ont issue forsque par vne petit sentir, qi fuist fait par force des hommes; et dure bien iiii. grantz lieues. Et puis y a vnqore terre deserte, ou homme ne poet trouer eawe, ne pur chauer ne pur autrement¹⁹; pur qoy homme ne poet habiter en cell lieu. Et si ad tant des dragouns, des serpentz, et des venenouses bestes en cell lieu qe null ne poet²⁰ passer, si ceo nest par molt fort yuer. Et cel estroit passage ils appellent el pais Clyroun²¹; et cest la passage qe la roine de Amazone fait garder. Et, come bien qe ascuns issent ascun foitz, ils ne scieuent langage

¹ est (the "est" of the Fr. text), MS.

² Now may sum men asken, "Sith þat the see is on þat o syde, wherfore go þei not out on the see syde, for to go where þat hem lyketh?" But to þis questioun I schal annwere, etc., C.

³ Sithie, S.; Sicye, G.

⁴ enfermes, S.

⁵ fors de terre par desoutz, S.; hors de terre par dessous, G.

⁶ uaissent, S.; metroient, G.

⁷ de cellez montaigne et de celle terre, G.

⁸ la endroit, G.

⁹ bestes qe cest merueilles, si que nul ni peut, G.

¹⁰ a litill issue, C.

¹¹ et la force de, S.; encloure par la force de, G.

¹² terre, S.

¹³ ou il deuroient, G.

¹⁴ fors qe deuers, R.

¹⁵ ne pur eschaper pus, ne autrement, S.; ne pur cauer ne autrement, G.

¹⁶ Cliren, S.; Clicen, G.; Clyron, C.

¹⁷ Goth et Magoth ne peuent, G.

¹⁸ ensemble—entour, om. G.

¹⁹ et puis, S. G.; om. R.

²⁰ outre, S.

²¹ reistes, S.; roides, G.

na langage bot Ebrew, ne þai noȝt speke with oþer men, when þai comme amang þam. And men in þe cuntree þare nere saise þat in þe tyme of Antecriste þir Iewes schall comme oute and do mykill harme to Cristen men. And þerfore all þe Iews þat dwellez in diuerse partys of þe werld lerez for to speke Hebrew, for þai trowe þat þir Iewes þat er enclosed amanges þe hillez schall comme oute and schall knawe þam by þaire speche þat þai er Iews as þai er. And þan schall þai lede þam in to Cristendom for to destruy Cristen men. For þir Iews saise þai knawe by þaire prophecys þat þe Iews þat er closed amanges þe hilles sall comme oute and Cristen men f.110b. schall be vnder þaim, as þai hafe bene vnder Cristen men. And if 3e will wit how þai schall fynd a place for to wynne oute at, I schall tell 3owe, after þat I hafe herd say before tymes. In þe tyme of Antecriste a foxe schal make his den¹ in þe same place whare kyng Alysaundre gert make þe 3ates of þase hillez, when he enclosed þis forsaid folk. And so lang sall þis foxe wirk in þe erthe þat at þe last he schall comme oute amang þis folk; and, 10 when þai see him, þai schall hafe grete meruaile of him, for þai sawe neuer are na swilke beste. Neuerþeles þai hafe all maner of oþer bestez, owt taken þe fox, amanges þam. And þai sall hafe so grete meruaile of þis fox þat þai sall chace him hider and þider; and so lang sall þai pursue him þat at þe last þai schall dryfe him to þe hole whare he come oute. And þan schall þai grafe after him so lang vnto þai comme to þe 3ates þat Alysaundre gert stoppe with grete stanes and syment, and þai schall breke þise 3atez and so sall þai fynd þe passage oute.

Fra þis land men sall ga to þe land of Bachary, whare er many wikked men and fell. In þis land er treesse þat berez wolfe, as it ware of schepe, of whilke þai make clathe. In þis land also er many ypotams, þat dwellez sum tyme apon land and sum tyme on þe water; and þai er half man and halfe hors. And þai ete men whare so þai may get þam, na mete gladlier. And in þat land er many griffouns, ma þan in any cuntree elles. And sum f.111. men saise þat þai hafe þe schappe of ane egle before, and behind þe schappe of a lyoun; and sikerly þai say 20 sothe. Neuerþeles þe griffoun es mare and stranger þan viii. lyouns of þise cuntreez, and gretter and stalworther þan a hundreth egles. For certaynely he will bere til his nest flyand a grete hors and a man apon him,² or twa oxen 3oked togyder, as þai ga sammen at þe plogh. For he has nailes apon his fete als grete and als lang as þai ware oxen hornes, bot þai er wonder scharpe. And of þase nailes men makez coppez for to drink off, as we do of þe hornes of bugles; and of þe bakkez of his fethers³ þai make strang bowes for to schote with.

Fra þe land of Bachary men gase many day iourneez to þe land of Prestre Iohn, þat es emperour of Inde; and his land es called þe Ile of Pentoxere.

forsqe Ebreu, si ne scieuent parler as gentz. Et nient pur tant lem dit qils isserount fors en temps de Antecrist et ferrount grant occisioun des Cristiens. Et pur ceo toutz les Iuys qi demoeent par toutes terres apprendent toutdis a parler Ebreu sour celle esperance qe, quant cils des mountaignes de Caspie isserount fors, qe ly autres Iuys sachent parler a eux et les conduire en Cristienteas pur Cristiens destruire. Qar 30 les autres Iuys dient qils sciuent bien par lour prophecies qe cils de Caspie isserount et sespandouront parmy le mounde et qe vnqore serrount Cristiens en lour subieccioun atant et plus qils ont este en subieccioun des Cristiens. Et si vous voilles sauoir coment ils troueront lissue, solonc ceo qe iay entenduz ieo le vous dirray. En temps de Antecrist vn vopil⁴ ferra sa taignere en celle lieu ou ly roy Alisaundre fist faire les portes et tant crocera⁵ et percera la terre qil passera tout outre⁶ vers celle gent. Et, quant ils verrount ce voupil, ils se meruillouront, R.f.71b. pur ceo qils ne virent vncqes mes de tiel beste, qar de toutes autres bestes ils auoient enclos entre eux forsqe des voupils. Et les chaceront et les pursueront tauncqes il se reboute ariere en sa teignere. Lors ils croceront⁷ et putheront⁸ apres, ensuiant toutdis la taignere, tancqes ils troueront les portes qe Alisaundre fist faire des grosses pierres bien cementez; et celles portes ils briseront, et ensy troueront lissue.

De ceste terre vait homme vers la terre de Bacherie,⁹ ou il y a molt malueis gent et molt cruel. En celle terre y ad arbres qi portent laine, auxi come barbis,¹⁰ dount homme fait des draps pur vestir. En ceo pais y a moltz dez ypothames,¹¹ qi conuersent ascun foitz en terre 40 ascun foitz¹² en eawe, et sount dimy homme et dymy chiuall, si come ieo vous ay autre foiz dit; et mangent les gentz,¹³ quant ils les poent prendre. Et si ad riueres et eawes qi sount¹⁴ trop ameres, plus troiz temps tant¹⁵ qe ne soit leawe de la mer. En ceo pais y a moltz dez griffouns plus qe autre part. Ascuns gentz dient qils ont le corps deuant come vn aigle et deriere come vn lyoun; et ils dient voir qils sount de tiel faceoun. Mes vn griffoun ad le corps plus grant et plus fort¹⁶ qe viii. leouns des leouns par de cea, et plus de grandesse et de force qe c. aigles. Qar il emporte bien a soun ny en volant vn grant chiuall et le mene sus cel troue au point¹⁷ ou deux boefs lies ensemble, si qe homme les lye a la charue; qar il ad les ongles des pies deuant auxi grantz et aussi longes come cornes de boef ou de vache. Et fait homme hanapes pur boire, si come lem fait des cornes de bugle; et des coustes des pennes des eeles lem fait des grantz arcz et des fortes pur trere sagettes. De la vait homme par mointes iournes par my la terre Prestre Iohan, ly grant emperour de Ynde; et appelle homme soun roialme Lisle Pentoxoyre.¹⁸

¹ make þere his trayne and mynen an hole, C.

² Cf. Fr. text, note 17; a gret hors [3if he may fynde him at the poynt] or ii. oxen, etc., C. The words in brackets are not in the printed editions.

³ and of hire ribbes and of the pennes of hire wenges, C.

⁴ tot en terre, S.; tout outre la terre, G.

⁵ Bakarie, S.; Baquerie, G.

⁶ en terre, ascunfoitz, om. R.

⁷ sount, om. R.

⁸ large, S. G.

⁹ gopyl, S.; goupil, G.

¹⁰ cortiront, S.; creuseront, G.

¹¹ berbitz, S.; brebis, G.

¹² et ne mangent qe gentz qoi hommes, S.; et ne manguent que gens hommes, G.

¹³ trop amers plus trestant, S.; trop plus ameres trois temps, G.

¹⁴ et lomme a desus, sil lez troue a point, S.; and so G.

¹⁵ cortira, S.; creusera, G.

¹⁶ et putheront, om S. G.

¹⁷ pomes, corr. "ypomes," G.; ipotaynes, C.

¹⁸ Pentexoire, S. G. C.

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CHAPTER XXX.

[*Of the ryalle estate of Prestre John; and of a riche man that made a merueyllous castelle and cleped it Paradys; and of his sotyltee.*]

THIS emperour Prestre Iohn has many diuerse cuntreez vnder his empire, in þe whilk er many noble citeez and faire tounes and many iles grete and large. For þis land of Inde es departed in iles by cause of þe grete fludez þat commez oute of Paradys and rynnez thurgh his land and departez it. And also in þe see he has many grete iles. þe principal citee of þe ile of Pentoxore es called Nise; and þare es þe emperour see, and þerfore it es a noble citee and a riche. Prestre Iohn has vnder him many kynges and many diuerse folk; and his land es gude and riche, bot noȝt so riche as þe land of þe Grete Caan of Cathay. For marchands commez noȝt so mykill to þat land as to þe land of Cathay, for it ware to lang way. And also f.111b. marchandes may fynd in þe ile of Cathay all þat [þai] hafe nede off, as spicery, clathes of gold, and oþer riche thinges; and þai lette also for to ga þider by cause of lang way and grete periles in þe see.¹ For þer er in many placez in þe see grete roches of þe stane þat es called Adamaunt, þe whilk of his awen kynde drawez to him yrne; and, for þer schuld passe na schippes þat had nayles of yrne þare away by cause of þe forsaid stane, for he schuld drawe þam till him, þarfore þai dare noȝt wende þider. þe schippes of þat cuntree er all made of wode and nane yrne. I was ane tyme in þat see, and I sawe as it had bene ane ile of treesse and bruschez growand; and þe schippe men talde me þat all þat was of grete schippes þat þe roche of þe adamand had gert dwell þare, and of diuerse thinges þat ware in þe schippez ware þase treesse and þase brusches sprungun. And² for þir perils and swilke oþer, and also for þe lang way, þai wende to Cathay.³ And ȝit Cathay es noȝt so nere þat ne þaim behoues fra Venice or fra Ieen or oþer placez of Lumbardy be in trauaillyng by see and by land xi. monethes or xii. are þai may wynne to þe land of Catay. And ȝit es þe land of Prestre Iohn mykill ferrer by many a day iournee. And marchandes þat wendez þider wendez thurgh þe land of Perse and commez to a citee þat men

CHAPITRE XXX.

Del roial estate Prestre Iohan; et dun riche homme qi fist vn merueylouse chastell et lappelloit Paradis.

CIS emperers Prestre Iohan tient molt grant terre et ad molt des bons citees et des bons villes en soun roialme et moltz dez diuerses isles grandes et larges. Qar ceo pays de Ynde est toute deuisee par isles pur cause de grantz fluuies, qi veignent de Paradis, qi diuisent tout la terre en plusours parties. Et auxi en la mer en y ad moyntes des isles. La meillour citee del isle Pentoxoire ad noun Nise, qi est la cite roial, molt noble et molt riche. Prestre Iohan ad dessouz ly moyntes rois et mointes isles⁴ et mointez diuerses⁵ gentz; et est ceo pais molt bone et molt riche, mes noun pas si riches come ly de Grant Chan. Qar ly⁶ marchantz ne vont mie la si comunement pur achater marchandizis, come ils font en la terre de Grant Chan, qar il est trop loinz. Dautre part ils trouent en lisle de Cathay tout ceo qi mestier lour est, et soi et espices et draps dor et tout auoir de pois. Et pur ceo, come bien qils vssent meillour marche en la terre Prestre Iohan, nient meins ils doutent la longe voie et les grantz perils, qi sont en mer en cells parties. Qar il y a en mointz lieux en la mer roches grandez de pierre daymant, qi de sa proprete tret a ly le fer. Et pur ceo, si il y passe nulle nief⁷ ou il y a claus ou bendes de fer, tantost ces roches les traient a elles et iames ne purroient departer de illeokes. Ieo mesmez vy en celle mer de loins auxi come vn grant isle, ou il auoit arbresseaux et espines et rounses grant foisoun; et nous dissoient ly mariners qe ceo estoient toutz niefs qi estoient ensi arestez pur lez roches daymont, et de la purretture de ceo qi estoit deins niefs croissent ces arbresseux et espines et rounses del herbe grant foisoun. Et tiels roches y a en moyntes lieux la entour, et pur ceo nosent ly marchantz passer, sils ne scieuent bien les passagis ou qils⁸ aient bons conduyceours. Et auxi ils doutent fortment le long chemyn, si prengent⁹ al isle de Cathay, qi est plus pres. Et sil nest mie si pres qil ne couiegne mettre xi. moys ou xii. a aler par mer et par terre de Ianuw ou de Venise iusques a Cathay. Et vncqore est la terre Prestre Iohan plus loinz mointes iournees. Ly marchandz passent par la¹⁰ roialme de Persye et vont a vne cite qad a noun

¹ And þerfore, alle be it þat men han greter chep in the yle of Prestre Iohn, natheles men dreden the longe weye and the grete periles in the see in þo partyes, C.

² and of the rotenesse and oþer thing, C.

³ and þerfore dur not the marchautes passen þere, but ȝif þei knowen wel the passages, or elle þat þei han gode lodes men, etc. (following R.), C.

⁴ et mointes isles, om. S. G.

⁵ diuerses, om. G.

⁶ qar ly—grant Chan, om. G.

⁷ Et pur ceo ne passe nul nief, S.; et pour ce il ni passe nulles nes, . . . que tantost celles roches ne trahent, G.

⁸ ou qils—conduyceours, om. S. G.

⁹ et pur ceo i vont, S.

¹⁰ par mi le, S. G.

callez Hermes, for a philosopher þat men called Hermes foundid it. And þan þai passe ane arme of þe see and
f.112. commez to anoþer citee þat es called Soboth or Colach; and þare fynd þai all maner of marchandyse, and
papeiays als grete plentee as es in oure cuntree of larkes.¹ In þis cuntree es lytill qwheet or barly, and þerfore
þai ete millet and rysz, hony and milk and chese and oþer maner of fruytes.² And fra þeine may marchandes
passe suerly ynogh, if þam list. In þat³ land er many papeiais, þe whilk þai call in þaire langage Psitakes; and
þai speke of þaire awen kynde als properly as a man. And þase þat spekez wele has lang tunges and large, and
apon ayther fote fyfe taas; and þai þat spekez noȝt or elles lytill hase bot three taas.

þis ilk reall kyng Prestre Iohn and þe Grete Caan of Tartary er euermare alyed togyder thurgh mariage; for
ayther of þam weddez oþer doghter or oþer sister. In þe land of Prestre Iohn er grete plentee of precieuse stanes
of diuerse kyndez, sum of þam so grete and so large þat þai make of þam vessell, as dischez, dublers, coppes, 10
and many oþer thinges þat lang ware to tell.

Now will I speke of sum of þe principall iles of Prestre Iohn land, and of þe realtee of his state and what
lawe and belefe he and his pople haldez. þis emperour Prestre Iohn es a Cristen man, and þe maste party of
of his land also, if all it be so þat þai hafe noȝt all þe articles of oure beleue so clerely as we hafe. Noȝt forþi
þai trowe in Godd, Fader and Son and Haly Gaste; and full deuote men þai er and trewe ilkane til oþer, and
f.112b. þare es nowþer with þam fraude ne gyle.⁴ þis emperour hase vnder his subieccioun lxxii. prouinces; and in ilk
ane of [þam] es a kyng. And þase kynges hase oþer kynges vnder þaim, and all er þai tributaries to þe
emperour Prestre Iohn. In þe land of Prestre Iohn er many meruailles. Bot amanges oþer þare es a grete see
all of grauell and sande, and na drope of water þerin. And it ebbez and flowes as þe grete see duse in oþer
cuntreez with grete wawes, and neuermare stanzet still withouten mouyng. þat see may na man passe, nowþer 20
by schippe ne oþer wyse; and þerfore it es vnknawen till any man whatkyn land or cuntree es on þe toþer syde
of þat see. And, þof þer be na water in þat see, neuerþeles þare es grete plentee of gude fischez taken by þe see
bankes; and þai er rȝt sauoury in þe mouth, bot þai er of oþer schappe þan fischez er of oþer waters.⁵ I Iohn⁶
Maundeuill ete of þam, and þarfore trowez it, for sikerly it es soth.

And three day iournez fra þat see er grete hilles, oute of þe whilk commez a grete riuer þat commez fra
Paradise; and it es full of precieuse stanes, and na drope of water. And it rynnez with grete wawes thurgh
wilderness in to þe Grauelly See, and þan er þai na mare sene. And þis riuer rynnez ilke woke three days so fast

Hermes,⁷ qar Hermes ly philosophe la founda. Et puis passent vn bras de mer, puis vount a vn autre cite qad a noun Colbach⁸; et la
trouent ils toutez marchandises, et des pepegeaux auxi grant plante come homme troueroit icy des alowes. Et, sils⁹ voillent passer outre,
ils poent aler tout seurement. En ceo pais y a poy de furment ou dorge, et pur ceo ils ne mangent qe ryz et meel et lait¹⁰ et furmage et 30
fruit.

R.f.72b. Cis emperers Prestre¹¹ Iohan prent toutdis la fille au Grant Chan a femme; et ly Grant Chan auxi la fille Prestre Iohan. En la terre
Prestre Iohan y a mointes diuerses choses et mointz de pierres precieuses, si grandes et si largis qe lem fait vesselment, plateaux, escuelles, et
hanappes, et moltz autres meruailles dont il serroit molt proluxe chose a tout mettre en escript. Mes dascuns isles principalx et de soun
estate¹² et de sa ley vous dirra ieo ascun chose. Cis emperers Prestre Iohan est Cristien et grant partie de soun pais auxi; mes toutfoitz ils
nount mie de toutz¹³ les artcles de la ley, si come¹⁴ nous auoms. Ils croient bien en le Piere et le Fils et le Seint Esprit; et sount moltz
deuoutz et bien loialx les vns as autres, et nont cure de barrat,¹⁵ ne de cauteles, ne de fraudes nulles. Il ad dessouz ly lxxii. prouinces; et
en chescun prouince y ad vn roy. Et cils rois ount vnqore dessuz eux autres rois, et toutz sount tributaires¹⁶ a ly. Et y ad en soun pais
moltz des meruails. Qar en soun pais est la mer arenouse, qest tout dareine et de grauell saunz goute deauwe. Et vait et vient as grandes
vndes auxi come lautre mer fait, et nulle foitz ne nul saison ne se tient toy¹⁷ ne paisible. Et ne poet homme passer celle mer, ne par 40
naue nautrement; et pur ceo ne poet homme sauoir quel terre il y a outre cel mer. Et, come bien qil nait point deawe, nient moinz lem
troue des bons pessons sour les riuers¹⁸ de autre manere et dautre facioun qe homme ne troue en¹⁹ lautre mer; et sount de bone gust et
delicious a manger.

Et a iii.²⁰ iournees loinz de cel mer y a grandez montaignes, des quex il ist fors vne fluuie qi vient de Paradis; et est tout des²¹ pieres
precieuses sanz eawe. Et court countre aual par le desert a vndis, si qe fait la mer arenouse; et se fiert en cel mer et la se piert. Et ceo

¹ gees (i.e. "owes," for "alowes", C.

² In þat—three taas, repeated lower down, in its proper place according to the Fr. text and C.

³ and þei sette not be no barettes, ne by cawteles, ne of no disceytes, C.

⁴ and þei ben of right goode tast and delicious to mannes mete, C.

⁵ Emes, and so below, G.

⁶ millet, S.; millet, G.

⁷ my de tot, S.; mie du tout. G.

⁸ redeuans trehu, G.

⁹ que ne sunt ceulz de, G.

¹⁰ ryza and hony and mylk and chese and frute, C.

¹¹ Et sachies que Prestre, G.

¹² de la foi qe, S.; de la foy que, G.

¹³ coy, S.; quoye, G.

¹⁴ iiiii, S.; iii, G. C.

¹⁵ I Iohn—es soth, not in Fr. text or C.

¹⁶ Et sils—seurement, om. S. G.

¹⁷ Mes acuns dez principaux et de son estat, S.; and so G.

¹⁸ de barrat ne, om. S. G.

¹⁹ sur la riuere, S.; sur la riue, G.

²⁰ tot plein des, S.; tout de, G.

þat na man dare com þarin; bot all þe oþer days may men gang in to it, when þai will, and gader of þe precious stanes. And byþond þat riuer toward þe wilderness es a grete playne amanges hilles, all sandy and grauelly, in
f.113. þe whilk playne er treesse as it semez, þe whilk at þe sonne rysing begynnez to growe and a fruyte to spring oute of þam; and þai growe so vnto it be midday, and þan begynne þai to dwyne and turne agayne in to þe erthe, so þat by þe sonne be sette þer es naping sene of þam, and þus þai fare ilke a day. Bot of þis fruyt dare na man ete ne negh it, for it semez as it ware a fantom and a dessayuable thing to þe sight.¹ And þis es halden a meruailous thing, and so it may wele.

And in þe forsaid wildernes er many wylde men with hornes apon þaire heueds; and þai dwelle in wodes as bestez and spekez noȝt, bot gruntils as swyne duse. Also in sum wodes of þat land er wylde hundes, þat neuer² will com to man mare þan foxez will do in þis cuntree. And þare er fewles also spekand of þaire awen kynde; and þai will hail³ men þat com thurgh þe desertz, spekand als openly as þai ware men. Þir fewles hase large tungez and on ayther of þaire fete v. nayles. And þare er oþer þat has bot three nayles on ayther fote, and þai speke noȝt so wele ne so openly.⁴ Þir fewles call þai þare Psitakes, as I said before.

Þis ilke grete kyng and emperour Prestre Iohn, when he wendez to bataile agaynes his enmys, he hase na banere borne before him, bot in steed of baner þare er borne before him three crosses of fyne gold, þe whilk er grete and hie and wele dyght with precieuse stanes.⁵ And to þe kepyng of ilke a crosse er ordaynd and assigned x^m men of armes and ma þan a hundreth thousand men on fote, on þe same maner as men kepez a baner or a
f.113b. standard in bataile in oþer placez. And þis nowmer of men es all way assigned to þe keping of þe forsaid crossez ay when þe emperour wendez to bataile, withouten þe principall oste and withouten certayne lordes and þaire men þat er ordaynd for to be in his awen bataile, and also withouten certayne scales þat er ordaynd for forraying.⁶ 20 And, when he rydes in tyme of peesse with his priuee menȝee, þar es borne before him a crosse of tree, withouten gold or paynture or precious stanes, in remembraunce of Cristez passioun þat he sufferd on a crosse of tree. Also he hase borne before him a plate of gold full of erthe, in taken þat for all his grete noblay and his lordschepe he come fra erthe and intill erthe sall he turne. And þer es borne before him an oþer vessell full of gold and of iowailles and precious stanes, as rubies, dyamaundes, saphires, emeraudes, topazes, crisolites and oþer many, in taknyng of his grete noblay, lordschepe and myght.

fluie court ensy iii. ⁷ iours le semaigne et meigne des grosses pieres de les roches ouesqe qi⁸ meignent molt grant bruit; et tantost qe elles sont entres en la mer arenouse, si ne pierent plus et sount toutes perduz. Et ces iii.⁹ iours qe celle riuer court nul noseroit entrer; mes as autres iours lem y entre bien. Item outre ceo flum, plus auaunt as desertz, y a vn grant playn tout arenouse entre les montaignes. En ceo playn touz les iours au solail leuaunt comensent a croistre arbresseaux petitez et croissent iusques au mydi, qi portent fruit. Mes nul homme nose
prendre de ceo fruit, qar ceo est auxi come chose de faierie. Et apres mydi ils descroissent et reentrent en terre, si qe au solail couchant ils napierent plus. Et ensy sount ils toutz les iours; et cest vn grant meruaille. 30

R.f.73. Il y a en ceo desert moltz des hommes sauuaiges, cornus, hidous; et ne parlent point, mes groucent come porceaux. Il y a ¹⁰ auxi grant foisoun des chiens sauuaiges. Et y a moltz popegeaux, qils appellent en lour langage Psytakes¹¹; et tiels y ad qi parlent de lour nature et qi saluent les gentz qi vont parmy les desertz et parlent auques auxi apertement come ferroit vne persone. Et ly bien parlantz ont la longe¹² large et ont en chescun pie v. doit. Il y ad dautre manere qi nount qe iii. doytz el pie, et cils ne parlent poynt ou poy et mal entendantement¹³ et ne font qe crier.

Cis emperers Prestre Iohan, quant il vait en bataille countre ascun autre seigneur, il ne fait porter nulles baners, mes fait porter deuaunt ly xiii.¹⁴ croiz de fyn or, grandes et hautes et pleines des pierres precieuses; et est chescun de cels croiz assise en vn chariot. Et pur garder chescun y a x. mil hommes darmes et plus et c.¹⁵ mill hommes de pie, par la manere qe homme garde le estandard en cestes parties, quant
homme guerroe. Et cils nombres des gentz est saunz principal host et saunz les escheles ordeinez pur la bataille. Et, quant il nad point de guerre et qil chiuache a priuee compaignie, il ne fait porter deuaunt ly qe vne croiz simple de bois sanz peintures, saunz or et saunz pierres precieuses, en remembrance qe Ihesu Crist suffri mort en vn crois de fust.¹⁶ Et fait auxi porter deuaunt ly vn platell dor plein de terre, en memoire qe la noblesse de ly, sa puissaunce et sa char deuiendrount et retournerount en terre. Et porte homme vn autre vessaille dargent ouesqe nobles ioyaux dor et des pierres precieuses, en signe de sa seignurie et de sa noblesse et de sa puissance. 40

¹ but no man dar taken of þat frute, for it is a thing of fayrye, C.

² þat neuer—cuntree, not in Fr. text or C. After this folows in C. the passage about "popegayes."

³ for þei cone not but cryen, C.

⁴ and this nombre of folk is withouten the pryncypalle hoost and withouten wenges ordeynd for the bataylle, C.

⁵ qi, S. G.; om. R.

⁶ psitak, S.; pistak, G.

⁷ iii., C.

⁸ iiiii., S. G.

⁹ lange, S.; langue, G.

¹⁰ et plus de, G.

¹¹ saluen, C.

¹² and euery of þe crosses ben s. tt in a chariot, fulle richely arrayed, adds C.

¹³ iiiii., S. G.

¹⁴ il y a—sauuaiges, om. S.

¹⁵ et sont de mal entendment, S. G.

¹⁶ bois, G.

Now will I tell ȝow the aray of Prestre Iohnes palays, þe whilk es comounly¹ at þe citee of Suse. And þat palays es so riche, so delitable and so noble, þat it es wonder to tell. For abouen þe principall toure er twa pomelles of gold; and in ayther of þaim er twa charbuncles grete and faire, þe whilk schynez riȝt clere apon þe nyght. And þe principall ȝates of þe palays er of precious stanes, þat men calles sardones, and þe barrez of þam er of euour; and þe wyndows of þe hall and þe chaumbres er of cristall. And all þe tables on whilk þai ete er of emeraudes, amatistes and sum of gold, sett full of precious stanes; and þe pilers þat beres þe tablez er of
 f.114. þe same maner of precious stanes. And þe greceȝ,² on whilk þe emperour gase vp to his trone whare he sittez at þe mete, er ane of oniche, anoþer of cristall, anoþer of iaspere, anoþer of amatist, anoþer of sardone, anoþer of corall³; and þe hiest gree, whare on he settez his fete at þe mete, es of crisolytez. And all þir greeȝ er bordurde with fyne gold, frette full of perle and oþer precious stanes aboute þe sydez and þe endez. And þe sydes of his
 10 trone er of smaragdes,⁴ bordured with fyne gold, sett full of precious stanes. þe pileres in his chaumbre er of fyne gold, sett full of precious stanes, of whilk many er charbunclez þat giffe grete light on nyghtez; and ȝit neuer þe latter he hase ilk a nyght brynnand in his chaumbre xii. vessell⁵ of cristall full of bawme, to giffe gude smell and swete and to dryfe away wikked aere. And þe fourme of his bedd es all of saphires, wele bunden with gold, for to make him to slepe wele and for to destruy lichery; for he will noȝt lye by his wyfeȝ, bot at fourre certayne tymeȝ in þe ȝere,⁶ and þan all anely for to gete childre.

þis emperour hase also anoþer palays, riche and noble, in þe citee of Nise, and þare he suggeournes when him list; bot þe aer es noȝt so gude þare ne so halesome as it es at Suse. Thurgh oute all þe land of Prestre Iohn þai ete bot anez on þe day, as þai do in þe courte of þe Grete Caan. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat Prestre Iohn hase ilk a day in his courte etand ma þan xxx^m of folke, withouten commers and gangers; bot nowþer xxx^m
 20 þare ne in þe courte of þe Grete Caan spendez so mykill mete on a day as xii^m in oure cuntree. þis emperour hase also euermare vii. kynges in his courte, for to serue him; and, when þai hafe serued him a moneth, þai wende hame and oþer vii. kynges commeȝ and seruez anoþer moneth. And with þa kinges seruez all way lxxii. dukeȝ and ccclx. erles, and many oþer lordez and knyghtes. And ilke a day þare etez in his courte xii. ercebischopes and xx. bischopes. And þe Patriarch of sayn Thomas es þare as it ware pape. All ersbischopes and bischopes and abbotes þare er kynges and⁷ grete lordes of feeȝ. And ilkane of þam hase sum office in þe emperour courte; for a kyng es porter, anoþer hawler, anoþer chaumberlayne, anoþer steward of howshalde, anoþer buteler,

Il demoere comunement en la citee de Suse, et la est soun principal palais, qi est⁸ si riches et si nobles qe homme ne purroit estimer. Et par dessure la mestre tour del palays sount deux roundes pomeux dor; et en chescun y a deux charboncles grantz et larges, qi luicent molt clier de nuyt. Et les portz principaux de ceo palais sount dun pierre precieuse qe home appelle sardoine, la bordure et les barres
 30 dyuoyre; et les fenestres des sales et chaumbres sount de cristall. Et les tables ou ils mangent, ascuns sount de emeraudes, autres damatist, autres dor ouesque pierres precieuses; et ly pilers⁹ qi sustinent les tables sount de tiels piers mesmes. Et ly degrees a mounter vers la throne ou il siet, lun est de oniche, lautre de cristal, lautre de iaspere¹⁰ vert diaspre, lautre damatist, lautre de sardine, lautre corneline, et ly septisme, sour qoy¹¹ il met ses pies, est de crisolite. Et toutz cils degreȝ sount bordurez de fin or as autres pieres precieuses et as grosses perles dorient. Et les costiers du sieges sount¹² des emeraudeȝ et bordurez dor et aournes molt noblement des autres pieres precieuses et des grosses perles. Et toutz ly pilers en sa chambre sont de fin or ouesque pieres precieuses et ouesque charboncles, qi donoyount grant clarte de noet; et, come bien qe ly charboncle luceoit¹³ assez, nient meinz tout dis art vn vesseal de cristall plein de baume pur doner bone odour et enchacier maluais air. La fourme de soun lit est de fin saphirs, bendez dor pur ly faire bien dormir et pur sa luxurie refrener¹⁴; qar y ne voet coucher ouesque ses femmes qe iiiii.¹⁵ foitz en lan solonc les iiiii.¹⁶ saisouns, et cest soulement pur enfantz engendrer.

Il ad auxi vne molt beal palais et noble a la cite de Nise,¹⁷ ou il demoere, quant il ly plect; mes ly aire nest mie de tout si bien
 40 attempres come il est a la cite de Suse. Item par tout soun pais nen toutz les pais la entour homme ne mange qe vn foiz le iour, si qe¹⁸ lem ne fait en la court de Grant Chan. Et si mangent toutz les iours en sa court plus de xxx. mil persones, saunz alantz et venantz; mes ly xxx. mil, ne de soun pais ne de pais de Grant Chan, ne despendent mie tant des biens come ferroient xii. mil de pais de cea. Il y ad toutdis vii. rois ouesque ly pur ly seruir; et se departent par mois et reueignent des autres. Et ouesque ces rois ly seruent toutdis lxxii. ducs et ccclx.¹⁹ countes. Et toutz les iours mangent en sa court xii. erceuesques et xx. euesques. Ly patriarches de seint Thomas est auxi come papes; et ly erceuesques et ly euesques²⁰ et ly abbesss sont toutz rois²¹ en celle pais. Et de ces grantz seignurs chescun sciet de qoy il doit seruir. Ly vn est maistre de hostel, lautre chaumberlayn, lautre sert de escuelle, lautre de la coupe, lautre est seneschal, lautre est

¹ He duellethe comounly, C.⁴ emeraudes, C.⁷ And euerych of þeise grete lordes knowen wel ynow the attendance of hire seruyce. The on is mayster of his houshold, etc. (literally following R.), C.⁸ est, S. G.; om. R.¹¹ et celui sur quoy, G.¹² refroidier, G.¹³ Nis, S. G.²⁰ et ly euesques, om. S.² degrees, C.³ a vessel, C.⁹ et ly pilers, om. S.¹² Et lez costies sont, S.; Et les costes sunt, G.¹³ iii., S. G.¹⁸ si qe — grant Chan, om. S.²¹ come roys, S.³ corneline, C.⁶ after the iiiii. cesouns, adds C.¹⁰ lautre diaspre, G.¹⁵ li charboncle luisent, S.; les charboncles luisent, G.¹⁶ iii., S. G.¹⁹ ccc., S.; iii², G.

anoþer sewer, anoþer marschall, and so furth of all oþer officez þat langes till his courte; and þerfore es he full richely serued and wirschipfully. His land lastez on brede foure monethes iournez; and on lenth it es withouten mesure.¹ Trowez² all þis, for sikerly I sawe it with myne eghen and mykill mare þan I hafe talde 3ow. For my felaws and I ware dwelland with him in his courte a lang tyme and saw all þis þat I hafe talde 3ow and mykill mare þan I hafe layser for to tell.

Besyde þe ile of Pentoxore, þe whilk es Prestre Iohne, es anoþer ile bathe lang and brade, þe whilk es called Mulstorak; and it es vnder þe lordschepe of Prestre Iohn. In þis ile es grete plentee of all maner of f.115. gudes and ricchess. And in þat land was sum tyme a riche man þat was called Catolonabes, and he was a grete man and a wonder wyly. And he had a faire castell and a strang, standand apon a hill, and he gert make aboute it strang wallez and hie. And within þase wallez he gert make a faire gardyn and plant þerin all maner of treez 10 berand diuerse fruytz. He gert plant þerin also all maner of erbez of gude smell and þat bare faire floures. þare ware also in þat gardyne many faire welles, and besyde þaim ware many faire halles and chaumbres, paynted with gold and azure wele and curiously with diuerse storys, and with diuerse maners of briddes, þe whilk semed as þai sang and turned by engyne as þai had bene all quikke. He putte also in þat gardyne all maner of fewles þat he myght get, and all maner of bestez þat he myght fynd, to make a man solace and disporte. And he putte also in to þat gardyne faire damysellz within þe elde of xv. 3ere, þe fairest þat he my3t fynd, and knafe childre³ of þe same elde; and þai ware all cledd in clathes of gold. And þase he said ware aungelles. Also he gert make in þe forsaid gardyn three faire welles of precious stanes, closed aboute with iasper and cristall, wele bunden with gold, and oþer precious stanes. And he gert make cundytes vnder þe erthe, so þat, when he wald, 20 ane of þir wellez ran of wyne, anoþer of mylke, anoþer of hony, thurgh þir forsaid cundytes. And þis place called he Paradys. And, when any 3ung bachelere of þe cuntree come to him, he ledd him in to þis Paradys and f.115b. schewed him all þise forsaid thingez. And he had diuerse mynstralles priuely in hye toure þat þai myght no3t be sene, playand on diuerse instrumentez of music. And he said þat þai ware Goddes aungelles, and þat þat was Paradys þat Godd graunted to þase þat he lufes, sayand on þis wyse, *Dabo vobis terram fluentem lac et mel*, þat es to say, "I sall giffe to 3ow land flowande mylke and hony." And þan þis ryche man gafe to þise men a maner of drinke, of whilke þai ware drunken als sone; and þan þai ware mare blinded þan þai ware before, and wend þai had bene in full blisse. And he said þam þat, if þai wald putte þaim in iuperdy of deed for his sake, when

mareschal, autre⁴ prince des escutz; et ensy est il molt noblement seruiz. Et dure sa seigneurie⁵ de largesse iiii. mois de iournez, et de longe saunz mesure, cest assauer⁶ toutes les isles dessouz terre, qe nous appelloms dessouz.

R.f.74. Delez lisle de Pentoxoire,⁷ q' est au Prestre Iohan, y a vne grant isle longe et lee, qe homme appelle Milstorak⁸; et est en la seigneurie de Prestre 30 Iohan. En celle isle ad molt grant plente des biens. La soloit auoir vn riche homme, il nad mye long temps, qe homme appelloit Gachalonabes,⁹ qestoit molt riches et molt¹⁰ cautelous. Et auoit vn molt beal chastell en vne mountaigne si fort, si noble, come nul homme purroit deuier. Et toute la mountaigne il auoit fait enuironer¹¹ de molt beaux mures. Et dedeinz ces mures il auoit la plus beau gardyn qe lem poet voer, ou il auoit des arbres portantz toutz les maneres fruitz qe lem purroit nulle part trouer.¹² Et si auoit planter toutz les herbes bien odorauntz et toutez herbes auxi q' portent bealx floures. Et si auoit, et vnqore y ad, moltz des bealx fontaignes.¹³ Et auoit fait faire delez cellez fontaignez¹⁴ beals sales et beals chambres, toutez peintes dor et dazure, et auoit fait faire molt de diuerse chose et de diuerses museries des histoires et de diuerses bestes et des oiseaux, q' chauntoient et tournoient par engine si come ils fussent toutz vifs. Et si auoit mis en ceo gardin toutes maneres des oysealx q' il poet trouer et toutes les bestes en quoy lem poait prendre desduit ou solace a regarder.¹⁵ Et si auoit mis les plus beals dameseylez souz lage de xv. aunz q' il poait trouer et les plus beaux iouenceaux¹⁶ de autiel age; et toutz estoient vestus des draps dor. Et disoit qe ceo estoient aungeles. Et si auoit fait faire iiii. fontaignes, bealx et nobles, et toutez enuirones de pierre de iaspe et 40 de cristalle et ourles dor et des piers precieuses et des perles. Et auoit fait faire conduit par dessouz terre, si qe ces iiii. fontaignez, quant il voloit, il fesoit lun curre de lait, autre de vin, et autre de meel. Et cel lieu appelloit il Paradis. Et, quant ascun bon bachiler¹⁷ q' estoit pruz et hardis le venoit veer, il le menoit en soun Paradys et le mounstroit les diuerses choses et le desduit et les diuerses chantz doiseaux et les bealx damesels et les bealx fontaignes de lait et de vin et de meel. Et fesoit soner de diuers instrumentz de musike en vn haut tour, R.f.74b. saunz veer les menestriers. Et disoit qe ces estoient angels de Dieu, et qe ceo estoit li paradys qe Dieu auoit promis a ses ames, en disant, *Dabo vobis terram fluentem lac et mel*. Et puis il lour fesoit boire vn beuerage, dount ils estoient tantost yures; et puis¹⁸ il lour sembloit vncore plus grand delit qe deuaunt. Et adonques disoit qe, sils voillent morir pur lamour de ly, qils viendroient apres la mort en ceo Paradys

¹ þat is to seyne, alle the yles vnder erthe þat wee supposen to ben vnder vs, C.

² 3onge striplynges, C.

³ mesure. Totes lez isles soutz terre qe nous appellons desoutz sont delez lisle, etc., S.; mesure. Toutes les isles que nous appellons dessoubz sunt terre. Deles celle ille, etc., G.

⁴ Pentexaire, S.; Penthexoire, G.

⁵ et molt cautelous, om. S. G.

⁶ si beals come homme poiat diuier ou veer, S.; si bel comme homme pourroit veoir, G.

⁷ Et si auoit vnqore mult des beals fontaignes en jardyn, S.; Et si auoit de belles fontaines on iardin, G.

⁸ a regarder, om. S. G.

⁹ et puis—deuaunt, om. S. G..

¹⁰ autre—escutz, om. S. G.

¹¹ Mistorak, S. G.

¹² emmurer, G.

¹³ damoisiaus, G.

¹⁴ Trowez—for to tell, not in Fr. text or C.

¹⁵ terre, S. G.

¹⁶ Gacolonabes, S.; Gacohonakes, G.

¹⁷ mountaignez, R.

¹⁸ homme bachiler, S.; home, G.

þai ware deed, þai schuld com in to his Paradys and þai schuld euermare be of þe elde of þe forsaid damyselles and þai schuld euermare dwell with þam and haue lyking and dalyaunce of þam and euermare be maydens, and after a certayne tyme he schuld putte þam in a fairer Paradys, where þai schuld see Godd in his maiestee and in his blisse and ioy. And þan þai graunted at do all þat he wald bidd þam do. And þan he bad þam ga to swilk a place and sla swilke a lorde or man of þe cuntree whilk was his enmy, and þat þai schuld hafe na drede, for, if þai ware deed, þai schuld be putte in to þat Paradys. And þus gert he sla many lordes¹ of þe cuntree; and also many of þise men ware slaen in hope to hafe þis Paradys þat he hight þam. And þus he venged him on his
 f.116. enmys thurgh þis dessayte. And when lordes and riche men of þe cuntree persayued þis malice and wyle of him, þis Catolonabes, þai gadred þam togyder and assailed þis castell, and slew Catolonabes, and destruyd all his ricchess and faire thinges þat ware in his Paradys, and kest doune his castell; and 3it er þe welles þare and sum 10 other thinges, bot na ricchess. It es no3t lang sen it was destruyd.

CHAPTER XXXI.

[Of the deuiles hede in the Valeye Perilous; and of the customs of folk in dyuerse yles that ben abouten in the lordschipe of Prestre John.]

ALYTILL fra þat place toward þe water of Phison es a grete meruaile. For þare es a vale betwene twa hilles þat es foure myle lang; and sum men callez it þe Vale of Enchaunting, sum þe Vale of Deuilles, and sum þe Vale Perillous. In þis vale er oft tymes herd many tempestes and voices vggly and hidous, bathe on nyghtes and on days. And sum tyme þer es herd noyse as it ware of trumppes and tawburnez and of nakers, as it ware at festez of grete lordez. þis vale es full of deuilles and all way hase bene; and men saise in þat cuntree þat þare es ane entree to hell. In þis vale es mykill gold and siluer; and for to gete þeroff þare commez 20

et serroient² al age de celles demoiselles et ieweroient³ ouesques elles et toutdis demoeroient pucels, et apres il les mettroit vncqore en vn plus beal Paradys assez, ou ils verroient visiblement Dieu de nature en sa maieste et en sa glorie. Et lors ly presentoient affaire toute sa volunte. Et puis il lour disoit qils alassent occire tiel seignour qestoit ses contraires⁴ et qils nen vssent mie paour a eux faire tuer pur lamour de ly, qar il les mettroit apres la mort en vn autre Paradis centant⁵ plus beal, et la demoroient ouesque plus beals damoysselles a toutdis mais. Et ensy alerount ly bachelers occire des grantz seignours du pais; et fesoyent eux mesmes tuer en esperance daler en ceo Paradys. Et ensy cils homme se reuengeoit de ses aduersaires par ses grantz seduccions. Et, quant ly riches hommes de pais eurent aparceu la cautele⁶ et la malice de cesti Gathalonabez,⁷ ils assemblerount et alerount assailler soun chastel et loccurent et destruyoient toutz les beaux lieux et toutz les noblesses qi estoient en ceste Paradys. Ly lieu est vncqore des fountaignes et des ascuns autres choses et les murailles,⁸ mes les richesses ne sount mie demoeres. Et si nad mye grantement⁹ qe ly lieu fust destruit.

CHAPITRE XXXI.

30

Du teste del diable en la Valle Perillouse; et des custumes des gentz en diuerses isles la enuyroun.

DELEZ celle isle de Milstorak,¹⁰ sour la senestre partie par delez la riuere de Physoun, y a¹¹ vne meruailouse chose. Cest vn valle entre les mountaignes, qi dure pres de iiij. lieues. Ascuns lappellent le Valle Enchaunte, ascuns lappellent le Val de Diable,¹² et ascuns le Val Perillous. En ceste vallee oit homme souent tempestes et grantz murmurs et noyses toutz les iours et toutz les nuytz et grante frinte¹³ et grantz sounz des tabours et de nakairez et de tromps, si qe il eust vn grant feste. Ceste vallee est tout plein de dialeze, et ad este toutdis; et dit homme qe ceo est vn des entres denfern. Et en celle vallee y a molt dor et dargent,

¹ And þus wenten many dyuerse lusty bachelers for to sle grete lordes, C.

² giseroient, S.; gerroient, G.

³ cause, S. G.

⁴ Et si na gaires lone temps, G.

⁵ de dyables, G.

⁶ leur contraire, G.

⁷ Gacolonabes, S.; de lui, G.

⁸ est Milsticorak, S.; de Mistorak, G.

⁹ et grante frinte, om. S. G.

² et serroient—damoiselles, om. S.

³ cent temps, G.

⁴ meruailles, S.; merueilles, G.

⁵ La ia, S.

many men, bathe Cristen and haythen, and entres in to þat vale. Bot þare commez bot fewe oute agayne, and namely of mescreauntes¹, for all þase þat gase þider by cause of couetise er strangled with deuills and fordone. In myddes of þe vale vnder a roche es schewed openly þe heued and þe visage of a deuill, riȝt hidous and dredefull to see; and þer es na thing sene þeroff bot þe heed fra þe schulders vpward. And þer es na man in þis werld, Cristen ne f.116b. oþer, þat ne he schuld hafe grete drede to behald it, it es so horrible and so foule. And he behaldez ilke man so scharpely and so felly, and his eghen er so fast stirrand and sprenkland as fyre, and he chaungez so oft his countenance, and oute of his mouthe and his neese commez so grete plentee of fyre of diuerse colours with so grete stynk, þat na man may suffere it. Bot all way gude Cristen men, þat er stable in þe faith, may ga in to þat valay withouten grete harme, if þai be clene schriffen and blisse þam with þe taken of þe Crosse; for þan schall deuils noȝt dere þam. And if all þai eschape withouten harme of body, neuerþeles þai eschape noȝt withouten grete drede; for fendez apperez to þam openly and manacez þam and fliez vp and doune in þe aer with grete thunders and leuennynge and hidous tempestez, þat mykill drede schall þai hafe, þat þare furth passez als well gude men as euill, supposand þat Godd for þaire alde synnes will perchaunce take wreke on þam and vengeance. My felawes and I, when we come nere þat valay and herd speke þeroff, sum of vs kest in oure hertes to putte vs all halely in þe mercy of Godd to passe thurgh þat valay, and sum forsuke it and said þai wald noȝt putte þam in þat perill. And þare was in oure company twa frere meneours of Lumbardy, þat said þai wald ga thurgh þat valay, if we wald go with þam; and so, thurgh comforth of þaire wordes and þe excitacioun of þaim, we schrafe vs clene and herd messe and comound vs and went in to þe valay, xiiii. felawes sammen. Bot at þe commyng f.117. oute we ware bot ix. We wist neuere what worthed of þe remenaunt, whedir þai ware lost or þai turned agayne; bot we sawe þam na mare; twa of þam ware Grekez, and three ware Spanyols. Oure oþer felawes þat wald noȝt passe þe Valay Perillous went aboute by anoþer way for to mete vs. And my felawes and I went thurgh þe valay, and sawe many meruailous thingez and gold and siluer and precious stanes and many oþer iowels on ilke a syde vs, as vs thocht; bot whedir it ware as it semed, or it was bot fantasy, I wate noȝt. Bot for þe drede þat we had, and also for it schuld noȝt lette oure deuocioun, we wald lay hand on na thing þat we sawe; for we ware mare deuote þan þan euer we ware before or efter, for ferdness of deuils þat appered till vs in diuerse figures and for þe multitude of deed men bodys þat lay þare in oure way. For if twa kynges with þaire osten had

pur quoy moyntez mescreauntz et moyntez Cristiens auxi y entrent souent pur aler quere du tresour qi y est; mes nent retournent,² R.f.75. especialment de mescreantz, ne auxi de Cristiens qi vount pur couetise del auoir; qar ils sont tantost estrangles de diable. Et en my lieu de celle valle souz vne roche y ad la teste et le visage dun diable molt terrible a veer; et ny piert forsque la teste iusques as espaulles. Mais y nad homme de mounde, tant soit hardiz, Cristiens nautre, qi nait paour, quant il le garde et que il ne ly semble qil doye defaillir,³ si est hidous a veer et si trenchamment regarde toute persone. Et ad les oilez si mouables et si scintillantz, et chaunge et moeue si souent sa manere et sa contenance, qe nul noseroit approcher vers ly. Et de ly ist feu et fumee et tant de pulentie qe a peine le poet nul endurer. Mais toutz foitz li bons Cristiens, qi sont en bone estate et astables en foy,⁴ entrent bien sanz peril, qar ils se confessent et se seignent du signe de la croiz, si qe ly diables nont poair sour eux. Mes, come bien qils soient sanz peril, pur ceo ne sont ils mie sanz paour, quant ils veient les enemis visiblement tout entour eux, qi lour fount molt de diuers assautz et des manaces, et en lair et en terre, et dez cops et des tonairs et de tempestes. Et toutdis ceo⁵ doute lem qe Dieu preigne vengeance de ceo qe lom ad meffait encontre sa volente. Et saches qe, quant my compaignons et moy fuissoms a celle⁶ valle, nous y feusoms en molt grant pensee, si nous oseroions mettre le corps en auenture et entrer dedeinz en la proteccioun de Dieu. Et ascuns des compaignons si accordoient, et ascuns estoient au contraire. Sy auoit la ouesque nous deux prodhommes freres menours,⁷ qi estoient de Lumbardie, qi disoient qe, sil y auoit nul de nous qi vousisse entrer, qils se meissent⁸ en bone estate et ils entroient ouesque ly. Et, quant ly prodhommes nous disoient ceo, sour laffiance de Dieu et de eux nous fesoms chaunter messe et fusmes confesses⁹ et acommuniez, et entrames xiiii. Mes al issir nous nestoions¹⁰ qe ix. Et si ne saueoms si nostres¹¹ compaignons estoient perdus, ou sils estoient retournez et issiz¹² ariere fors, mais toutfoitz nous ne les veioms puis; et estoient ii. Gregeois et iii. Espaignols. Nostres¹³ autres compaignons qi ne vouserent entrer ancis alerount par vn autre couste pur nous estre a deuant, et si furent ils. Et ensy nous passams la dite valle et veismes la eyns en mointe lieu or et argent et pierres precieuses et ioyaux a grant foisoun de cea et de la, ceo nous sembloit; mes sil estoit ensy qil nous sembloit, ceo ne say ieo mie; qar ieo ne touchay vnqes, pur ceo ly diables R.f.75b. sont si subtils qils fount souent sembler estre ceo qi nest mie pur les gentz deceiure. Et pur tant ieo ne voille mie toucher, et pur ceo¹⁴ auxi qe ieo ne me voille poynt ouster de ma deuocioun; qar ieo estoye plus deuout adoncques qe ieo ne fu vnqes puis,¹⁵ tant pur le terrouz dez enemis qe ieo veoie en plusours figures,¹⁶ tant pur les corps mortz qe ieo veoie tantz giser par toute¹⁷ la valle qe, sil eust en vne guerre de

¹ mescreaunce, MS.

² defaillir de sa memoire, G.

³ a celle—feusoms, om. G.

⁴ confesses, om. S.

⁵ a issir, S.; pour essir, G.

⁶ puis, om. G.

⁷ ne en retournerent, S.; il ne retourne nul, G.; ent retournent, R.

⁸ et estable joy, G.

⁹ preudeshommes cordeliers, G.

¹⁰ ne nous trouames, G.

¹¹ nos, S. G.; nostre, R.

¹² en plusours lieux et en plusours figures, S.

¹³ se, S. G.

¹⁴ quil se meist, G.

¹⁵ nos, S. G.

¹⁶ pur ceo—qar ieo, om. G.

¹⁷ de quoy ie veoie tant par toute, G.

foghten togider and þe maste þarte of bathe þe sydez had bene slaen, þer schuld noȝt hafe bene so grete noumer of deed bodys as was þare. And, when I sawe so many bodys ligg þare, I had grete meruaile because þai ware so hale withouten corrupcioun, and so fresch as þai had bene euen new deed. Bot I dare noȝt say þat þai ware all verray bodys þat I sawe in þat valay, bot I trowe þat fendez gert þare seme so many bodys for to fere vs with; for it es noȝt semely þat so grete a multitude of folk schuld verrayly hafe bene deed þare so fresch withouten stynk or corrupcioun. And many of þase bodys þat I sawe þare semed in clething of Cristen men; bot I trowe f.117b. full wele þat þai come þider for couetise of gold and oper iowels þat er in þat valay, or for fals hert myght noȝt bere þe grete drede and fere þat þai had for þe horrible siztes þat þai sawe. And I do ȝow to witte þat we ware oft tymes stricken doune to þe erthe with grete hidous blastez of wind and of thouner and oper tempestez; bot thurgh þe grace of Almyghty Godd we passed thurgh þat valay hale and sounde. 10

Beȝond þat valay es a grete ile, whare þe folk þat wonnez þerin er als mykill of stature as þai ware geauntes of xxviii. or of xxx. fote lang. Clathez hafe þai nane to were, bot skynnez of bestez, whare with þai couer þaire bodys. Breed ete þai nane; bot þai ete raw flesh and drinkez mylke, for þare es grete plentee of bestez. Housez hafe þai nane to dwell in; and þai will gladlyer ete mannez flesch þan any oper. Þis ile dare na pilgrim come in ne nere it, þaire thankes; for, if þai see a schippe in þe see with men þerin, þai will wade in to þe see for to take þe men to þaire men. And men talde vs þat þare es anoþer ile beȝond þat, whare geauntz er, mykill mare þan þir, for sum of þam er fyfty fote lang, sum sixty.¹ I had na will to see þam, for þer may na man com in to þat ile þat ne he schall allsone be strangled with þa monstres. In þase iles amang þa geauntz er schepe als mykill as oxen, bot þe woll of þam es grete and sture.² Of þir schepe hafe I oft sene; and sum men f.118. hase oft tymes sene of þir geauntz take men in þe see and com to land with twa in þe ta hand and twa in þe toþer, etand of þaire flesch rawe.³

Þare⁴ es anoþer faire ile and a gude and full of folk, whare þe maner es swilk þat, when a womman es new wedded, scho sall noȝt þe first nyght lye with hir husband, bot with anoþer ȝung man, þat sall assay hir þat nyght and hafe hir maydenhede, takand on þe morue a certayne monee for his trauaile. And þare er ordaynd in ilke a toune certayne ȝung men for to do þat seruise, þe whilk þai call Gadlibiriens, þat es to say, "Foles despaired."⁵ And þai say þare and affermes for sothe þat it es a full perilous thing to take þe maydenhede of a mayden; for,

tout la puissance de ii. rois⁶ les plus puissantz du pais et la greindre partie fuist descomfitie, si ne deust pas a paines auoir tanz dez mortz come il y a en celle valle, qest molt hidous chose a veier. Et ieo me ameruailay trop, coment il y ad tant et coment ly corps de plusours sount si entiers, qar y semble qe ly plus ne purissent point. Mes ieo croy qe ly enemis les font sembler a estre entiers; qar ceo ne purroit estre a moun auis qil eust tanz entiers⁷ si nouement, ne qil eust tanz nouels mortz sanz purrir. Et si estoient plusours en habit de Cristien; mes ieo pense bien qils estoient deceus⁸ pur le tresour qils veoient⁹ pur grant couetise, ou ils auoient le coer trop feble et ne poaient endurer le paour. Et pur tant estoions nous plus deuoutz asses, et si feusmes abatuz a terre plusours foitz par vent et par tonnoires et par tempestes, mes tout ades nous aida Dieu; ensy passams par la dite valle saunz perill et saunz encombrement, a Dieu graces. 30

Apres en outre celle valle y ad vn grant isle, ou les gentz sount bien grantz come geantz de xxviii. piez ou de xxx. de long, et nount point de vesture forsque des pealx des bestes, qils pendent sour eux. Et ne mangent point de pain, forsque char crue,¹⁰ et boient lait, qar ils ont asses de bestaille. Et nount nulles maisouns; et mangent plus voluntiers char de homme qe nul autre char. En celle isle nul ny entre voluntiers, ne nul napproche del isle; qar, sils veioient vne nief et gentz dedeinz, ils entroient en la mer apres pur les prendre. Et vncore nous disoit homme qe en vn autre isle par de la y auoit plus grantz geantz assez come de xlv. pies ou de l. pies de long; et ascuns disoient de l. cubitz de long. Mes ieo ne les vy point, ne talent nauoye dapprochier; qar nul ny entre nen lune isle nen lautre qil ne soit deuourez. R.f.76. plusours foitz. Et ad homme veu¹¹ moientefoitz ces geantz prendre des gentz en la mer, et portoyent a terre deux en vne mayn et deux en lautre, et les aloient mangeantz toutz cruz.¹² 40

Vne autre isle ad vers austre en la mer oceane, ou il y ad de molt mals¹³ et molt cruels femmes, et ont pierz precieuses dedeinz les oils. Et sount de tiel nature qe, si elles¹⁴ regardent ascune persone par corruce, elles loccient seulement de regard, si come fait le Basilykes.¹⁵

Vne autre isle y ad molt beal et molt grand et bien pupplie,¹⁶ ou la custume est tiel qe la primere noet qils sount maries ils fount vn autre homme giser¹⁷ ouesque lour femmes pur ellys despuceller et en donent bone loer. Et y a certains vallettz en chescun ville qi ne seruent dautre chose, qils appellent Cadebiriz,¹⁸ cest a dire "Fol desperez." Qar cils de pais tiegnent a si grant chose et a si perilouse a depuceller

¹ summe of xlv. fote or of l. fote long, and as somme men seyn, summe of l. cubytes long, C.

² etynge hem goynge, all rawe and all quyke, C.

³ Cadeberiz, þat is to seyne the Foles of Wanhope, C.

⁴ deceu, S.; deceus, G.

⁵ Et aussi ay ie veu, G.

⁶ de belle nature et, quant elles, G.

⁷ coucher, G.

⁸ The paragraph in the Fr. text (and in C) omitted here will be found lower down.

⁹ se ce fust vne partie de deux roys, G.

¹⁰ quil veoient en leur cuer trop feble, G.

¹¹ et lez mangent tot cru, S.; and so G.

¹² basilisk, S.; basiliques, G.

¹³ Gadiberiz, S.; Gadibers, G.

¹⁴ þei beren gret wolfe and rough, C.

¹⁵ entrez, S.

¹⁶ crue, om. S. G.

¹⁷ malueis, S.; maluaises, G.

¹⁸ plantiueuse, G.

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as þai say, wha so duse, puttez him self in perill of dede. And, if þe husband of þe womman fynd hir mayden on þe nyght next suand (for perauenture he þat schuld hafe had hir maydenhede was drunkyn, or for any oþer skille did noȝt his deuere to þe womman), þan hir husband sall hafe his actioun agaynes him before þe iusticez of þe land, als fortherly as he had bene aboute for to slae him. Bot after þe first nyght þat þase wymmen er so defouled þai er kepid so straitely þat þai schall noȝt speke ne com in company of þase men.¹ I asked þam what was þe cause and þe skill þat swilke a custom was vsed þare. And þai talde me þat in alde tyme sum men ware deed in þat cuntree thurgh þe defloracioun of maydens, for þai had within þam nedders, þat taanged þe husbands
f.118b. on þe ȝerde in þe wymmen bodys; and so ware many men slayne, and þefore vsed þai þare þat custom to make oþer men to assay þe passage before þai putted þam self to þat auenture.

Anoþer ile² þer es southward³ in þe grete see Occian, whare in er wikked wymmen and fell, þat in þaire 10 eghen has precious stanes growand. And þai er of swilke a kynde þat, if þai luke apon a man with ane irous will,⁴ thurgh þe vertu of þa stanes þai sla him with þaire luyng, as þe basilisc duse.

Nere þat ile es anoþer ile, whare wymmen makez mykill sorowe when þaire childer er borne, and mykill ioi when þat þai er deed, and callez þaire frendez and makez feste and takez þe deed childe and castez it in a grete fyre and brynnez it. And wymmen also þat luffed þaire husbandez wele, when þai er deed, þai putte þam self in to þe fire with þaire childer for to brynne. And it es þaire opinioun þare þat on þat wise þai er purged thurgh þe fire, so þat na corrupcioun neuer efter sall com of þam, bot, purged and clene of all vice and alkyn deformitee, þai sall passe to þaire husbandes in þe toper werld. þe cause why þai wepe and makez sorow at þe birth of þaire childer and makez ioi when þai dye es for, when þai er borne in to þis werld, þai com to sorow and to trauaile, and, when þai dye, þai go to þe ioi of Paradys, whare riuers er of mylke and hony and plentee of all maner of 20 gudes and lyf withouten sorowe. In þis ile es euermare þe kyng made by eleccioun; and þai chese noȝt þe ricchest man ne þe nobilest, bot him þat es best of condiciouns and maste rightwys and trewe þai make þaire
f.119. kyng. And also þai luke þat he be ane aunciene man and noȝt ȝung of age.⁵ In þat ile also er wonder rightwise iuggez; for þai do resoun and trewth to ilke man, als wele to pouer as to riche, and demez ilke man efter his trespas and noȝt after his state ne his degree. þe king also may do na man to deed withouten þe counsaile and þe ascent of all his baronage. And, if it be so þat þe kyng do a trespasse, as sla a man or swilke anoþer notable thing, he schall be deed þefore. Bot he schall noȝt be slaen with mannez hand, bot þai schall forbede þat na man be so hardy to make him company, ne speke with him, ne com to him, ne giffe him mete ne drink; and so

vne femme, qe lour semble qe cils qi les depucelle se mette en auenture de morir. Et, si ly maritz troue sa femme pucelle, pur yueroigne⁶ ou pur autre cause, il soy pleindroit du vallet, qe naueroit mie fait soun deuer, auxi bien come si li vallet ly vousist tuer. Mes apres la 30 primere nuyt qe elles sount despucellez, ils les gardent si estretement qe elles ne sount tant hardis qe osent a nully parler. Et ieo fiz demaunder la cause pur quoy homme tenoit celle custume. Et homme me dit qe auncienement⁷ ascuns auoient este mortz pur⁸ femmes despuceller, qi auoyent serpentz el corps, et pur ceo tiegnent ils celle custume et fount toutdis assaier le passage a vn autre auaunt qils se mettent en auenture.

Apres y a vne autre isle, ou les femmes fount grant dool, quant ly enfantz naissent, et, quaut ils moerent, si fount grant feste et grant reuel⁹ et grant ioie, et les gettent en vn grant feu et ardent. Et celles qi amoient bien lour maritz, si li maritz sount mortz, elles se gettent el feu ouesqe lez enfantz et se ardent. Et dient qe ly feu les netera de toutes ordurez et de toutez vices, et irrount purez et nettez en lautre siecle a lour maritz et menerount¹⁰ les nesques elles. Et la cause pur quoy elles plorent, quant ly enfant naist, et qe elles font ioie, quant il moert, si est qe, quant ly enfes naist, il vient en ceo mounde a labour¹¹ dolour et tristete et, quant il moert, il vait en paradis, ceo dient ils, ou les riuers sount de lait ou de meel, ou lem vit en ioie et habundance de biens, sans labour et sanz dolour. En 40
R.f.76b. ceste isle lem fait toutdis roy par eleccioun; et si ne elisent point le plus noble ne le plus riche, mes cely qad¹² des bons mours¹³ et droituors et qil soit de grant age et qil nait nuls enfantz. Et en ceste isle sount ils molt droituors et fount droit iuggement de chescun, et de grant et de petit, solonc le meffait qil auera fait. Et si ne poet ly roi iugger homme a mort sauns le conseil de ses barons; et couient qe toute la court sacorde. Et, si ly roi mesmes fait vn moerte ou ascun cas de crime, il ly couient a morer¹⁴ auxi bien come vn autre, noun¹⁵ pas qe homme loccie, mes lem defent qe nul ne soit si hardis qe ly face compaignie, ne qil parle a ly, ne qe homme ne ly vende riens, ne qe

¹ þat þei ben not so hardy to speke with no man, C.

⁴ with wrathe, C.

⁶ pucele lautre nuyt apres qe lautres ne lust despuceler pur yueresse, S.; and so G.

⁸ par, S. G.

¹¹ labour, om. S.; en douleur et en tristaice, G.

¹⁴ mourir, G.

² See above, p. 140, note 4.

⁵ of gret age, and þat he haue no children, C.

⁷ aunciement, om. G.

⁹ et grant reuel, om. S. G.

¹² qad ate, S.; qui a este, G.

¹⁵ A leaf, beginning here, is missing in S.

³ toward þe north, C.

⁷ aunciement, om. G.

¹⁰ murrent, S.; muerent, G.

¹³ maners, S.; manieres, G.

for euen pure nede and hunger and thirst and sorow þat he schall hafe in his hert he schall dye.¹ þare es nane spared þat es taken with a trespas, nowþer for ricches, ne hie state, ne dignite, ne for hie blude, ne for na maner of gift, þat ne ilke man schall hafe after his werkes.

Beyond þis ile es anoþer ile in þe see, whare es grete plentee of folk. And þai ete neuermare flesch of hares, ne of hennes, ne of geezsse; and noȝt forþi þai hafe many of þam and bringez vp many of þam all anely for þaire solace and for þe sight of þam. Bot þai ete flesch of oþer bestez and drinkez mylke. In þis ile þai wedd þaire awen doghter and þer sisters and þer sibbe wymmen, and dwellez togyder in a hous ten or twelf or ma. f.119b. And ilke mannez wyf sall be comoun till oþer þat wonnez þare; and ilkane of þam takez oþer wyfez, ane a nyght, anoþer anoþer nyght. And, when any of þir wyfes beres a childe, it sall be giffen to him þat first lay by hir þat es þe moder²; and so es þer nane þat wate wheþer þe childe be his or anoþer mannez. And, if a man 10 say to þam þat on þis wise may þai³ fader anoþer mannez childe, þai answeze agayne þat so duse oþer men þaires.

In þat cuntree and thurgh oute all Inde es grete plentee of cocodrilles; and it es a maner of neddere lang of body, as I talde ȝowe before. And on nyghtes it es in waters, and on days in þe erthe in creucez or in craggez⁴; and in wynter ete þai na mete, bot liggez as þai ware half deed.⁵ þis nedder will sla men and deuoure þam; and, when he etez, he mouez þe ouer chaft⁶ and noȝt þe neder, and he has na tung. In þat cuntree þai sawe ilke ȝere a maner of sede, and it growez vp in smale bruschez; and of þaim þai gader boumbe⁷ in grete quantitee. þare es also a maner of tree, þe whilk es so hard and so strang þat, if a man brynne it and couer þe coles þeroff with aschez, þai will hald in quikk a twelfmonth and mare. þis tree hase wonder many leefes.⁸ And þer er sum treez þat will nowþer brynne ne rote. þare er also hesils⁹ þat berez nuttez as grete as a mannez 20 heued. þare er¹⁰ treez þat berez cotoun; and so es þare in many oþer cuntreez. And þare er bestez whilk þai call orafles; and in Araby þai call þam gyrfauntz. And it es a faire beste, wele dappled, of þe height of a grete f.120. stede or hier; and his nekk es xx. cubites lang, and his crupoun and his taile er lyk to a hert. And he may wele ynogh stand on þe erthe and luke ouer a hie hous. In þat cuntree also er many camelions,¹¹ þe whilk es a lytill

nully ly serue ne ly doint a manger ne a boire; et ensy ly couient a moerir en chaitiute. Ils nesparnent nully qad meffait, ne pur amour ne pur fauour, ne pur richesse, ne pur noblesse, qe homme ne ly face droit solonc le fait.

Et outre celle isle y a vn autre isle, ou il y ad grant foisoun des gentz. Et si ne mangerent pur rien char de lieure, ne de gelline, ne dawe,¹² et si norissent asses pur les veer et pur les regarder soulement. Et si mangent char de toutes autres bestes et boient de lait. En ceo pais ils preignent filles lour sorours¹³ a femmes et lour autres¹⁴ parentz; et, sils sount x. hommes ou xii. ou plus a vne hostel, la femme de chescun serra comune¹⁵ a toutz ceuz del hostell, si qe chescun couchera ouesqe quelle qil voudra, vne noet ouesques vne et vne 30 autre ouesques vn autre. Et, sil y ad nul enfant engendre en ascun de ycelles, elle¹⁶ dorra lenfant a cely qi primere se coucha ouesqe ly, si qe nul ne sciet si ly enfantz soit soens ou autry. Et, sy homme lour dit qe ensy norissent ils autri enfantz, ils respondent qe auxi font ly autres les lour.

En ceo pais et par toute Ynde y ad grant foisoun des cocodrilles; cest vn manere de longs serpentz, si qe ieo vous ai dit cea en ariere.¹⁷ Et par nuyt elles habitent en leawe et par iour sour terre en roches et en caues, et ne mangent point par tout lyuer, ancis gisent en agone, si come fount ly serpentz. Ceste serpent occist les gentz et les mangent, en plorant; et, quant elles mangent, elles moeuent la maxille dessure et noun pas celle dessouz,¹⁸ et si nount point de longe. En ceo pais, et en plusours autres, par de la et auxi plus en cea,¹⁹ homme R.f.77. met en oeure la semence de cotoun et le sem lem touz les aunz; si croissent petitz arbresseaux, qi portent le cotoun. Et ensy fait homme toutz les auns, si en ad par toute de cotoun grant plente.²⁰ Item en ceste isle et en plusours autres il y ad vn manere de bois dur et fort; qi coueroit les charbouns de ceo bois souz les cendrez, ly charbouns se garderoient et demorroient toutz vifs vn an ou plus. Et celle arbre 40 ad mointz²¹ foillez, come geneoure. Et si ad auxi molt des arbres de bonus,²² qi ne poent ardoir ne purroier en nul manere. Et ad noers, qi portent noiz auxi grandes come vne teste de homme. La ad auxi plusours orafles; en Arabe ils²³ les appellent gerfaucz.²⁴ Cest vne beste techchele,²⁵ qi nest pas plus haut dun chiual destrier; mes il ad le col²⁶ bien de xx. cubitz de long. Et il ad le croupe et la cowe come vn cerf. Et regarderoit bien par dessure vne maysoun asses haut. Et si ad en ceo pais moltz des camelions, cest vne petite bestoille come

¹ and so schall he dye in myschef, C.

² om. MS.; ȝou, inserted later.

³ þe ouer ȝowe, C. For "chafte" see *Cursor Mundi*, l. 1073, "wit þe chafte ban of a ded has (sc. ass)."

⁴ as the gynpyre hath, adds C.

⁵ þare er—cuntreez, in C. (cf. Fr. text) forming part of the passage on cotton (boumbe) higher up.

⁶ de oues, G.

⁷ aussi comme, G.

⁸ et, quant il mangue, il ne muet pas la maisselle de dessoubz, mais celle dessus tant seulement, G.

⁹ si en apportent grant plante, G.

¹⁰ orafles en Arabe, et il, G.

¹¹ The lacuna in S. ends here.

¹² sche may ȝeue it to what man þat sche list þat hath companied with hire, C.

¹³ roches and in caues, C.

¹⁴ wit þe chafte ban of a ded has (sc. ass)."

¹⁵ note trees, C.

¹⁶ leur filles et leur sereurs, G.

¹⁷ Et sil y a nuls enfans, elle, G.

¹⁸ menues, G.

¹⁹ gerfaus, G.

²⁰ as in a drem, as don þe serpentes. C.

²¹ cotoun, C.

²² camles, C.

²³ autres, om. G.

²⁴ vous ay autrefois dit, G.

²⁵ aussi par dessa, G.

²⁶ sc. ebony; arbres venus, G.; arbez de benuz, Harl. MS. 1739.

²⁷ tacelee, G.

beste of þe mykilnes of a raa¹; and it nowþer etez ne drinkez, bot gase all way with þe mouth open, for it liffez with þe aer. And it chaungez oft þe colour in all maner of colours, safe white and reed, for nowe it will be of a colour, and sodaynely of anoþer. [þere² ben also in þat contree passynge grete serpentis, summe of vi^{xx} fote long, and þei ben of dyuerse coloures, as rayed, rede, grene and ȝalowe, blewe and blake, and all spekelede.] þare er also nedderes with cambez on þaire heeds, as it ware a cokk; and þai er of foure fote³ lang or mare, and gase on fete nerehand vprightes. And þai er comounly dwelland in rochez and craggis and hillez. And þai er euermare gapand, redy for to schote þaire venym.⁴ And þer er also wilde swyne, als grete as oxen and dappeld and spotted, as it ware founez of daes. [And⁵ þere ben also vrchounes als grete as wylde swyn here; wee clepen hem *Porcz de Spyne*.] And þare er lyouns all whyte, grete and strang. And þare er also oþer 10 maner of bestez, als grete as stede⁶; and þai er called Louherans, and sum⁷ callez þam Toutez, and sum Odenthos. þai hafe blak heuedes and thre hornes euen in þe frunt, als scharpe as any swerde; and þe bodys of þam er ȝalow.⁸ And þai er wonder cruell bestez, and þai chace heuedes slaer þe olyfaunt. þare es also oþer maner of bestez noyand and fell, of þe mykilnes of beres; and þaire heuedes er lyke bare⁹ heuedes. þai hafe sex fete, and on ilk a fote er twa nailes, grete and lang and scharpe. And of body þai er lyke vnto beres, bot þaire f.120b. tyles er lyke lyoun tyles. þare er also ratouns mare þan¹⁰ hundes; and geessez all reed, oute taken þe heued and þe nekk, þe whilk er blakk, and þai er mykill mare þan oure geezse. þare er also many oþer maner of bestez in þat cuntree and in cuntrees þare aboute, of whilke it ware to lang to tell all the kyndez and þe schappez.

vn cheueroun sauage; et vait toutdis goule baie, pur ceo qe elle vit del aier, ne ne mange ne ne boit nulle foitz. Et chaunge et mue¹¹ sa colour souent, qar vn foiz la veit homme dun colour et autrefoiz dautre; et se poet¹² chaunger en toutes colours, quant elle voet, forsque en 20 rouge et en blanc. Il y a auxi illoques des serpentz grantz et grosses de vi^{xx} pies de long; et sont de diuerses colours, roies, rouges, vertes, et jaunes, et yndes, et noirs, et toutes techchelez. Et dautres y a qi sont cresteez sour la teste et vount sour pies auques toutez droites, et sont bien de iiii. toysez de gros ou plus. Et habitent toutdis as roches et as mountaignes. Et ont toutdis la goule ouert, dount ils degoutent toutdis venim. Et si ad des porcz sauages des plusours colours,¹³ auxi grantz come sont grantz boefs de ceo pais; et sont toutz tecchelez en guise de ieouens facouns.¹⁴ Et si ad auxi des hericons, auxi grantz come sont icy porcz sauages; nous les appelloms Porcz Spinous.¹⁵ Et y a des lyouns toutz blancz, grandez et puissauntz. Et si ad des autres bestes, auxi grantz et plus¹⁶ qe grantz deistrerz, qe les appelle homme Loherans,¹⁷ et autres les appellent Odenthos.¹⁸ Et ont la teste bien noir et troiz longez cornes el frount, trenchauntz come vne espie; et ly corps est ffauues.¹⁹ Et est molt felone beste, et enchace et occist les olyfantz. Vnqore y ad autres R.f.77b. bestes, molt mals et molt cruels, qi ne sont mie plus grant dun vrs²⁰; et ont la teste come dun singler. Et ont vi. pies et en chescun pie ii. vngles largis et trenchantz. Et ont le corps come de vrs, et la cowe come de leoun. Et si ad des soriz auxi grantz come chiens, et 30 chauue soriz auxi grantz come²¹ corbeaux. Et y a owes²² rouges, troiz tant plus grantz qe les nostres par de cea; et ont le teste, le col et le poytrine toute noire. Et plusours autres maners des bestes y a en ceo pais et aylours la entour, et moltz de diuersez oysealx, dount y serroit trop proluxe chose a tenir de toute compte.

¹ a goot þat is wylde, C.

⁴ And þei han all wey the throte open, of whens þei droppen venym all weys, C.

⁶ als grete and more gretter þan is a destrere, C.

⁸ sc. boar; han the hed lych a bore, C.

¹¹ moeue, S.

¹⁴ founs, S.; faons, G.

¹⁷ bouheraus, G.; loerancz, C.

²⁰ vrse, S.; ours, G.

² From C.; omitted in E.

⁷ and sum—Toutes, not in Fr. text or C.

¹⁰ myse als grete as houndes, and ȝalowe myse als grete as ravenes, C.

¹² se poet homme, R.

¹⁵ porcs espinous, S.; pors espis, G.

¹⁸ Douces, S.; Doubtes, G.

²¹ come, om. R.

³ a liii. fadme (sc. fathom), C.

⁵ From C.; omitted in E.

⁹ sclendre, C.

¹³ des plusours colours, om. G.

¹⁶ et plus, om. G.

¹⁹ sauuez, S.; et ont le corps faue, G.

²² owes, S.; oues, G.; cowes, R.

CHAPTER XXXII.

[Of the godenesse of the folk of the yle of Bragman; of Kyng Alisandre; and wherfore the Emperour of Ynde is clept Prestre John.]

BEYOND þis ile es anoþer ile gude and grete and full of folk; and þai er gude folk and trewe and of gude faith and gude lyf after þe maner of þaire conuersacioun. And if all it be swa þat þai er na Cristen men, noȝt forþi by lawe of kynde þai liffe a commendable lyf, and er folk of gude vertuz and fleez all vicez and synne and malice, and þai kepe wele þe ten commaundementz. For þai er nowþer proude, ne couetous, ne licherous, ne glotouns; and þai do noght to anoþer man bot as þai wald ware done to þaim self. Þai sette noȝt by ricchesse of þis werld, ne by hafyng of erthely gudes.¹ Þai make na lesyngs, ne sweres nane athes for nathing, bot symply saise it es or it es noȝt; for þai say he þat sweres es aboute to begile his neghbourne. Þis ile þat þis folk dwellez in es called þe ile of Bragmans; and sum men callez it þe Land of Fayth. And thurgh þis ile rynnez a grete riuer, þe whilk es called Thebe. And generally all þe men of þat ile and of oþer iles þarby er trewer and riȝtwiser þan er in oþer cuntreez. In þis ile er na thefez, ne men murthereres, ne commoun wymmen, ne lyers, ne beggers; bot þai er als clene men of conuersacioun and als gude as þai ware men of f.121. religioun. And, for als mykill as þai er so trew folk and so gude, þer es neuermare in þat cuntree nowþer thunner ne leuenyng, haile ne snawe, ne oþer tempestez of ill weders; ne hunger, ne pestilence, ne were, ne oþer tribulaciouns commez þare nane amanges þam, as duse amanges vs because of oure synne. And þerfore it semez þat Godd luffez þam wele and es wele payd of þaire liffyng and of þaire fayth. Þai trowe in Godd þat made all thing, and him þai wirschepe at all þaire myght; and all erthely thingez þai sette at noȝt. And þai liffe so temperately and so soberly in meet and drink þat þai er þe longest liffand folk of þe werld; and many of þaim diez for pure elde withouten sekeness, when þe kynde failez.²

CHAPITRE XXXII.

De la bounte des gentz en lisle de Bragmay; del roy Alisaundre; et pur quoy homme appelle Prestre Johan.

ET outre ceste isle y a vne grant isle et bone et pleinteuse, ou il y a des bons gentz et loialx et de bone vie solonc lour³ creauce et de bone foy. Et, come bien qils ne soyent⁴ Cristiens et qils nayent ley parfite, nient moinz de loy naturele⁵ ils sont pleins de toutes vertues, et si fyent vices et toutz malices et toutz pecchez. Qar ils ne sont orgillous, ne coueitous, ne perisous,⁶ nenuious, ne corocious, ne glotons, ne luxurions; et si ne fount a autri chose qils ne voillent qe homme lour face. Et en ceo cas ils acomplissent les x. commandementz, et si ne nount cure dauoir ne de richesse. Et si ne mentent point ne ne iurent point pur nul occasioun,⁷ mes dient simplement oil et nenil; qar ils dient qe qy iure il voet desceiure soun prosme; et pur ceo quantqes ils fount, ils fount saunz serement. Et appelle homme celle isle Lisle de Bragmey; et autres appellent la Terre de Foy. Et par my court vne grant riuer, qad a noun Thebe. Et generalment toutes les gentz des isles la entour celles marches sont plus loialx et plus⁸ droiturels qils ne soient autre part. En ceste isle nad laroun, ne moertreour, ne femme legere, ne poure mendiant, ne vnqes homme ne fuist occis en celle terre; et si sont si chastes et meignent si bone vie come nuls religious purroient faire, et ieunent toutz⁹ les iours. Et pur ceo qils sont si loialx et si droiturers et pleins de si bones condiciouns, ils ne furent vnqes tempestes, ne de foudre, ne de grieve,¹⁰ ne nulle pestilence, ne de guerre, ne de famine, ne dautre tribulacioun, si come nous sumes mointefoitz par de cea pur nos pecches. Pur quoy y piert qe Dieu les ayme et prent a gre lour creauce et lour bons ourez. Ils croient bien Dieu qi toutes choses crea et fist, et ly aurent; et ne preisent rien tout R.f.78. auoir terrien. Et si¹¹ sont toutz droiturers et viuent si ordeinement et si sobrement en manger et en boire qils viuent molt longement et ly plusours moergent saunz maladie auoir qe nature defaute eux pur veillesse.

¹ þei gif no charge of auer ne of richesse, C.

⁴ ne sceuent ne (ne ne, G.) soient, S. G.

⁷ par occasioun, S. G.

¹⁰ gelee, G.

² whan nature fayleth hem for elde, C.

⁵ leur nature, G.

⁸ plus saisonnables et plus, G.

¹¹ et si—droiturers, om. S.

³ leur loy et leur, G.

⁶ ne perisous, om. S.; ne perisous—corocious, om. G.

⁹ toutz, om. S. G.

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Qwhen Alysaunder þe conquerour reyned and conquerde all þe werld, in þat tyme he come by þat ile and sent his lettres to þaim þat dwelled in þat ile and said þat he wald com and destruy þaire land, bot if þai wald be vnder his subieccioun, as oþer landes ware. And þai wrate lettres agayne till him in þis maner: "Qwhat thing myght suffice to þat man, to wham all þe werld may noȝt suffice? þou schall fynd na thing with vs wharfore þou schuld werray apon vs; for we hafe na ricchesse of þis werld, ne nane couetez for to hafe. All þe placez of oure land and all oure gudes mobill and vnmobill er commoun till ilke man. All oure riches þat we hafe es oure meet and oure drink, wharwith we sustene oure bodys; oure tresoure es peess and accorde and luffe þat es amanges vs. In steed of aray of oure bodys we vse a vile clathe¹ for to couer with oure caytiff carayne. Oure f.121b. wyfez also er noȝt proudly ne richely arayd to plesing of oure eghen, for we hald swilk enournement grete foly to putte to þe wricched body mare bewtee þan Godd has kyndely giffen it; oure wyfez couetez na mare bewtee þan kynde has giffen þam. Oure land seruez vs of twa thinges, þat es to say of oure lyfelade, whilk we liffe with, and of sepulture, when we er deed. And ay to þis tyme hafe we bene in peess, of þe whilk þou will now dispoile vs and disherit vs. A kyng we hafe amanges vs, noȝt for to do right to any man, for amanges vs na man duse wrang till oþer, bot all anely to lere vs to be obedient. Iuggez nedeȝ vs nane to hafe amanges vs, for nane of vs duse till oþer bot as he wald ware done till him. Forþi fra vs may þou refe na thing bot peess, þe whilk hase ay vnto þis tyme bene amanges vs." And, when kyng Alysaunder had sene þir lettres and redd þam, him thought in his hert þat it ware grete harme and grete vnmannhede to grefe swilk folk or truble þam; and he graunt þam suertee of peess, and bad þat þai schuld continue furth þaire gude maners and vse þaire gude custommes withouten drede hauyng of him, for he schuld noȝt dere þam.

Nere be syde þat ile es anoþer þat men callez Oxidrace, and anoþer þat es called Gynoscriphe, whare f.122. for þe maste party þai hald þe maneres of þe Bragmans, liffand innocently in lewtee and in luffe and charitee ilk ane till oþer; and þai ga euermare naked. In to þir iles come Alysaunder þe conquerour; and, fra þe tyme þat he sawe þaire conuersacioun and þaire lewtee and luffe ilkane till oþer, he said he wald noght grefe þam, bot bad þam [ask] of him what so þai wald, and he schuld graunt þam. And þai answerd and sayd þat werldly ricchesse wald þai nane asche ne hafe, bot all anely meet and drink wharwith þe feble body myght be susteynd. For þe gudeȝ and þe riches of þis werld, quod þai, er noȝt lastand bot dessayuable. Bot and he myght giffe þam thinges þat ware aylastand and noȝt dedly,² þan wald þai thank him mykill. þe kyng answerd þam and sayd þat þat myȝt he noȝt do, for he was dedly³ him self, als wele as þai. "Qwhare to þan," quod þai, "gaders

En le temps iadis le roy Alisandre enuoya despier⁴ ceux de celle isle, pur ceo qil voloit gaigner leur pais. Et ils ly enuoyerent messageres qi porterent lettres de par la pais, qi disoient ensy: "Quoy purroit estre assez al homme a qy toute le mounde ne suffist mye? 30 Tu ne troueras nul chose en nous pur quoy tu nous dois gueroier, qar nous nauoms nulle richesse, ne nulle ne couetoms⁵; et toutz les biens de nostre pais sont comunes. Ly mangiers⁶ pur nos corps sustener est noȝt richesses⁷; et en lyeu de tresour dor et dargent nous faceoms tresour de concorde et de pees et damer lun lautre. Et pur parement de corps nous vsoms vn cheitif drapeau pur enuoluper noȝt charoignes. Noȝt femmes ne sont mie pares pur plere, ancis tendrent beal parement pur folie, quant homme se peneroit pur enbeler le corps pur faire sembler plus beau qe Dieu nel ad fait; elles ne scieuent plus de beaute demaunders qe Dieu ne leur ad done au naistre.⁸ La terre nous aministre deux choses, noȝt viures tant come nous viuoms, et noȝt sepultures apres la mort. Nous auoms eu⁹ perpetuel pees tanques cy, de la quelle vous nous voillez desheriter. Et si auoms vn roy, nous pas pur iustice faire, qar il ne troueroit nul forsfasant, mes pur noblesse garder¹⁰ et pur aprendre qe nous soioms obeissantz. Qar¹¹ iustice nad entre nous point de lieu, qar nous ne faceoms a autry chose qe nous ne vorreoms qe homme nous fait; si nad iustice ne vengeance entre nous quoy faire. Si qe vous ne nous poiez tolir forsque nostre bone pees, qi toutdis ad dure." Et, quant Alisaundre lice¹² celles lettres, il pensoit qil ferroit trop de mal, sil les troubloit, et leur maunda seurtez, 40 et qe de ly naueroient ils garde, et qils gardassent leurs bons mours et leur bone pees,¹³ si come ils auoient acustume.

Vne autre isle y a qe homme appelle Oxidrate,¹⁴ et vne autre qe homme appelle Gysonophe,¹⁵ ou il y a auxi bone gent et loial et plein de grant foy. Et tiegnent grant partie des custumes et des bons mours qe ly deuaunditiz fount; et vont toutdis toutz nudz. En celles isles y entra ly roy Alisaundres; et, quant il vit leur bone foy et la grante loialte de eux, il leur dit qil ne leur greueroit¹⁶ mie, et qils R.f.78b. demandassent ceo qils voderioient, richesse ou autre chose.¹⁷ Et ils respondirent qil est richesse assez qi ad a manger et a boire pur le corps sustiner, et qe les richesses de ceo siecle transitoire ne vaillent rienz. Mes, sil leur poait doner qils fuissent immortelz, il ly mercieroient. Et Alisaundre respoundi qe ceo ne poait il faire, qar il estoit mortel, si come ils estoient. "Et pur quoy douncqes," firent ils, "es tu si

¹ a sely lityll clout, C.

⁴ a descrire, S.; deffier, G.

⁶ et tout le bien de nostre pais est li mengiers, G.

⁹ ate en, S.; este en, G.

¹¹ Qar i ni a entre nous justice point de ley, si qe nous vous voielletz tollir fors qe nostre. S.; qar il na justice entre nous ne point de loy, si que vous nous voles tollir par force nostre, G.

¹⁴ Oxidrate, S.; Oxidradre, G.; Oxidrate, C.

¹⁷ chose, et il leur durroit voluntiers, S.; chose, et il leur donroit, G.

² but jif it were in his powere to make hem immortall, C. ³ sc. mortal; mortell, C.

⁵ ne nul nest coueitous, S.; ne nuls nest entre nous couuoiteux, G.

⁷ ce sont toutes nos richesses, G.

¹⁰ garder, om. S. G.

¹² auoit veu, S.; ot veues, G.

¹⁵ Sinosople, S.; Sinossople, G.; Gynosophe, C.

¹⁶ guerrieroit, G.

pou þe riches of þis werld, þat er transitory and may noȝt last; bot, wheþer þou will or noȝt, þai schall leve¹ þe or elles þou þaim, as it has befallen to þaim þat ware before þe. And oute of þis werld schall þou bere na thing with þe, bot naked as þou come hider sall þou passe heyne, and þi flesh sall turne agayne to erthe þat þou was made off. And þerfore schuld þou think þat na thing may last euermare, bot Godd þat made all þe werld. And ȝit, noȝt hafand reward² hereto, þou ert so presumptuous and so proude þat, riȝt as þou ware Godd, þou wald make all þe werld subiecte vnto þe, and þou knawez noȝt þe terme of þi lyf ne þe day ne þe heure." When Alisaundre had herd þir wordes and swilke oþer, he had grete wondre þeroff and was gretely compuncte and went fra þam and did þam na disese. And if all it be so þat þise maner of folk hafe noȝt þe articles of oure f.122b. beleue, neuerþeles I trowe þat for þaire gude fayth þat þai hafe of kynde³ and þaire gude entent Godd luffez þam wele and haldez him wele payd of þaire lifving, as he did of Iob, þe whilke was a payen, and noȝt forþi his dedez 10 ware acceptable to Godd as of his leel seruandes. And if all þare be many diuerse lawes and diuerse sectez in þe werld, neuer þe latter I trowe þat Godd euermare luffez wele all þase þat luffez him in sothefastness and seruez him mekely and trewly and settez noȝt by þe vayne glory of þe werld, as þis folke duse and as Iob did. And þerfore said oure Lord by þe prophete Ysai,⁴ *Ponam eis multiplices leges meas*, þat es to say, "I schall putte to þaim my lawes manyfalde."⁵ And also in þe Gospell he saise, *Alias oues habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ouili*,⁶ þat es to say, "I hafe oþer schepe, whilk er noȝt of þis falde," as if he said, "Oþer seruandes I hafe þan er vnder Cristen lawe." And hereto accordes þe visioun þat was schewed to saynt Petre in þe citee of Iaffe, how ane aungell come fra heuen and broght with him all maner of bestez and neddres and fewles, and bad him take and eet; and sayne Petre answerd and said, "I ete neuer of vnclene bestez." And þe aungell said agayne to him, *Quod Deus mundauit, tu ne immundum dixeris*,⁷ þat es to say, "Call þou noȝt vnclene þat þat Godd hase clensed." Þis 20 was done in takyn⁸ þat men despise na men for þe diuersetee of þaire lawes. For we wate noȝt wham Godd f.123. luffez ne wham he hatez; and þerfore,⁹ when I pray for þe deed and sayse my *De profundis*, I say it for all Cristen saules and also for all þe saulez þat er to be prayd fore. And of þis folk I say þus mykill, þat I trowe þai er full acceptable to Godd, þai er so trew and so gude. And þare er many prophetez amanges þam and hase bene of alde tyme; for in þir iles was sum tyme þe incarnacioun of Criste prophecied, how he schuld be borne of a mayden, ȝa iii^m ȝere and mare before þe tyme of his incarnacioun. And þai trowe wele þe incarnacioun of Criste; bot þai knawe noȝt þe maner of his passioun.

orgoillous et si fiers qe tu voeus toute le mounde mettre en ta subieccioun, auxi qe tu feusses Dieu, et si nas terme de ta vie ne iour ne heure. Et voeus tout lauoir de mounde assembler, le quel te lessera courtaignement ou tu lesseras.¹⁰ Et ensy qe ceo fust a autry deuant toy, ensy serra a autri apres toy. Tu nent porteras riens; mes, si qe tu nasquis nudz, tout nudz serra toun corps conuertiz en terre, dont 30 il est creez. Si dois penser qe nuls nest immortels forsqe Dieu qi¹¹ tout crea." Par la quel respounce Alisaundre fust tout abaihiz. Et, come bien qe cestez gentz neyent les articles de la foy si qe nous auoms, nient meinz, pur lour bone foy naturele et pur lour bone entencioun, ieo quide estre serteins qe Dieu les ayme et qe preigne lour seruice en gree, si come il fait¹² de Iob, qi fust paiens, nequident¹³ il le tenoit bien pur soun loial sergeant. Et pur ceo, come bien qe il y at plusours loys diuersez¹⁴ parmy le mounde, ieo croi qe Dieu ayme toutdis ceux qi layment et seruent humblement en verite et en loialte et qi desprysent la vayn glorie de ceo mounde, si qe ceste gentz fount et Iob auxi le fesoit. Et pur ceo disoit nostre Seigneur par la bouche Ozee le prophete, *Ponam eis multiplices leges meas*; et aillours, *Qui totum orbem subdit suis legibus*. Et auxi nostre Seigneur dit en leuangelie, *Alias oues habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ouili*,¹⁵ cest¹⁶ a dire qil auoit autres seruantz qe souz la ley Cristiene. Et a ceo sacorde lauisioun qe seint Pere lapostre vit a Iaffe, coment ly aungel descendi du ciel et porta¹⁷ deuant ly¹⁸ des diuerses bestez et des serpentz et autres reptilz de terre de toute maners grant foisoun, et dit a seint Pierre, "Preignez et mangez"; et seint Pierre respondy, "Ieo ne mangeray¹⁹ vnqz des bestez immunde." Et cely aungel ly dit, *Non dicas immunda que Deus mundauit*. Et ceste estoit vne signe qe homme ne doit nuls gentz terriens pur lour diuerses loys auoir en despit ne nulli.²⁰ Qar nous ne sauoms les quex Dieu ayme et les quex il hait; et pur celles ensamples²¹ les vns, quant ils dient *De profundis*, ils dient,²² en comaygnant²³ ouesqe les Cristiens, *pro animabus omnium defunctorum pro quibus sit exorandum*. Et pur ceo dy ieo de cestes gentz, qi sount si loialx, qe Dieu R.f.79. les ayme. Qar il ad entre eux moltz des prophetez et toutdis ont este. En celles isles²⁴ prophetizerent lincarnacioun nostre Seigneur Ihesu Crist, coment il deuoit naistre dun pucelle, m^mm¹ aunz²⁵ ou plus auant qe nostre Seigneur fust nees de la virgine Marie. Et croient bien lincarnacioun parfitement, mes ils ne scieuent bien la manere coment suffri passioun et mort pur nous.

¹ leve, C.; om. E.⁴ Hosea viii. 12, but with "scribam."⁶ John x. 16.⁸ altered to "taknyng," with "sould noȝt" in the margin, before "despise."⁹ And for þat ensample, whan men seyn *De profundis*, þei seyn it in comoun and in generall with þe Cristene, *pro animabus*, &c. (cf. Fr. text), C.¹⁰ le quele tu lesseras courtment, S.; and so G.¹³ et ne cuidiez pas pour ce sil estoit payen que dieu ne lamast, quar il le tenoit, G.¹⁵ S. adds "et illas me oportet adducere, &c."¹⁶ ly, om. R.²¹ ensamples, quant ieo dye, S.; and so G.²² couenant, S.; commeniant, G.² sc. regard.⁵ And also in another place *Qui totum, etc.* (cf. Fr. text), adds C.⁷ Acts x. 15.¹¹ qe, R.¹² fit, S.; fist, G.¹³ qe, R.¹⁴ plusours diuerses gentz, S.; plusieurs diuersites, G.¹⁵ cest est, R.¹⁶ mangai, S.; mengay, G.²² pur lez almes trespasanz ieo dye, S.; pour les ames ie di, G.²⁴ en cel isle, S.; en celle isle, G.³ for hire gude feyth naturell, C.¹² fit, S.; fist, G.¹⁴ plusours diuerses gentz, S.; plusieurs diuersites, G.¹⁷ et saporut a lui, le quel li apporta, G.²⁰ ne nulli iuger, S.; ne nulles autres, G.²⁵ iij^m ans, G.

Bezond þir iles es anoþer ile, þat es called Pytan, whare þe folk nowþer tillez ne sawez na land, ne nowþer etes ne drinkez. And neuerþeless þai er riȝt faire folk and wele coloured and wele schapen after þe stature þat þai er off; for þai er lytill, lyke dwerghs, sum what mare þan þe pigmens. Þis folk liffes with þe smell of wylde appels þat growez þare; and, if þai gang owere ferre fra hame, þai take with þam of þase appels, for alssone as þai forga þe smell of þam þai dye. Þis folk es noȝt full resonable, bot riȝt symple and as it ware bestez.

þare nere es anoþer ile, whare þe folk er all full of feþers and rugh,¹ oute taken þe visage and þe palmez of þe hend. Þise men gase als wele apon² þe water as apon þe land; and þai ete flesh and fisch rae. In þis ile es a grete riuere þe brede of twa myle; and it es called Wymare.³ Bezond⁴ þat riuere es a grete wilderness, as men talde me, for I sawe it noȝt ne come noȝt bezond þe riuere. Bot men þat dwellez nere þe riuere talde vs þat in f.123b. þase desertes er þe tresse of þe Sonne and þe Mone, whilk spakk till kyng Alisaunder and talde him of his deed.⁵ 10 And men saise þat folke þat kepez þa tresse etes of þe fruyte of þam and of þe baume þat growez þare and þai liffe iiii^o zere or fyfe thurgh þe vertu of þat fruyt and of þat baume. For þare growez grete plentee of baume and nowere whare elles þat I couthe here off, oute taken in Egipte besyde Babiloyne, as I talde ȝowe before. My felawes and I wald fayne hafe gane þider; bot, as men talde vs, a hundreth thousand men of armes schuld vnnethez passe þat wilderness because of þe grete multitude of wilde bestez þat er in þat wilderness, as dragouns and diuerse maners of nedders and oþer rauyschand bestez, þat slaiez and deuourez all þat þai may get. In þis forsaid ile er many olyfauntz all whyt and sum all blewe and of oþer colour withouten nowmer; þare er also many vnicornes⁶ and lyouns and many oþer hidous bestez. Many oþer iles þer er in þe lordschepe of Prestre Iohn, and many meruailez and also mykill riches and nobillay of tresour and precious stane and oþer iowailes, þe whilk ware ower lang to tell. 20

Now will I tell ȝow why þis emperour es called Prestre Iohn. þare was sum time ane emperour in þat land whilk was a noble prince and a doȝty; and he had many knyghtez with him þat ware cristned, as he hase þat now es emperour þare. And on a tyme þis emperour thoght þat he wald see þe maner of þe seruice in Cristen f.124. kirkez. And þat tyme occupied Cristen men many cuntreez toward þase partiez, þat es to say, Turkey, Surry, Tartary, Ierusalem, Palestyne, Araby, Halope and all Egipte. And so it fell þat þis emperour and a Cristen knyght with him come in to a kirke in Egipte apon a Seterday in Whisson woke, when þe bischope gaffe ordres.

Et outre celles isles⁷ y ad vn autre, qad a noun Pitane.⁸ Les gentz de celle isle ne courteuent ne laborent point les terres, qar ils ne mangent point. Et si sont de bone colour et de beal facioun solonc lours grandesses; mes petitez sount, come nains, mes noun pas si petitez come sount le pigmein. Cils viuent del odour de pommes sauagez; et, quant ils vont nul part loinz, ils portent des pommes ouesques eux, qar, sils auoient perdu lodour, ils morroient tantost. Ils ne sount mie molt resonables, mes molt simple et toutz besteaux. 30

Puis y a vne autre isle, ou les gentz sount toutz pelluz forsque la face et les palmes. Celles gentz vont auxi bien par dessouz⁹ le mer come ils font dessure la terre trechche,¹⁰ et mangent char et pesshouns toutz cruz. En ceste isle y ad vn grant riuere, qad bien ii. lieues et demi de large, qe homme appelle Buemar.¹¹ Et de celle riuere a¹² xv. iournees loinz en alant par les desertz del autre part de la riuere,—qi aler y purroit, qar ieo ne y fuy mie,—mez il nous feust compte¹³ de ceuz de pais qe dedeinz cest desert sont larbres¹⁴ de Solail et de la Lune, qi parlerount au roy Alisaundre et li deuiseront sa mort. Et dit homme qe les gentz qi¹⁵ garderont ces arbres et mangent del fruit de ces arbres et du bausme qi y croist¹⁶ viuent bien cccc. ou d. aunz par la vertue de fruit et de bausme. Qar la dit homme qe y croist de bausme grant fousoun et nul part aillours, forsque a Babiloigne, si qe ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit. Nous feussoms tresuolentiers alez vers celles arbres, si nous eussoms poer¹⁷; mes ieo ne croy mye qe c. mil hommes darmes y peussent passer ces desertz sauueement, pur la grant multitude des bestes sauages et dez grantz dragouns et des grantz serpentz qi y sount, qi occient¹⁸ et deuourent quantqes ils poent attendre. Et en¹⁹ ceo pais y a des olifantz blancz et bies saunz nombre, et des vnicorns et des leouns de plusours maneres, et moltz des tiels bestes qe 40 R.f.79b. iay deuaunt deuises, et dautres molt hidouses saunz nombre. Plusours autres isles y a en la terre Prestre Iohan, et de molt de meruailes, qi serroient long a compter. Et molt des richesses et des noblesses y a, et des pierres precieuses grant habundance.

Ieo croy qe vous bien saues et auetz oy dire par quoy cis emperers est appelle Prestre Iohan; mes vncqore pur ceuz qi ne scieuent mie, mettray ieo briefment la cause. Il estoit vn emperour iadis, qi estoit molt vaillant prince; et auoit des chiualers Cristiens en sa compaignie, si qe cils ad qi est maintenant. Si ly prist talent²⁰ de voer la manere de seruice del esglise as Cristiens. Et adonques durroit Cristienete par dela la mer toute Turkye, Surrie, Tartarie, Ierosolomie, Palestine, Arabe, Halappe, et toute la terre de Egipte. Si vient cis emperers ouesques vn chiualer Cristien en vn esglise Degipte; et fust vn samady apres Pentecost, qe leuesqe fesoit les ordres. Si garda et

¹ ben all skynned rough heer, as a rough best, C.

² This sentence is translated literally in C.

³ celi isle, S.; celle isle, G.

⁴ par desur, S.; par dessus, G.

⁵ Reuemar, S. G.

⁶ soit larbre, S.; est li arbres, G.

⁷ si nous vssons plus, S.; se nous heussiens peu, G.; nous eussoms poen (or poeu), R.

⁸ Et en—nombre, om. S.

⁹ vnder, C.

¹⁰ sc. death; dethe, C.

¹¹ autre isle, ou les gens ne manguent point, et celle isle a nom Pitane, G.

¹² par desur la sechche terre, S.; comme par terre seche, G.

¹³ i a, S.; y a, G.

¹⁴ qe, R.

¹⁵ talent, S.; volente, G.; om. R.

¹⁶ a ii. myle and an half of brede, þat is clept Buemar, C.

¹⁷ white olifantes withouten nombre and of vnicornes, C.

¹⁸ dit, S. G.

¹⁹ du fruit qui y croist cest du baume, G.

²⁰ qi occient—des vnicorns, om. G.

And þe emperour beheld þe seruice and þe maner of þe makynge of prestez, how sollempnely and how bisily and deuotely þai ware ordaynd. And þan he asked þe knyght þat was with him what maner of folk þase ware þat ware so ordayned and what þai hight; and he said þat þai ware prestez. And þan þe emperour said he wald na mare be called kyng ne emperour bot preste, and also he wald hafe þe name of þe first preste þat come oute of þe kirke. So it fell þat þe first preste þat come first oute of þe kirke hight Iohn; and þarfore þat emperour and all oþer emperoures seyne hase bene called Prestre Iohn, þat es als mykill at say as Prestre Iohn. In þe land of Prestre Iohn er many gude Cristen men and wele liffand, and men of gude fayth and of gude lawe, and namely of men of þe same cuntree. And þai hafe prestez amanges þam þat singez þam messez; bot þai make þe sacrement of leuaynd breed, as þe Grekez dose. And also þai say noȝt þaire messez in all thingez as oure prestez duse; bot þai say all anely þe *Pater Noster* and þe wordes of þe consecracioun with whilk þe sacrement es made, 10 as sayne Thomas þe apostill taght þam in alde tyme. Bot of þe ordynaunce and addiciouns of þe courte of f.124b. Rome whilk oure prestez vse can þai noȝt.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

[*Of the hilles of gold that pissemyres kepen; and of the iiij. flodes that comen from Paradys terrestre.*]

TOWARD þe este fra þe land of Prestre Iohn es ane ile mykill and large and gude, þe whilk es called Taprobane. And in þat ile es a noble king and a riche, whilk es subiecte vnto Prestre Iohn. þis kyng es chosen by eleccioun. In þis ile er twa someres and twa wyntres in a ȝere, and heruest also twys in þe ȝere. And all þe tymes of þe ȝere er þaire gardynes flurished and þaire mydews grene. In þis ile es gude folk dwelland and resonable; and þer er many gude Cristen men amangez þam þat er so riche þat þai knawe nane end of þaire gudes. In alde tyme, when men went fra þe land of Prestre Iohn vnto þis forsaid ile, þai vsed 20 swilk maner of schippez þat þaim behoued nede be in sayling þider xx. dayes¹; bot in swilke maner of schippes as men vse now men may saile it in seuen days. And as þai saile þai may oft tyme see þe ground of þe see in diuerse placez, for it es noȝt full depe.

escota le seruice; et demanda quelles gentz cils deuoient estre qe ly² prelat auoit deuant, ou il auoit taunt dez mistiers affaire. Et ly chiualler ly respondi qe cestoient prestres. Et il dit qil ne voloit plus estre roy ne emperers appelez, mes prestres; et voloit auoir le noun du primere qil isseroit fors, le quel eust a noun Iohan. Si ad toutdis depuis este appellez Prestre Iohan. En sa terre y a moltz des Cristiens de bone foy et de bone loy, et mesmement de ceuz de pais toudes. Et ount comunement lours chapelleyns, qil chantent la messe et fount le sacrement de autier de pain,³ si come ly Gregeois fount. Mes ils⁴ ne dient pas tantz des choses a la messe come lem fait par de cea; qar ils ne dient fors soulement ceo qe lappostres nostre Seignur lour enseignerount, si come⁵ seint Piere et seint Thomas et ly autres apostres chaunterount⁶ messe, en disant *Pater Noster* et les parols dont le corps nostre Seignur est consecree. Mes nous auoms plusours addicions, qe 30 ly papes ont depuis faitz, dount ils ne scieuent riens.

CHAPITRE XXXIII.

Des mountaignes dor, qe les formices gardent; et de les quatre fluuies qil vieignent de⁷ Paradis terrestre.

DEUERS la partie orientele de la terre Prestre Iohan y ad vne isle bone et grand, qe homme appelle Taprobane,⁸ qil est molt noble⁹ et molt fructuose, et ly roy molt riche, si est obeissant a Prestre Iohan; et toutdis fait homme roy par eleccioun. En celles isles¹⁰ y ad deux esteez et deux yuerns, et messone homme les bledz deux foitz lan; et en toutes saisons del an sont ly iardyns floriz. La demoerent bons gentz et resonables; et plusours Cristiens entre eux, qil sont si riches qils ne scieuent quoy ils ount. R.f.80 Auncienement, quant homme passoit de la terre Prestre Iohan a celle isle as niefs aunciens, lem mettoit xxiii. iours a passer ou plus; et as niefs qe homme fait faire maintenant homme passe bien lewe en vii.¹¹ iours. Et veoit les fondes del ewe en plusours lieux, qar elle nest mye molt parfonde.

¹ xxiii. dayes or more, C.

⁴ mes ils— de cea, om. G.

⁷ de, om. R.

¹⁰ celle isle, S. G.

² qe ly—deuaunt, om. G.

⁵ et ce firent, G.

⁸ Taphane, S.; Thaprobane, G.

¹¹ viii. G.

³ pain leue, G.

⁶ les quex chanterent, G.

⁹ noble—si est, om. G.

Nere þis ile toward þe este er twa iles, of whilk þe tane es called Oriell and þe toþer Arget; in þir twa iles all þe erthe es full of myne of gold and siluer. And þai er anentz þe Reed See, whare it entrez in to þe grete see Occean. In þase iles may men see nerehand na sternes schynand, bot ane þat þai call Canapos; ne þe moone may noȝt be sene þare, bot in þe secund quartere. In þe forsaid ile of Taprobane er grete hilles of gold, þe whilk pissemys kepez bisily and pures þe gold and disseueres þe fyne gold fra þe vnfyne. And þase f.125. pissemys er als grete as hundes er here, so þat na man dare com nere þase hilles for drede þat þase pissemys schuld assaile þam; noȝt forþi men getez of þat gold by sleightez. For þe kynde of þe pissemys es þat, when þe wedir es hate, þai will hyde þam in þe erthe fra vndrun of þe day til efter noone; and þan þe men of þat cuntree commez with camelles and dromedaries and horse, and chargez þam with of þat gold, and gase away þerwith are þe mowres¹ com oute of þaire holes. Oþer tymes of þe ȝere, when þe wedir es noȝt hate ne mowres 10 hydez þaim noȝt in þe erthe, þai vse anoþer wyle for to get þis gold with. For þai take meres þat hase jung fooles and lays apon ayther syde of þir meres a tome vessell² and þe mouth vpward trayland nere þe erthe and latez þam furth arely at morne to þaire pasture aboute þe hillez whare þe gold es and haldez þe fooles at hame. And þan þir pissemys, when þai see þe toome vessellez, þai ga and fillez þam with gold; for it es þe kynde of þe pissemys to lefe na thing void besyde þam, nowþer hole ne creuice ne nanoþer thing þat ne þai will fill it. And when men trowez þat þe meres er full charged with þe gold, þai late þe fooles furth, þe whilk nyz after þaire moderes, and þan þe meres herez þaire fooles nye and hiez þam fast to þam wele charged with gold. And on þis wyse þai get grete plentee of þis gold; for þe pissemys will wele suffer all maner of bestez besyde þam bot man.³

f.127. Bezond þir ilez þat I hafe talde ȝow off and þe desertez of þe lordschepe of Prestre Iohn, to ga euen est, es 20 na land inhabited, as I said before, bot wastez and wildernesses and grete rochez and mountaynes and a myrk land, whare na man may see, nyght ne day, as men of þas cuntreez talde vs.⁴ And þat mirk land and þase desertez laste riȝt to Paradyse terrestre, whare in Adam and Eue ware putte; bot þai ware þare bot a lytill while. And þat place es toward þe este at þe begynnyng of þe erthe. Bot þat es noȝt oure este, whare þe sonne risez till vs; for, when þe sonne risez in þase cuntreez, þan es it midnyght in oure cuntree, because of þe

Delez celle isle vers orient y ad deux autres isles, qe homme appelle lune Orille⁵ et lautre Argite,⁶ dont toute la terre est de mynere dor et dargent. Et sont celles isles al endroit ou le Mer Rouge se part de la mer Occeane. Et en celles isles lem ne veoit⁷ auxi nulles estoilles qi clerement y pierent fors vne clere estoille, qils appellent Canapos⁸; et si ne veoit homme poynt la lune de toute la lunaisoun, forsqe la seconde quartoun. En celle isle de Taprobane⁹ y a grauntz mountains dor, qe ly formicz gardent curousement et affinent et oustent le pur del noun pur.¹⁰ Et sont ly fformicez grantz come chiens, si qe les gentz n'osent approcher de celles mountaignes, qar ly formicez les assaylleroient; si ne poent point auoir de cel or, si ceo nest par grant engyn. Et pur ceo, quant il fait fortment chaud, 30 ly formicz se rescountent¹¹ en terre du tierz de iour iusques a noune; et adoncs preignent les gentz camaillez, dromedaires, iumentz et autres bestes et les vont charger tout comunement¹² et puis senfuyent auant qe les formicz issent hors de terre. Et en autres temps, qil ne¹³ fait mie si chaud et qe lez formicz ne se rescountent¹⁴ point, ils fount par autre guise.¹⁵ Ils preignent iumentz qi ount petitiz pullains et chargent sour les iumentz deux vessealx auxi come petitiz huychettes voidez¹⁶; et sont ouertz par dessure et pendent iusques pres de terre.¹⁷ Et puis enuoient celles iumentz pasturer enuyroun celles mountaignes et retiegnent les pullains. Et, quant ly formicz voient celles vessealx, ils saillent suis et entrent¹⁸ dedeinz. Et si ount tiele nature qils ne lessent rien voide entour eux, ne caue de terre¹⁹ nautre chose; si emplissent cils²⁰ formices ces vessealx de celle or. Et, quant ces gentz pensent qe ly iumentz en soyent assez chargez, ils mettent hors les pullains et les fount hennier, et tantost ly iumentz retournent enfuyant vers leur pullainz. Et ils deschargent les iumentz, et ensy ount ils 40 dor grant foyoun; qar ces formicz soeffrent bien les bestes aler entour eux, mez ils ne voillent soeffrer les hommes.

R.f.8ob. Et outre la terre, les isles et le desert de la seigneurie Prestre Iohan, en alant droit vers orient, homme ne troue forsqe mountaignes et grantz roches et la regioun tenebrouse, ou homme ne purroit veer ne de noet ne de iour, si come cils de pais tesmoignent. Et cil desert et cil lieu tenebrouse durent de ceo couste iusques a Paradis terrestre, la ou Adam nostre primere pierre et Eue furent mis, qi gairs ne demoerent, qest vers orient al commencement de la terre. Mes ceo nest mie nostre orient de cea, qe nous appelloms orient, la ou le soleyl leue a nous; qar, quant ly solail est orient vers celles parties de Paradis, il est adoncs my nuyt en nostres parties de cea pur la roundesse de la terre, de

¹ sc. mires; pissemys, C.

² Here follows a long passage (peculiar to E.) about the island of Thule and a miracle of St. Thomas of Canterbury. As it is obviously an interpolation, it is relegated to a note at the end of the volume.

³ Argitte, G.; Argyte, C.

⁴ Tabrotant, S.; Trabrotane, G.

⁵ coyement, S. G.

⁶ engin, G.

⁷ suis et entrent, om. S. G.

⁸ cils—pensent, om. S.; si emplent ces vessiaus tant que ces iumentz en sunt asses chargees. Et lors ceulx qui tiennent les poulains les mettent tantost hors, G.

⁹ voyde vesselles, C.

¹⁰ as þei of the contree seyn, C.

¹¹ nauise, G.

¹² adfinent et apurent et ostent le non pur, G.

¹³ ne, G.; om. S. R.

¹⁴ buches voides, S.; huches, G.

¹⁵ ne caue ne terre, S.; ne champ ne terre, G.

¹⁶ Trille, S.; Horille, G.; Orille, C.

¹⁷ Canapes, S. G.

¹⁸ se mucent, G.

¹⁹ se mucent, G.

²⁰ iesques vers, S.; iusques vers terre, G.

roundness of þe erthe. For, as I said before, Godd made þe erthe all rounde in myddez of þe firmament. Bot þe hillez and þe valays þat er now on þe erthe er noȝt bot of Noe flude, thurgh þe whilk þe tendre erthe was remowed fra his place and þare become a valay, and þe hard erthe habade still and þare er now hilles.

Off Paradys can I noȝt speke properly, for I hafe noȝt bene þare; and þat forthinkez me.¹ Bot als mykill as I hafe herd of wyse men and men of credence of þase cuntreez, I will tell ȝow. Paradys terrestre, as men saise, es þe hiest land of þe werld; and it es so hye þat it touchez nere to þe cercle of þe moone. For it es so hye þat Noe flode myght noȝt com þerto, whilk flude couerd all þe erthe bot it. Paradys es closed all aboute f.127b. with a wall; bot whare off þe wall es made, can na man tell. It es all mosse begrowen and couerd so with mosse and with bruschez þat men may see na stane, ne noȝt elles wharoff a wall schuld be made. þe walle of Paradys strechez fra þe south toward þe north; and þer es nane entree open in to it, because of fire euermare 10 brynnand, þe whilk es called þe flawmand swerde þat Godd ordaynd þare before þe entree, for na man schuld entre.

In þe middes of Paradys es a well oute of þe whilke þer commez foure flodez, þat rynnez thurgh diuerse landez. Þir flodez sinkez doune in to þe erthe within Paradyse and rynnez so vnder þe erthe many a myle, and afterwardez comme þai vp agayne oute of þe erthe in ferre cuntreez. þe first of þir flodez es called Physon or Ganges, springez² vp in Inde vnder þe hilles of Orcobares, and rynnez esteward thurgh Inde³ in to þe grete see Occeane. In þat riuer er many precious stanes and grete plentee of þe tree þat es called *lignum aloes*, and mykill grauell of gold. þis riuer es called Phison by cause many waters gaders sammen and fallez intill it, for Phison es als mykill at say as Gadering.⁴ It es also called Ganges for a kyng þat was in Inde, þe whilke men called Gangaras; and for it rynnez thurgh his land it was called Ganges. þis riuer es in sum place clere, in sum 20 place trubly, in sum place hate, in sum place calde. þe secund riuer es called Nilus or Gyon; and it rizez vp f.128. oute of þe erthe a lytill fra þe mount Atlant. And noȝt ferr þeine it sinkez doune agayne in to þe erthe and rynnez so vnder þe erthe till it comme at þe Reed See bank, and þare it rizez vp agayne oute of þe erthe and rynnes all aboute Ethiopy, and so thurgh Egipt ay till it com at Grete Alexandre, and þare it rynnez in to þe see Mediterrany. þis riuer es euermare trublez and þerfore es it called Gyon; for Gyon es als mykill at say as Trublez. þe thrid riuer es called Tigris, þat es to say Fast Rynnand; for it es ane of þe swythest rynnand

quoy iay autrefoitz touche. Qar nostre Seignur fist la terre toute rounde en le my lieu de firmament. Et ceo qil y ad mountaignez et valles, ceo nest qe pur la fluuie de Noe, qi gasta la terre molle et tendre, et la dure terre et rochez demoeroient mountaignes.

De Paradis ne vous saueroi ieo primerment⁵ parler, qar ieo nay mye este tant auant, qe ieo nestoie⁶ dignes. Mes come iay oy dire a plus sages par de la, vous en dirray ieo voluntiers. Paradis terrestre dit homme qe ceo est la plus haute de mounde; et est si haute qe 30 elle touche pres de cercle de la lune, par la quel la lune fait soun tourne. Qar elle est si haut qe le fluuie Noe ne⁷ poait attendre,⁸ qi coueroit tout la terre de mounde tout entour, et dessus et dessous, forsqe Paradis soulement. Et si est Paradis enclos tout entour dun mur; lem ne sciet de quoy il est. Et sount ly murs toutz couertez de mosse, ceo semble, et ny piert pierre chose, dount ly mur soit. Et se y extent ly mur de mydy vers bise; et ny ad qe vn entre, qest close de feu ardent, si qe nuls hommes mortels ne purroient entrer.

Et el plus haut lieu⁹ de Paradys el¹⁰ droit my lieu est la fountaigne, qi iette les iiij. fluuies qi courent par diuerses terre. Dount li primer ad a noun Phison ou Ganges, cest tout vn, et court par my Ynde ou Emlak¹¹; en la quelle riuere y ad mult des precieuses pierres, et molt de *lignum aloes* et molt de grauell dor. Et lautre riuere ad a noun Nilus ou Gyon, qi vayt par Ethiopie et puis par Egipte. Et lautre¹² ad a noun Tygris, qi court par Assirie¹³ et par Armenie la grande. Et lautre¹⁴ ad a noun Eufrate, qi court auxi par Mede, par Armenie et par Persye. Et dit homme par de la qe toutes les eawes douces de mounde, dessus et dessous, preignent lour naisceance de R.f.81. cel fountaigne de Paradis et de celle fountaigne toutes y venent et issent. La primer riuere ad a noun Phisoun, cest a dire en lour langage 40 Assemble; qar trop dautres riuers sassemblent et gettent en celle riuere.¹⁵ Et ascuns appellent Ganges pur vn roy qi fust en Ynde, qi auoit a noun Gangares¹⁶; qar elle curroit par my sa terre. Et celle riuere estent¹⁷ ascun lieu clere et ascun lieu trouble, en ascunz lieux chaud et en ascun lieux froid. Le secunde riuere ad a noun Nilus ou Gyon; qar elle est toutdis trouble, et Gyon en langage de Ethiopiens voet dire Trouble, et auxi Nil en langage Degipte est a dire Trouble. La tierce riuere ad a noun Tygris, qi voet dire en lour langage Tost Courrant; qar

¹ It is fer bezonde; and þat forthinketh (sc. repenteth) me; and also I was not worthi, C.

² springez—Orcobares, with more of this description of the four rivers, not in Fr. text or C.

³ Assemble, C.

⁴ ne, om. R.

⁵ el droit my lieu, om. G.

⁶ Assie, S.; Asye, G.

⁷ Gangayas, G.

⁸ proprement, S. G.

⁹ ataindre, G.

¹⁰ Inde en Einlant, S.; Ynde Enilant, G.

¹¹ la quarte, S.

¹² est en, S. G.

¹³ Ynde or Emlak, C.

¹⁴ este, ce poize moi qe nestoi, S.; and so G.

¹⁵ lieu ou millieu, G.

¹⁶ la tierce, S.

¹⁷ en cel Inde, S.

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waters of þe werld. And it es called Tigris after a beste þat has þe same name, and it es þe swiftest beste of fote of þe werld. Þis riuer begynnez in Ermony þe grete vnder þe mounte of Parchoatra and rinnez so thurgh Ermony and Asy toward þe south, and so turnez in to þe see Mediterrany. Þe ferthe riuer es called Eufrates, þat es als mykill at say as Wele Berand; for þaregrowez many gude thingez apon þat riuer. Þat riuer rynnez thurgh Medy, Ermony and Perse. And men saise þare þat all þe fresch waters of þe werld takez þaire begynnyng of þe forsaid well þat springez vp in Paradys.

And 3e schall wele vnderstand þat na man liffand may ga to Paradys. For by land may na man ga þider by cause of wilde bestez þat er in þe wilderness and for hillez and roches, whilk na man may passe, and also for mirk placez, of whilk þer er many þare. By water also may na man passe þider, for¹ þas riuers commez with so grete a course and so grete a birre and wawes þat na schippe may ga ne saile agayne þam. Þare es also so grete
f.128b. noyse of waters þat a man may noȝt here anoȝer, crie he neuer so hie. Many grete lordes has assayd diuerse tymes to passe by þase riuers to Paradys, bot þai myght noȝt spede of þaire iournee; for sum of þam died for weryness of rowyng and ower trauaillyng, sum wex blind and sum deeff for þe noise of þe waters, and sum ware drowned by violence of þe wawes of þe waters. And so þer may na man, as I said before, wyne þider, bot thurgh speciall grace of Godd. And þerfore of þat place can I tell ȝowe na mare; bot I will turne agayne and tell ȝow of thingez þat I hafe sene in iles and landes of þe lordschepe of Prestre Iohn, þe whilk as vntill vs er vnder þe erthe.

elle court plus tost qe nul des autres. Et auxi² appelle homme vne beste tigris, pur ceo qelle est tost courante. La quarte riuer ad a noun Eufrate, cest a dire Bien Portant; qar ils croissent³ moltz des biens sour⁴ celle riuer, et bledz et fruit et toutz autres biens.

Et sachez qe nul homme mortel ne poet aler napprocher a ceo Paradis. Qar par terre nul ne purroit aler pur les bestes sauuaiges qi
sount as desertz, et pur les mountaignes et pur les roches, ou nuls ny purroit passer pur⁵ les lieux tenebrouses ou il y a mointz. Et par les riuers nul ne purroit aler, qar lewe court si roidement, pur ceo qe elle vient de haut,⁶ et si vient a si grandes vndes qe nul nief ne purroit nager encountre. Et si brait lewe et meigne si grant noise et si grant tempeste qe lun ne purroit oier lautre⁷ en la nief,⁸ come bien qe lem criast lun a lautre a plus haut qil purroit.⁹ Meintz grantz seignurs et de grante volunte ont assaiez plusours foitz a aler par celles riuers vers Paradis et as grandeiz compaignies, mes vnqes ny poaient espleter lour voie, ancis moroient plusour delassetz pur nager countre les vndes et plusours autres, qi deuiendrent aueogles, et plusours sourdez pur la noise del eawe, et plusours sont enz¹⁰ suffoques et perduz dedeinz les vndes, si qe nul mortel ne poet approcher, si ceo nestoit de especial grace de Dieu. Si qe de cel lieu ne vous saueroie ieo plus qe dire deuiser,¹¹ et pur ceo metteray¹² atant et me retourneray a ceo qe iay veu.

¹ for the water renneth so rudely and so scharpely, because þat it cometh doun so outrageously from the high places abouen, þat it renneth in so grete wawes þat no schipp may not rowe ne seyle aȝenes it. And the water roreth so, and maketh so huge noyse and so gret tempest, þat no man may here oȝer in the schippe, þough he cryede with all the craft þat he cowde in the hieste voys þat he myghte, C.

⁴ sour—biens, om. S. G.

⁷ lautre parler. Maint grant seigneur, G.

¹⁰ furent, S. G.; sont enz (sc. eins), R.

² et auxi—courante, om. G.

⁵ et pur, S. G.

⁸ en la nief—a lautre, om. S.

¹¹ plus dyre ne diuiser, S.; plus que dire ne deuiser, G.

³ il y croist, G.

⁶ de haut—vient, om. S.

⁹ purroit cryer, S.

¹² teiseray, S.; ie men tairai, G.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

[Of the customs of kynges and othere that dwellen in the yles costynge to Prestre Johnes lond; and of the worschipe that the sone doth to the fader, whan he is dede.]

OTHER iles þare er, wha so wald pursue þam, by þe whilk men myght ga all aboute þe erthe, wha so had grace of Godd to hald þe rizt way, and com rizt to þe same cuntreez þat þai ware off and come fra, and so ga all aboute þe erthe, as I hafe sayd before, by processe of tyme. Bot for it schuld be a lang tyme are þat vaiage ware made, and also so many perils of tymeze fallez to men þat passez thurgh straunge cuntreez bathe by water and by land, and semely ware to fall to men þat wald make þat vayage, þerfore few men assays þat passage; and neuerþeles 3it myght it be done wele ynogh thurgh Goddes grace. Bot men lefes þat passage and turnez agayne fra þir forsaid iles by oþer iles costayand þe land of Prestre Iohn and iles þat er of his lordschepe. And 10
f.129. in commyng so, þai comme till ane ile þat men callez Casson; and þat ile es nere lx. day iournez lang and mare þan l. on brede. And it es þe best ile in þase parties, safe Cathay; and, if marchandes come þider als comounly as þai do to Cathay, it schuld be better þan Cathay. For citeez and gude tounes er þare so thikk þat, when a man gase oute of a citee, he seez alssone anoþer citee or a gude toun before him on what syde so he turne him. Þis ile es full and plentifous of all maner of spicery and of all maner of oþer gudez, and namely þat partenez to mannez lyflade; and þare er many grete woddez full of chestaynes.¹ Þe king of þis ile es full riche and myghty, and he haldez his land of þe Grete Caan of Cathay; for þat es ane of þe xii. prouincez þat þe Grete Caan has vnder him, withouten his awen land and oþer smale iles, as I talde 3ow before. Fra þis ile men commez til anoþer ile þat men callez Ryboth or Gyboth; and þat es also vnder þe Grete Caan. Þis es a gude land and a plentifous of corne, of wyne, and of many oþer thingez. Men of þis land hase na housez to dwell in, bot þai 20
dwell all in tentez made of blakk filtre.² Þe principall citee of þat land es walled aboute with blakk stanes and whyte; and all þe stretez er paued with swilk maner of stanes. And in þat citee es na man so hardy to schedd blude, nowþer of man ne of beste, for lufe of a mawmet þat es wirschipped þare. In þis citee dwellez þe pape

CHAPITRE XXXIV.

Des custumes dez rois et autres demorantz es isles costeantz al terre Prestre Johan; et del honour qe ly filz fait a soun piere mort.

R.f.81b. **D**E celles isles dont ieo vous ay icy deuaunt parle en la terre Prestre Iohan, qi sont desoutz terre, quant a nous de cea, et des autres isles plus auaunt, qy les vouderoit pursuire, purroit reuenir³ as parties dont il moueroit et enuironer toute la terre. Mes tant pur les isles, tant pur le mer, et tant pur forsuoir, poy des gentz⁴ assaient affaire ceo passages, come bien qe homme le poet bien faire, qi purroit droit dresser, si come ieo vous ay autrefoitz dit. Et pur ceo lem retourne des isles desusditz par autres isles costeantz a la terre Prestre Iohan, et vient en retourant a vne isle qad a noun Cassoun; et ad de ceo pais bien xl. iournees de long⁵ 30
et plus de l. de large. Cest la meillour isle et la meillour roialme qi soit en celles parties, excepte Cathay; et, si ly marchantz hauntassent atant ceo pais come ils fount Cathay, elle serroit meillour assez qe Cathay ne soit. Ceo pais est si bien enhabite et si plein dez citeez et des villes et des gentz qe, quant homme ist hors dune citee, lem veit lautre cite deuaunt ly, la ou lem voet aler quelque part qe lem aile. En ceste isle y a grant plainte de toutz biens pur viure et de toutz maners despices; et y a des grantz forestes toutz des chasteigns. Ly rois de celle isle est molt riche et molt puissant, et nient meinz il tient sa terre de Grant Chan et obeist a ly; qar ceo est vne des xii. prouinces qe ly Grant Chan ad dessouz ly, saunz sa terre propre et saunz les isles⁶ moindres, dount il en ad mointz. De ceo roialme vent homme en retourant a vn autre roialme, qe homme appelle Byboth⁷; et est auxi souz le Grant Chan. Cest vn molt bon pais et bien pleintiuos de biens,⁸ dez vins et dautres biens. Et les gentz de ceo pais nount nuls maysouns, ancis demoerent et gissent souz tentes faites de feutre noir par toute la pais. Et la cite roial et principal est toute mouree dez pierres noirs et blanches; et toutz les rues sont bien paues de tiels pierres. En ceste citee nad nul si hardis qi ose sanc espandre, ne de homme ne de beste, pur la reuerence dune ydole qi est la aorez. Et 40

¹ sc. chestnuts; chesteynes, C.

² sc. felt; blak ferne, C.

³ pursuer pur la terre environer, qauoit grace de Dieu a tenir droite voie, il purroit tot droit reuenir, S.; poursuir pour la terre enuironner, qui auroit grace de Dieu pour tenir droite voie, il pourroit tout droit reuenir, G.

⁴ mes pur ceo qil couindroit trop grant temps a mettre et qil i a meint grant peril a passer tant par isles tant par mer poi des gentz, S.; and so G.

⁵ Casson bien lx. journez de long, S.; Casson qui a lx. iournees de long, G.

⁶ isles, S. G.; elles, R.

⁷ Riboth, S. G.; Rybothe, C.

⁸ dez bleez, S.; de bles, G.

f.129b. of þaire lawe, wham þai call Lobassi. And he giffez all þe digniteez and beneficez þat fallez to þaire mawmetes; and all þe prestez and ministres of ydoles er obedient to him as oure prestez er till oure pape.

In þis ile þai hafe a custom thurgh oute all þe land þat, when any mannez fader es deed and his son will do him wirschepe, he sendez after all his kynredyn and his gude frendez, prestez of þaire lawe, minstralles and many oþer; and þai bere þe body to a hill with grete sollempnytee and grete myrth. And, when it es þare, þe grettest prelate smytez off þe deed mannez heued and lays it apon a grete plater of siluer, or of gold if he be a riche man, and giffez it to his son. And þan all his frendez singez and saise many orisouns, and þan þe prestez and religious men of þaire lawe hewez þe body all in smale pecez and saise many orisouns. And fewles of þe cuntree, þat knawez þe custom, commez þider and houers abouue þam, as vowltures, egles, rauyns, and oþer fewlez of rauyne; and þe prestez castez þis flesch to þam, and þai bere it a lytill þeine and etez it. And þan, 10
riȝt as prestez in oure cuntree syngez for saulez *Subuenite, sancti Dei*, so þase prestez þare singez with a hie voice on þaire langage on þis wyse, "Takez tent now and seez how gude a man þis was, wham þe aungelles of Godd commez to fecche and bere in to Paradys." And þan thinkes þe sonne and all his frendez þat his fader es gretely wirschipped, when fewles hase þus eten him. And ay þe ma fewles þar commez, þe mare ioy hase all his frendez, and þe mare think þam þe deed man es wirschipt. And þan wendez þe sonne hame and takez with
f.130. him all his frendez and makez þam a grete feste; and ilke ane of þam tellez till oþer in þaire myrth how þare come x. fewles, þare xvi., þare xx., riȝt as it ware to þam grete cause of myrth. And þe sonne gers sethe his fader heued, and þe flesch þeroff he partez amang his speciale frendez, ilke man a lytill, for a dayntee.¹ And of þe scalpe² of þe heued he gers make him a coppe, and þeroff he drinkez all his lyf tyme in remembraunce of his fader. 20

Fra þis land for to comme hiderward thurgh þe land of þe Grete Caan x. day iournez es ane oþer gude ile, whare off þare es a riche king and a myghty. And in þat ile þare es a lord amanges oþer þat es wounder riche; and ȝit he es nowþer prince, ne duke, ne erle. Neuerþeles þare haldez many a man þaire landes of him, and he es a lorde of grete ricchess. For he has ilke a ȝere broght till him ccc^m hors lade of corne and als many of ryess. And þis lorde ledez a meruailous lyf. For he has fyfty damyselles þat seruez him ilk a day at his mete and his

en celle cite demoere le pape de lour loy, qils appellent Labassi.³ Cis Labassi donne⁴ toutz les benefices et les autres dignetes et toutes les choses⁵ qi appartinent as ydoles; et toutz cils qi tiegnent rien de lour esglise, religious et autres, obeissent toutz a ly, si qe fount icy les gentz de seint esglise al Pape.

En ceste isle ont ils vn custume par tout la pais qe, quant ly piere dascun moert et il voet faire grant honour a soun piere, il fait
R.f.82. maunder toutz ses amis et parentz et religious et prestres et des menistriens grant foisoun; et porte homme le corps sour vne mountaigne a 30
grant feste et a grant ioye menant. Et, quant ils lont porte iusques la, ly plus grant prelat ly cope le teste et le mette sour vn grant plateau dor ou dargent, sil est si riches hommes, et puis il baille la teste al filz. Et ly filz⁶ et ly autres parentz chauntent et dient molt des orisouns, et puis ly prestres et ly religious detrenchent toute la char de corps par pieces,⁷ et puis dient lour oreisouns. Et ly oysealx de pais, qi ount bien aprise celle custume de long temps, viegnent volantz par dessure, come voutours, aigles, et tous autres oysealx qi mangent char; et ly prestres lour gettent dez pieces de la char, et ils laportent vn poy loinz et la mangent. Et puis, auxi come les chapelleyns par de cea chauntent pur les mortz, *Subuenite, sancti Dei, &c.*, auxi cils prestres la chauntent adonques a haute voiz en lour langage, "Regardez come prodhomme cis estoit, qe li angels Dieu le viegnent quere et le portent en Paradis." Et adonques semble il al filz qest molt honoures, quant ly oysealx ount mange soun piere. Et cils ou il auera plus grant⁸ nombre de oysealx est ly⁹ plus honoures. Et puis ly fils remeigne ses parentz¹⁰ et ses amis¹¹ al ostell et lour fait grant feste; et toutz¹² les amiz teignent lour compte, coment ly oisealx viendrent, cea v., cea x., cea xx., et se glorifient molt fortment au parler. Et, quant ils sount¹³ al hostel, ly filz fait mettre cuyre le teste soun piere, et en donne a 40
chescun des especialx amis vn poy de la char en lieu de entremes. Et de testeau il fait faire vn hanap [et en¹⁴ y boyt et lez parentz auxint a grant deuocion, en remembrance dil seinte homme qe lez oyseals ont mange; et cel hanap] le filz gardera¹⁵ et beuera dedeinz toute sa vie pur la remembrance de piere.¹⁶

De celle terre en retournant par x. iournees parmy la terre de Grant Chan y a vn autre molt bon isle et grant roialme, ou il y a vn riche roy et puissant. Et entre my les riches hommes de soun pais il y a vn bien riche, qi nest ne prince, ne duk, ne admirallz, ne counte; mes il y a plusours qi tiegnent lour terres de ly, et trop est il riche. Qar il ad bien de rente toutz les aunz ccc^m cheuaux chargez des bledz
R.f.82b. et de riz.¹⁷ Et si mene molt noble vie, solonc la custume par de la. Qar il ad l. damoiselles pucelles, qi le seruent toutdis a manger et a

¹ in stede of entremesse, or a sukkarke, C.

⁴ est celui qui donne, G.

⁷ coupent le corps par pieces, G.

¹⁰ reviegne a ces parties, S.; reuient a ses parties, G.

¹² sunt assemblez, G.

¹⁴ Et en—cel hanap, S.; Et en celui hanap il boit et tuit li parent aussi par grant deuocion du saint preudomme et en remembrance de celui que li oysel ont mangie, et ce hanap, G. The passage is omitted in R. by homoeoteleuton.

¹⁶ gardera par grant reuerence et si y buura toute sa vie pour lonneur et reuerence de son pere, G.

² brayn panne, C.

⁵ et toutes les choses, om. G.

⁸ Et si il ad grant, S.

¹¹ et aussi ses amis avecques lui, G.

³ Lobassi, S. G.

⁶ Et ly filz, om. S.

⁹ il, S.

¹² lors, G.

¹⁷ boys, S.

bedd, and dose what he will. And, when he sittez at þe mete, þai bring him mete and euermare fyfe meessez togyder; and in þe bringyng þai sing a faire sang. And þai schere his mete before him and puttez it in his mouth, as he ware a childe; for he scherez nane ne touchez nane with his handez, bot haldez þam before him on þe table. For he has so lang nayles on his fyngers þat he may hald na thing with þam. And þat es a grete noblay in þat cuntree and a grete wirschepe to hafe so lang nayles. And þerfore þai late þaire nayles growe f.130b. als lang as þai may and cuttez þam noȝt. And sum latez þam growe so lang to þai growe all aboute þaire hend; and þat think þaim es a grete noblay and a grete gentry. And þe gentry of wymmen þare es to hafe smale fete; and þerfore, alssone as þai er borne, þai bynd þaire fete so straitte þat þai may noȝt waxe so grete as þai schuld. Þir forsaid damyselles, als lang as þaire lorde es sittand at þe mete, er nerehand all way singand; and, when he has eten ynogh of þe first course, þai bring before him oȝer fyfe meessez, syngand as þai didd before. And þus 10 þai do ay till þe end of þe mete. And on þis wise ledez þis lorde his lyfe by alde custom of his auncestres, þe whilk custom on þe same wyse his successoures will vse. And þus þai make þaire godd of þaire wambe, so þat na worthyness ne doghtyness þai vse, bot all anely liffez in lust and lyking of þe flesch, as a swyne fedd in styte. Þis riche man also hase a full faire palays and riche, whare he dwellez, of whilke þe walle es twa myle vmgang. And þerin er many faire gardynes; and all þe pament of hallez and chaumbres er of gold and siluer. And in myddes of ane of þe gardynez es a lytill hill, whare apon es a lytil palace made with toures and pynacles¹ all of gold; and þare in will he sitt oft for to disporte him and take þe aer, for it es made for noȝt elles.

Fra þis land men commez thurgh þe land of þe Grete Caan, of þe whilk I talde ȝow before and þerfore it f.131. nedeȝ noȝt to reherce it here agayne. And ȝe schall vnderstand þat in all þir landes, rewmes and naciouns, outaken þase þat er inhabited with vnresonable men, es na folk þat ne þai hald sum articleȝ of oure beleue. If 20 all þai be of diuerse lawes and diuerse trowyngs, þai hafe sum gude poyntes of oure trowth. And generally þai trowe in Godd þat made þe werld, and him call þai Godd of Kynde²; and þus es þe prophecy verified þat saise, *Et metuent eum omnes fines terre*,³ þat es to say, "And all þe endes of þe erthe schall drede him." And in an oȝer place, *Omnes gentes seruiunt ei*,⁴ þat es to say, "All folk schall serue him." Bot þai can noȝt properly speke of Godd, and namely of þe Trinytee, by cause þai hafe na teching. þai can noȝt of þe Sonne, ne of þe

cocher⁵ et affaire ceo qi ly ples. Et, quant il est a table, elles ly apportent sa viaunde, a chescun foiz v. mes ensemble; et en portant elles chantent vn chaunceoun.⁶ Et puis ly trenchent sa viande et ly mettent en la bouche; qar il ne touche a rienz, forsque il tient ses mains deuaunt sour la table. Qar il ad si grantz vngles qil ne purroit riens prendre ne tenir. Cest la noblesse as hommes de pais dauoir grandz vngles et de les lesser toutdis croistre et de les norir tant come lem poet. Et y ad plusours el pais qi les lessent tant croistre qe elles enuironent⁷ toute la mayn; et cest vn grant noblesse. Et la noblesse dez femmes en cely pais est dauoir petitȝ pieȝ; et pur ceo,⁸ tantost 30 qe elles sount neez, home lour lie si estretement les pies qils ne croissent mie a demy de ceo qils deueroient. Et toutdis cestez demoiselles chauntent dementiers qils mange⁹; et, quant il ne mange plus de ceo mes, elles li apportent autres v. mes, et chauntent come deuaunt.¹⁰ Et ensy fount iusques au fin de manger. Et toutz les iours le fait homme ensy, et en ceste manere il vse sa vie; et ensy fesoient si deuantarins,¹¹ et ensy ferrount cils qi viendront apres ly, saunz faire nul bien faire darmes, mes toutdis ensy viure¹² a soun ont bien de circuit ii.¹³ lieues. Et si ad dedeins molt beau iardins, et toute la pauiment et des salys et des chaumbrys sount dor et dargent. Et el my lieu dun de ces iardins y a vne petite montaignette, ou il y a vn prael; et en ceo prael y a vn petit moustier ouesques tours et pinacles tout dor. Et en ceo¹⁴ petit moustier voet¹⁵ il seer souvent, et pur prendre layre et pur soy desduyre,¹⁶ qar pur autre chose nest ceo moustier fait forsque pur soun desduit soulement.

De ceo pais vient¹⁷ homme par la terre de Grant Chan, dount ieo vous ay parle deuant, si ne couient mie a tenir autrefoitz compte.¹⁸ 40 Et saches qe de toutz ces pais dont iay parle, et de toutes cellis isles et de toutz ces diuerses gentz qe ieo vous ay deuises et des diuers loys et des diuersez creaunces qils ount, il ny ad nulle gent, pur quoy ils ayent en eux resoun et entendement, qi nayent ascuns articles de nostre foy et ascuns bons pointȝ de nostre creaunce et qils ne croient en Dieu qy fist le mounde, qils appellent Dieu de nature,¹⁹ solonc le prophete R.f.83. qi dit, *Et metuent eum omnes fines terre*, et aillours, *Omnes gentes seruiunt ei*. Mes ils ne scieuent mie parfitement,²⁰ qar ils²¹ nount qi lour deuise, forsque ensy qils entendent de lour sen naturel, ne du Fils ne de Seint Espirit ne scieuent ils parler. Mais ils scieuent toutz parler²²

¹ is a lytill mountayne, where þere is a lityll medewe, and in þat medewe is a lityll toothill, with toures and pynacles, C.

² God of Nature, C.

³ au mangier, ou quant il va chassier, G.

⁴ poet, et tant quil enuironnent, G.

⁵ chantent tant come il mange, S.; li chantent chassons tant come il mangue, G.; chauntent, om. R.

⁶ cils deuantin, S.; si deuancier, G.

⁷ Et ou millieu du iardin il a vn petit moustier et est tourneles tout entour a enseignes et a pommiaux dor et en ceo, G.

⁸ vet, S.; va, G.

⁹ vet, S.; len vient deuers les parties de pardeca parmi la terre, G.

¹⁰ qui ne croient en dieu que len appelle heritage, cest a dire dieu de nature, G.

¹¹ qar ils—ils parler, om. G.

¹² Ps. lxvi. 8.

¹³ a chascune fois x. pucelles vn mes ensemble en chantant vne chasson, G.

¹⁴ et pur ceo—les pies, om. S.

¹⁵ viurent, G.

¹⁶ pour penre son deduit et pour auoir lair et lui refroidier, G.

¹⁷ parler, om. G.

¹⁸ Ps. lxxi. 11.

¹⁹ chantent nouuelles chassons, G.

²⁰ v., G.

²¹ couient mie tous renommer, G.

²² parfitement parler, S. G.

Haly Gaste; bot þai can speke wele of þe Bible and specially of þe buke of Genesis and oþer bukes of Moises, and sum tyme of þe xii. Prophetes sayinges. And þai say þat þase creatures þat þai wirschippe er na goddes, bot þai wirschippe þam for þe grete vertuz þat er in þam, whilk þai say may noȝt be withouten speciall grace of Godd. And of ydoles and simulacres þai say þat þer es na folk þat þai ne hafe simulacres; and þat say þai principally for þai see Cristen men hafe crucifixe and ymages of oure Lady and of oþer sayntes and do wirschepe to þam. Bot þai wate noȝt þat we wirschepe noȝt þase ymagez of stane or of tree for þam self, bot in remembraunce of þe sayntz for whaim þai er made; for, riȝt as letterure and bukez techez clerkes, so ymagez and payntures f.131b. techez lawd men to wirschepe þe sayntes for whaim þai er made. þai say also þat aungelles spekez to þam in þaire mawmetes and dose miracles. And þai say sothe, for þai hafe ane aungell within þam; bot þar er twa maner of aungelles, þat es at say ane gude, anoþer ill, as men of Grece saise, Chaco and Calo. Chaco es þe ill 10 aungell and Calo es þe gude. Bot þat es na gude aungell þat es in þe mawmetz, bot ane ill, þat es to say a fende þat answeres þam and tellez þam many thinges, for to dessayfe þam with and for to mayntene þam in þaire mawmetry and þaire errour.

þare¹ er many oþer cuntreez and oþer meruailes whilk I hafe noȝt sene, and þerfore I can noȝt speke properly of þam; and also in cuntreez whare I hafe bene er many meruailes of whilk I speke noȝt, for it ware owere lang to tell. And also I will tell na mare of meruailes þat er þare, so þat oþer men þat wendeþ þider may fynd many new thingez to speke off, whilk I hafe noȝt spoken off. For many men hase grete lykyng and desyre for to here new thinges; and þerfore will I now ceesse of tellyng of diuerse thingez þat I sawe in þase cuntreez, so þat þase þat couetez to visit þase cuntrez may fynd new thinges ynewe to tell off for solace and recreacioun of þaim þat lykez to here þam. 20

And I, IOHN MAUNDEUILL, knyght, þat went oute of my cuntree and passed þe see þe ȝere of oure Lord Ihesu Criste m'cccxxxii, and hase passed thurgh many landes, cuntreez and iles, and hase bene at many f.132. wirschippfull iourneez and dedez of armez with worthy men, if all I be vnworþi, and now am comen to rest, as man discomfitt for age and trauaile and febilness of body þat constrayne me þarto, and for oþer certayne causez, I hafe compiled þis buke and writen it, as it coome to my mynde, in þe ȝere of oure Lord Ihesu Criste m'ccclxvi, þat es for to say in þe foure and thrittyde ȝere efter þat I departed oute of þis land and tuke my way þiderward.

da la Byble, especialment de Genesis, des ditz des Prophetes,² et des liures Moyses. Et dient bien qe les creatures qils adorent ne sount mye dieux, mes ils les adorent³ pur la vertue q' est en ellis, q' ne purroit estre⁴ saunz grace de Dieu. Et des simulacres et des ydols ils dient qe nul gent ne sount q' n'ayent simulacres; et ceo dient pur ceo qe nous Cristiens auoms ymages de nostre Dame et des autres seintz qe nous adoroms. Mes ils ne scieuent mye quoy nous adoroms noun pas⁵ les ymages de bois ne de pierre, mes les sentz en q' nouns elles sount faitz; qar, auxi come la lettre aprent et enseigne les clerkes, quoy et coment ils deuoient croire, auxi les ymages et les peintures apprennent les laie gentz a penser et a orer les seintz en quoy nons ils sount faitz.⁶ Ils dient auxi qe ly angels Dieu parlent a eux en celles ydoles et qils font des grantz miracles. Et ils dient voir q'il y a vn aungel dedein; mes il y a deux maneres d'angels, bons et mals, si qe ly Gregois dient Cacho⁷ et Calo. Et Cacho est malueis, et Calo est bons. Mes ceo nest mie ly bons, mes ly malueis, qest as ydols pur eux deceiure et pur eux maintenir en lour errour.⁸ 30

Il y a plusours autres diuers pais et moutz d'autres meruilles par de la, qe ieo nay mie tout veu, si nen saueroie proprement parler. Et meismement⁹ el pais en quel iay este y a plusours diuersetes, dont ieo ne fais point el¹⁰ mencion, qar trop seroit long chose a tout deuier.¹¹ Et pur ceo qe ieo¹² vous ay deuisez dascuns pais, vous doit suffire quant a present. Qar, si ieo deuisoie tout quantqes y est par de la, vn autre q' se peneroit et trauailleroit le corps pur aler en celles marches et pur sercher la pais, serroit empeschez par mes ditz a recompter nuls choses estranges, qar il ne purroit rien dire de nouelle, en quoy ly oyantz¹³ y puissent prendre solaces. Et lem dit toutdis qe¹⁴ choses 40 nouvelles pleissent¹⁵; si men taceray a tant, saunz plus recompter nuls diuersetes q' soyent par de la, a la fin qe cis q' vourra aler en celles parties y troeue assez a dire.

Et ieo, IOHAN MAUNDEUILLE dessudit, q' men party de nos pais et passay le mer lan de grace mil ccc.xxiide, q' moient terre et moient R.f.83b. passage¹⁶ et moient pays ay puis cerchez, et q' ay este en moient bone compaignie et en molt¹⁷ beal fait, come bien qe ieo ne feisse vncqes¹⁸ ne beal fait ne beal emprise, et q' maintenant suy venuz a repos maugre mien, pur goutes artetikes,¹⁹ q' moy destreignont, en preignan solacz en mon cheitif repos, en recordant le temps passe, ay cestes choses compilez et mises en escript, si come il me poet souuenir, lan de grace mil ccc.lvi^{me} a xxxiii^{me} an qe ieo men party de noz pais.²⁰

¹ These concluding paragraphs are more literally rendered in C. than here. See note.

² aiment, G.

³ qar pensee domme et de femme est souuent corrupue par plusieurs choses mundaines, pour quoy il oublieroient souuent ou non dieu ne les en faisoient souuenir, adds G.

⁴ nomement, S.; meemes, G.

⁵ que ieo—a present, qar, om. G.

⁶ plaisent et si les oit len volentiers, G.

⁷ qe ieo ne fuisse dignes et ne fuisse vncqes, S.; ie nen feisse onques nul ne nulle belle entreprise ne autre bien, dont len doit compte faire, G.

⁸ pur goutes artentykes, S.; gouttes et articles, G.

⁹ qar elles ne pourroient rien faire, G.

¹⁰ Caro, G.

¹¹ el, om. S.; de, G.

¹² les gens, G.

¹³ et moient passage, om. G.

¹⁴ mises en escript par les memoires abreges fais par moy sur ce et sur chascun pais. Si prie, etc., G.

¹⁵ Genesis et dez xii. prophetes, S.; Genesis et autres prophetes, G.

¹⁶ Mais il sceuent bien que nous ne adourons pas, G.

¹⁷ Dieu et sa Mere et les sains a deprier, se les figures faites

¹⁸ folie, S.

¹⁹ du raconter et de tout deuier, G.

²⁰ tousiours et cest voir que, G.

²¹ en meinte, S.; veu maint, G.

²² en meinte, S.; veu maint, G.

²³ mises en escript par les memoires abreges fais par moy sur ce et sur chascun pais. Si prie, etc., G.

And for als mykill as many men trowez noȝt bot þat at þai see with þaire eghen, or þat þai may consayue with þaire awen kyndely wittes, þerfore I made my way in my commyng hamward vnto Rome to schew my buke till oure haly fader þe Pape.¹ And I tald him þe meruailes whilk I had sene in diuerse cuntreez, so þat he with his wyse counsaile wald examyne it with diuerse folke þat er in Rome, for þare er euermare dwelland men of all naciouns of þe werld. And a lytill [after],² when he and his wyse counsaile had examyned it all thurgh, he said to me for certayne þat all was soth þat was þerin. For [he] said þat he had a buke of Latyn þat con[teyned] all þat and mykill mare, after whilk buke [the *Mappa*] *Mundi* es made; and þat buke he schewed m[e]. And þerfore oure haly fader þe Pape hase ratified [and] confermed my buke in all poyntes.

Qwh[erfore] I pray til all þase þat redez þis Buke or heres it redd, þat þai will pray for me, and I schall f.132b. p[ray] for þaim. And all þase þat saise for me deuotely a *Pater Noster* and ane *Aue*, þat Godd forgife me my synnez, he graunt þam parte of all my pilgrimage and all oþer gude dedis þat I hafe done or may do in tyme commyng vnto my lyfez end. And I, in þat in me es, makez þam parceres of þam, prayand to Godd, of wham all grace commez, þat he fulfill with his grace all þase þat þis buke redez or heres, and saue þam and kepe þam in body and saule, and after þis lyf bring þam to þe cuntree whare ioy es and endles rest and peesse with outen end. Amen.

HERE ENDEZ þe BUKE OF JOHN MAUNDEUILE.

Si pri a toutz les lisauntz, si lour plest, qils voillent Dieu prier pur moy, et ieo priera pur eux. Et toutz cils qi pur moy dirrout vne *Pater Noster*, qe Dieu me face³ remissioun de mes pecches, ieo les face partenens et lour ottoie part dez toutz les bons pelrinages et dez toutz les bienfaitz qe ieo feisse vnqes et qe ieo ferray, si Dieu plest, vncqore iusques a ma fyn. Et pry a Dieu, de qy toute bien et toute grace descent, qil toutz les lisantz et oyantz Cristiens voille de sa grace reemplir et lour corps et les almes sauuer a la glorie et loenge de ly, qi est trinz et vns, et saunz comencement et saunz fin, saunz qualite bons et sans quantite grantz,⁴ en⁵ toutz lieus present et toutz choses contenant, et qy nul bien ne poet amender ne nul mal enpirer, qy en Trinite parfite vit et regne par toutz siecles et par toutz temps. Amen.⁶

¹ Pape, erased and rewritten, MS.; and so below, l. 8.
³ doyne, S.

⁴ gracious, S.

² This word and portions of a few others at the edge of the leaf have been cut away.

⁵ en, S. G.; et, R.

⁶ *Explicit liber Domini Iohannis Maundeuille, militis, G.*

NOTES.

Page 1, l. 1. "*the Haly Land.*"—The opening of this preface may be compared with a passage in the prologue to Marino Sanudo's *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, lib. iii., written in 1321: "Et quia Terra Sancta dignior existit cæteris aliis ab ipsa distantibus propter salutem humani generis quam in ea Redemptor noster, tanquam in terræ umbilico, voluit operari, valde in majori quam aliæ hujus mundi reverentia est habenda," etc. (ed. Hanoviæ, 1611, p. 98).

Page 1, l. 11. "*the vertu of thingez es in the myddes.*"—An adaptation of the Aristotelian maxim that every virtue is a mean between two vices (*Nic. Eth.* ii. 7), or, as Cicero expresses it, "*mediocritatem illam tenebit, quæ est inter nimium et parum*" (*De Offic.*, i. 25). As to the mediæval notion that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth, see above p. 91, and *note*.

Page 2, l. 14. "*mare bisie for to disherite thaire neighbours.*"—There is perhaps a special allusion here to the wars of Edward III. with France. According to his own statement (p. 155) Mandeville was writing in 1356, the same year in which was fought the battle of Poitiers.

Page 2, l. 22. "*it es lang tyme passed,*" etc.—It was nearly a century since the ninth and last Crusade, undertaken by St. Louis in 1270, came to an end with his death and with the return of Edward I. to England.

Page 4, l. 2. "*thurgh the kyngdom of Hungary,*" etc.—The route to Constantinople through Hungary and Bulgaria was that followed by the first Crusade in 1096; and there are indications (see also below, ch. xiv. p. 63) that Mandeville's knowledge of it was derived from the history of that Crusade by Albert of Aix (*Alb. Aquisiensis Hist. Hierosol.*, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. iv.). The limits, however, which he assigns to the kingdom of Hungary appear to be those of his own time, under Louis the Great (1342-1382), whose full style ran, in 1347, "*Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Ramæ (sc. Bosnia), Serviæ, Galliciæ, Lodomeriæ (sc. Vladimir), Cumanæ, Bulgariæque Rex*" (Féjér, *Codex Diplom. Hung.*, ix. 1, p. 460). The term Slavonia, or Savia, (whence perhaps the "Savoy" of MS. E.) was properly applied to the district between the Save and the Drave, but is no doubt used by Mandeville in its wider sense as including Croatia, permanently annexed to Hungary in 1180. The title of King of Cumania was first assumed by the king of Hungary in or about 1233 (Roesler, *Römische Studien*, 1871, p. 280; Féjér, vii. 4, p. 81). It referred to the Comans, or Cumans, a Turanian tribe from the north of the Caspian Sea, who first appeared in Europe about the middle of

the 11th century, settling on the left bank of the lower Danube, in what was afterwards Wallachia. Large bodies of them, however, penetrated into Hungary, where their name survives in the districts of Great and Little Cumania on either bank of the Theiss (Klaproth, *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, 1828, iii. p. 113; Blau, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1876, p. 556). "Ruscy" is Red Russia, i.e. Halicz or Galicia, long in dispute between Hungary and Poland until it was secured to the latter in 1390.

Page 4, l. 7. "*Chippiron.*"—This, with its variant forms, represents the "Cyperon" of Albert of Aix, i. 7 (*Recueil*, iv. p. 276), and is easily recognisable in Sopron, the Hungarian name of Oedenburg, thirty-five miles south-east of Vienna. As to "the castell of Newburgh," the true reading "Meseburch" is preserved in MS. G.; other MSS. coming more or less near to it. The place is no doubt the "præsidium Meseburch" of Albert of Aix, i. 23 (p. 290) and the "Meeszburg" of William of Tyre, i. 29 (*Recueil*, i. p. 67). This was situated on the "Lintax," or Leytha, and is now known as Wieselburg (Mozson, Hung.). In Guibert's *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 8 (*Recueil*, iv. p. 143) it appears as "Moisson," a name which, as he remarks, pointed a sarcasm against such of the Crusading rabble under Count Emico as escaped death before its walls (*cf.* Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, i. p. 79, "Le peuple leur disait qu'ils revenaient de la moisson"). Its position north-east of Oedenburg, and so out of the road to Belgrade, is additional evidence that Mandeville had no personal acquaintance with the route. Dr. Vogels (*Die ungedruckten Latein. Versionen Mandeville's*, 1886, p. 11) supposes him to mean Stuhl-Weissenburg (Székes Fehérvár, Hung.; Stolni Belgrad, Slav.). This, however, is "Bellagrava . . . in umbilico regni," so distinguished from Belgrade on the Danube (Will. Tyr., i. 27, p. 64; Alb. Aq., i. 23, pp. 290, 739), Weissenburg and Belgrade (White Town) being equivalent terms.

Page 4, l. 8. "*and men passez by the ryuer of Danuby,*" i.e. along the right bank, as it runs towards Belgrade. In the French text the traveller proceeds to Maleville ("the evylle town," as, rightly or wrongly, it is rendered in C.), and there crosses the Danube. The river, however, to be crossed at Maleville was not the Danube, but its tributary the Save, the route all along keeping to the right of the main stream. The source of the passage is probably Alb. Aq., i. 6 (p. 274), "Hic itaque (sc. Walter the Pennyless) usque ad Belegravam, civitatem Bulgarorum, profectus est, transiens Malevillam, ubi terminantur fines regni Ungarorum." Maleville, as we learn elsewhere, was on the Save (Alb. Aq., ii. 6,

p. 303; Will. Tyr., ii. 3, p. 76) and distant a mile from Belgrade (Alb. Aq., i. 8, p. 277), a position corresponding with that of Semlin, at the junction of the Save and Danube and only separated by the former from Belgrade. It can hardly be Neusatz, as Dr. Vogels assumes (*op. cit.*, p. 12), this town being 50 miles up the Danube from Belgrade, on the left bank.

Page 4, l. 8. "*This es a full grete ryuer,*" etc.—The Danube is really formed by the union of the two streams Brigach and Brieg, which rise in the Black Forest and meet at Donaueschingen, in the Grand Duchy of Baden. The number of its tributaries is nearer four hundred than forty, sixty of them being of considerable size. In saying that it runs through Greece and Thrace the author makes Greece, or the Greek empire, to include Bulgaria.

Page 4, l. 12. "*a brigg of stane that es ouer the ryuer of Marrok,*" i.e. the Morava.—This reads like a confused reminiscence of Alb. Aq., i. 8 (p. 278), from which it appears that the "lapideus pons" was not over the Morava, the right bank of which was reached by the Crusaders in boats, but over its tributary the Nissava, in front of the city of "Nizh" (the "Ny" of the French text and C.), now Nisch.

Page 4, l. 12. "*thurgh the land of Pynceras*": cf. Alb. Aq., i. 8 (p. 278), "*a Pincenariis, qui Bulgariam inhabitabant,*" etc.—The settlement of the Pincenati, Petschenegs or Patzinaks, along the lower Danube preceded that of the kindred Comans by about a century (Klaproth, *op. cit.*, p. 117). Whatever was the case in 1096, their name was probably no longer current in Bulgaria in Mandeville's time.

Page 4, l. 13. "*the citee of Sternes,*" etc.: cf. Alb. Aq., i. 6 (p. 275), "*ac ei conductum idem dominus terræ per civitates Bulgarie, Sternez [Sofia] et Phinepopolim [Philippopoli, Félibe] atque Andronopolim [Adrianople] pacifice dedit.*"

Page 4, l. 16. "*ane ymage of Justinyane,*" etc.—The bronze equestrian statue of Justinian erected by himself in the Forum Augusteum in 543, a silver statue of Theodosius being demolished to make room for it (Zonaras, xiv. 6). It is minutely described by Procopius (*De Edificiis*, i. 2); and Nicephorus Gregoras (*Hist. Byzant.*, vii. 12. 4) gives an interesting account of its being repaired when the cross on the orb in the left hand was blown down in 1317. Wilhelm von Boldensele, who visited Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem in 1332, and from whose *Itinerarium* Mandeville, as will be seen, borrows extensively, thus writes of it: "*Coram ista pretiosissima ecclesia stat imago imperatoris Justiniani eques, de ære fusa, imperiali diademate coronata, tota deaurata maximæ quantitatis, manu sinistra pomum, quod orbem repræsentat, cruce superposita tenens, dexteramque contra orientem levans, ad modum principis minas rebellibus imponentis. Statua, super quam imago posita est, altissima est, ex petris magnis et cemento fortissimo conglutinata*" (Grotefend, *Die Edelherren von Boldensele*, 1885, p. 30). It is mentioned again by Bondelmonti in 1422 in somewhat similar terms (*Liber insularum Archipelagi*, ed. Sinner, 1824, p. 122). Both these eye-witnesses speak of the "apple" as still retained in the hand; and Mandeville's story of its loss may be merely a distorted version of the accident in 1317. He is supported, however, by the Bavarian Johann Schiltberger (1396-1427), unless indeed the latter merely copied him: "In front of the palace is the statue of the emperor Justian (*sic*) on a horse; it is placed upon a high piece of marble, which is a pillar At one time the statue had a golden apple in the hand, and that meant that he

had been a mighty emperor over Christians and Infidels; but now he has no longer that power, so the apple has disappeared" (*Bondage and Travels*, ed. Telfer, Hakl. Soc., 1879, p. 79). From a note to this passage (p. 228) it appears, on the contrary, that Stephen of Novgorod (*circ.* 1350) and Zosimus (1420) both saw the orb in its place. Clavijo also (1403) speaks of "*una pella redonda dorada en la mano*" (ed. 1582, f. 12b); but the sentence is omitted in the English translation (*Embassy to the Court of Timour*, ed. Markham, Hakl. Soc., 1859, p. 36). The ultimate fate of the statue is told by Pierre Gilles or Gyllius, who shortly before 1550 saw it broken up and removed to the arsenal to be cast into cannon (*De Topographia Constant.*, ii. 17, ed. 1562, p. 105).

Page 5, l. 5 (with note 2). "*At Constantinople es the sponge,*" etc.: cf. Boldensele (p. 31), "*In hac sacra urbe vidi ex mandato domini imperatoris magnam partem crucis Dominicæ, tunicam inconsutilem, item spongiam, calamum, et clavum Domini,*" etc. The German pilgrim, it may be noted, says nothing of the crown and spear-head "many tymes sene" by Mandeville (pp. 6, 7). Several highly curious lists of relics at Constantinople, including those here mentioned, are brought together in Count Riant's *Exuvie Sacræ Constant.*, 1877-8, ii. p. 206, beginning with that contained in the so-called letter of Alexius I. to Robert of Flanders in 1092. The most precious, though not the most extraordinary, were the Crown of Thorns and the wood of the Cross. A portion only of the Cross was sent to Constantinople by St. Helena, and this was enclosed by Constantine within his statue in the Forum (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 17). The remainder was preserved in a silver shrine at Jerusalem, where it was seen, together with the crown and the spear, by Theodosius (*circ.* 530) and Antoninus Martyr (*circ.* 570), the latter also mentioning the sponge and reed (*Itinera Terræ Sanctæ*, ed. Tobler, 1877, i. pp. 64, 102). In 614 it was carried away by Chosroes into Persia; but it was recovered from his successor by Heraclius and solemnly "exalted" at Jerusalem in 629. According to Theophanes, however, the emperor again removed it to Constantinople, when fear of the Saracens drove him from Syria in 634 (*Chronographia*, ed. 1839, i. p. 517). Another account is given by Ansellus, writing from the Holy Sepulchre in 1109, who states that after the death of Heraclius the Christians of Jerusalem divided the Cross for greater security into several sections, of which they sent three to Constantinople, two to Cyprus, etc., keeping four for themselves (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxii., 729). This story, which was probably invented to account for the presence of so-called fragments in different localities, must be taken for what it is worth; but we know from Arculf that three "ligna" were to be seen at Constantinople, *circ.* 670 (*De Locis Sanctis*, Tobler, *op. cit.* i., p. 194). How and when the Crown of Thorns and other relics found their way thither is left to conjecture. The nails indeed, as we are told, were sent by St. Helena (Socrates, *loc. cit.*), and the sponge and spear by Nicetas the Patrician, when he rescued them from the Persians in 614 (*Chron. Paschale*, ed. 1832, i. p. 705). The latter relics in this case must have made more than one journey to and fro, as in Arculf's time they were again at Jerusalem (pp. 152, 153). As to the Seamless Coat, the history of a full score of relics so named has been traced by Gildemeister and Von Sybel (*Der Heilige Rock zu Trier, etc.*, 1844). The fact that one "tunica inconsutilis" is said to have been given by the Empress Irene to Charlemagne and deposited by him at Argenteuil was no bar to the continued exhibition of another at Constantinople;

though it accounts perhaps for the duplicate not being among the relics which were presented by the Emperor Baldwin to St. Louis in 1239 and 1241, and all of which must be supposed to have survived the sack of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. These comprised the Crown of Thorns, two pieces of the Cross, the sponge, spear-head, etc. (cf. p. 6, l. 22); but the value of the gift was somewhat impaired by their being held in pawn by the Venetians and Templars, from whose hands Louis had to redeem them (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1878, xxxix. p. 401; and Baldwin's quit-claim, Riant, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 133. See also Gibbon, ed. 1839, xi. p. 269). Thenceforth they formed the chief glory of the Sainte Chapelle; and we have the assurance of Rohault de Fleury (*Mém. sur les Instruments de la Passion*, 1870, pl. ix. p. 202) that the identical Cross and Crown are now at Notre Dame.

Page 5, l. 7. "Hill of the Haly Crosse": now Stavro Vouni, near Larnaca. The "crux boni latronis" is mentioned by Boldensele (p. 33) as being in Cyprus "in quodam alto monte apud monachos"; to which Ludolph von Sudheim adds (1336) that it was the gift of St. Helena (*De Itin. Terræ Sanctæ*, ed. Deycks, 1851, p. 32). Neither writer, however, alludes to the fraud denounced by Mandeville. A fuller account of the cross of Dismas is given by Willibrand von Oldenburg (1211), who describes it, with a qualifying "ut dicunt," as miraculously suspended in the air (*Itinerarium*, ed. Laurent, 1864, p. 181). The same marvel is recorded by the Seigneur d'Anglure (1395), "et si se soustient en l'air sans ce que l'en puisse apparcevoir que aucune chose la soustienne" (*Le Saint Voyage*, ed. 1878, p. 82). He states, moreover, that in the centre of the cross was inserted a "petite croix . . . de la vraye croix Nostre Seigneur"; and it was this "croisette" no doubt which gave occasion for Mandeville's charge against the monks. That they were in no good repute in other respects is evident from a disparaging remark by Willibrand. To the last-named pilgrim we owe a curious account of the acquisition of the larger relic, illustrating the strange belief in vampires still prevalent among the Greek islanders (Bent, *Cyclades*, 1885, p. 41). St. Helena, as it appears, touched at Cyprus on her return from Jerusalem, and found the inhabitants harassed by the devil, who continually exhumed the dead during the night and conveyed the corpses into their houses. As she had with her the cross of Dismas entire, she gave it to them for their protection; and the charm had the desired effect. The native historian Machæras (15th cent.) tells a different and more lively story (*Χρονικὸν Κύπρου*, ed. Miller, 1882, p. 5). St. Helena, on landing with her relics, fell asleep after dinner. She dreamt that a youth stood beside her, urging her to build churches in Cyprus, as she had done at Jerusalem; and, when she awoke, the Good Thief's cross was gone! Search being made, it was at length discovered on the top of the mountain, whither it had of course been miraculously transported. There she built a church over it; and to enhance its sanctity she embedded in it (εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ σταυροῦ) a piece of the Cross of our Lord himself. From what is said by modern writers it would seem that the cross of Dismas has been forgotten in the island altogether, tradition only preserving the memory of the holier relic (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 1877, p. 6; F. von Löher, *Cypern*, 1878, p. 294).

Page 5, l. 10. "the crosse of oure Lord," etc.—The idea, closely connected with the legend on page 6, that the Cross was composed of more than one species of wood seems to have been grounded on a supposed type in Isaiah lx. 13. In the Vulgate and our own version

the trees there named are the fir, the box, and the pine. In the Septuagint, however, they are the cypress, the pine, and the cedar (St. Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xxiv. 594); and accordingly the author of the Homily on the Cross ascribed to St. Chrysostom (Migne, *Patr. Græca*, lii. 839) assumes these three trees to have supplied its materials. "Thai sal be cedre, cyprese, and pine" (typifying the Trinity) was also the prophecy of the angel in the *Cursor Mundi* (see below) l. 1377, one MS., however, for "pine" reading "palme fine." Bede adds box as the wood on which the title was written, the main upright being of cypress, the crossbeam of cedar, and the upright above it of pine (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xciv. 555). Mandeville's enumeration agrees with that of Jac. de Voragine (*Legenda Aurea*, 1846, p. 303), who quotes the monostich "Ligna crucis palma, cedrus, cupressus, oliva"; and his distribution of the materials follows the traditional lines (Gretser, *De Cruce*, 1734, i. p. 7):

"Quatuor ex lignis Domini crux dicitur esse.

Pes crucis est cedrus; corpus tenet alta cupressus;

Palma manus retinet; titulo lætatur oliva."

In what part of the Old Testament he found palm ordained to be the prize of victory, it is hard to say. Possibly he was thinking of ii. Maccabees x. 7, or xiv. 4. It more probably owes its place in the legend to Canticles vii. 8, "Ascendam in palmam."

Page 6, l. 6. "Men of Grece," etc.: cf. Gervase of Tilbury, "Traditio Græcorum habet quod de arbore illa in cujus fructu peccavit Adam ramus fuit translatus in Jerusalem, qui in tantam excrevit arborem quod de illa facta est crux Domini" (*Otia Imperialia*, Leibnitz, *Script. rer. Brunsvic.*, 1707, i. p. 1,000. See also Liebrecht's Extracts, 1856, p. 25). There is more to the same effect in the *Legenda Aurea* (p. 303) and in the *Liber de Septem Donis* (13th century) of Etienne de Bourbon (ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 1877, p. 425), the story of Seth's visit to Paradise being introduced in both places. This story is found in the second part of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, stopping short, however, at the angel's refusal of the oil of mercy (ed. Tischendorf, 1853, p. 372); and in its various developments it plays an important part in the great family of legends which grew up in the Middle Ages round the Holy Cross. The subject, which has too wide a range to be adequately treated here, has been discussed from intimate knowledge by A. Mussafia (*Legenda del legno della Croce*, in the *Sitzungsb. Kaiserl. Akad. Wiens*, vol. lxiii., 1870, p. 165). He divides the many different versions of the story into two main groups, in one of which a branch of the Tree is brought from Paradise, and in the other, and more popular, three grains of the Fruit. Col. Yule also touches upon the legend in an exhaustive note on the "arbre sec" (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., 1875, i. p. 141); and other variants, notably a Russian one, are mentioned by A. de Gubernatis (*La Mythologie des Plantes*, 1878, i. p. 2). Its popularity in England is amply attested in the vernacular, both in prose and verse. Compared with the versions collected by Dr. R. Morris (*Legends of the Holy Rood*, 1871) and with that in the 14th century Northumbrian poem *Cursor Mundi* (ed. R. Morris, 1874-8), Mandeville's story is meagre enough, as may be seen from an admirable summary of the legend in the preface to the first named work; but he refers incidentally to some of the omitted details further on. The "four graynes," instead of three, in the English text of E. is of course a mere blunder of the translator or scribe, to equalise the number with that of the woods of the Cross.

Page 6, l. 22. "*A party of the Coroun*", etc.—As stated above (p. 159), St. Louis redeemed the relics mentioned from the Venetians and Templars, not from the "Ianuenes" or Genoese. The reading "Jewes" in C. is still more wide of the mark.

Page 6, l. 26. "*iunkes of the see*": cf. Durandus (*ob.* 1333), "Et scias quod corona fuit de juncis marinis, sicut eam vidimus in thesauris regis Francorum, quorum acies non minus spinis duræ sunt et acutæ" (*Rationale*, vi. 77, ed. 1565, f. 344b). Whatever its origin, the story which follows, of the fourfold crowning of Christ, serves to reconcile conflicting theories as to the species of thorn which was utilised (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.* p. 199). The probability is that it was the Christ's Thorn (*paliurus aculeatus*) or the Jujube or Nubk (*zizyphus Spina Christi*), both of which are common about Jerusalem (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, 1867, p. 428; *Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, 1884, pp. 263, 264). The "albespyne" is our hawthorn or white thorn (*cratægus monogyna*), a tree everywhere famous in folk-lore. It is the "Christdorn" of Germany, and the "aubépine" or "épine noble," which in France groans on Good Friday and branches of which peasants wear in their hats to preserve them from lightning (Syme, *English Botany*, 1864, iii. p. 239). Its prophylactic virtues are, however, of an earlier date than the Crucifixion. Among its other uses it repelled the "strigæ," as we learn from Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 129),

"Sic fatus, spinam, qua tristes pellere posset
A foribus noxas (hæc erat alba), dedit,"

a passage which curiously parallels what Mandeville says of no "ill spirit" ("evyll gost," C.) entering where it is. That the Crown was of "barbaren," or barberry, is said to be the belief in Italy, chiefly, as it seems, because its spines grow in sets of three (Folkard, *Plant Lore*, 1884, p. 243). The identity of "engleterre," or eglantine, has been a matter of doubt (Britten and Holland, *Dict. of Plant Names*, 1886, p. 166); but it is now generally supposed to be the sweet-briar (*rosa rubiginosa*). Turner, in his *Names of Herbes* (1548), seems to identify both with the dog-rose, "Cynorrhodus, named of the Latines Rosa canina, is called in Englishe a swete brere or an eglentyne" (ed. Britten, 1881, p. 33). By "*iunkes of the see*" no doubt the sea rush (*juncus maritimus*) is meant, though it has only terminal points and grows only on the sea-shore. Had not the relic at Paris been composed of it, its connection with the Crown of Thorns would probably never have been suspected.

Page 8, l. 3. "*Also at Constantinople lies saynt Anne*," etc. Neither St. Anne nor St. Luke is mentioned by Boldensele, from whom the rest of the paragraph seems to be derived. A church was dedicated to St. Anne by Justinian (Procopius, *De Edif.*, i. 3), but her remains are not reported to have been deposited in it; nor are they included in any of the lists of relics given by Riant. Possibly therefore Mandeville confused her with one or the other of two saints of the same name who were venerated at Constantinople (Riant, ii. pp. 220, 224). The story of her translation from Jerusalem is, however, repeated by the Bollandists (*Acta SS.*, 26 July), but only on the authority of the Roman Breviary (Paris, 1528), supported by Mandeville himself! St. Luke is said to have died in Bithynia (Paulus Diaconus, Migne, xcv. 1535), corrupted in our text into "Bethany"; but his body, with those of St. Andrew and St. Timothy, was removed to Constantinople by Constantine, who built over them the Church of the Apostles.

This was rebuilt by Justinian, when the relics of the saints, by that time obscured (*ἀδελὰ τε καὶ ὄλως κρυφαῖα*), were again brought to light (Procopius, *De Edif.*, i. 4). The remains of St. Chrysostom were of less dubious authenticity. They were translated from Comana in Pontus, where he died in exile (407), by the Patriarch Proclus in 437 as a means of conciliating his adherents the Johannists (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 45).

Page 8, l. 6. "*the vesselles of stane*," etc.: cf. Boldensele's account (p. 61) of the weeping pillars at Jerusalem (see above, p. 39), which he explains by supposing them to be made of a stone "in genere marmorum, qui enydros appellatur," having the property of condensing the surrounding atmosphere. He proceeds to say that in the vaults (sub terra) of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople he had seen certain "conchas marmoreas" made of a like stone, which, when emptied, refilled themselves in the course of a year—"quod miraculum vulgaribus reputatur." Ludolph von Sudheim merely speaks of them as "quædam vasa lapidea, quæ per se aqua adimplentur et statim exsiccantur" (ed. Deycks, p. 5). The enhydros or enhygros is, however, described by Pliny as a gem, round, smooth, and white, "sed ad motum fluctuat intus in ea, veluti in ovis, liquor" (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii. 11, ed. Sillig, 1851, v. p. 61). This re-appears in Solinus in the form "enydros exudat, ut clausam in eo putes fontaneam scaturiginem" (ed. Mommsen, 1864, p. 179); and again in Marbodius, "Perpetui fletus lacrymis distillat enydros" (*Liber de Gemmis*, Migne, clxxi., 1764). See also Neckam, *De Laudibus div. Sapientie*, ed. T. Wright, 1863, p. 470. If "enydros" were not in the original French text, it might be thought that "ydrious" in E. represented the Greek *ὕδρλαι* or *ὕδρεῖα*; and perhaps, after all, what is really meant is some kind of porous basin or other receptacle for spring water, empty or full according to the season (see art. "Nymphæa," Ducange, *Constant. Christiana*, i. cap. 26, 1682, p. 86).

Page 8, l. 12. "*Aboute Grece er many iles*," etc.—Some of these names are so corrupt that identification is difficult (see foot-notes). "Minca" or "Minea" (Fr.) may perhaps mean Amorgos, Minoa being the old port of this island (Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 470). "Lempne" (Fr.) is no doubt Lemnos, but it is evidently the same island which Schiltberger calls "Lemprie," in which "is a mountain that is so high it reaches to the clouds" (p. 80); and this is identified by the editor (p. 230) with Lembro, *i.e.* Imbros, the highest point in which, however, Mount St. Elias, is only 1959 feet.

Page 8, l. 13. "*And in this ile es the mount Caucase*."—This strange reading, instead of the "Athos" of the French text, must be the desperate remedy of a scribe puzzled by the recurrence of the latter name a few lines further on. Mandeville in fact first places mount Athos in Lemnos and then in its proper position on the mainland of Macedonia. A mount Athanasi is, however, marked on the Admiralty map of the island (1835), which may possibly be intended by Athos; but it is no more than 1085 feet in height.

Page 8, l. 14. "*Turcople, Pyncenard, Comange*," etc.—This passage again recalls Albert of Aix, who, in characterising the motley host led by Alexius to the relief of the Crusaders in 1098, says that he collected "Turcopolos, Pincenarios, Comanitas," etc. (iv. 40, p. 417). The two last-named tribes we have had before, but there was no country of "Turcople," as Mandeville seems to suppose. The Turcopoli are described as half-breeds, "ex Turco

patre et Græca matre procreati (Alb. Aq., v. 3, p. 434; cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v.); and, from their employment by the Greek emperors in that service, the name was also applied to light cavalry (e.g. "equites levis armaturæ, quos Turcopulos vocant," Will. Tyr., xix. 25, p. 925).

Page 8, l. 16. "a citee that men calles Strages": Stageirus, in Chalcidice, on the Strymonian Gulf. Aristotle died at Chalcis, in Euboea, but he was interred, it is said, in his native town. The "solempne feste" no doubt refers to the yearly festival of the Aristotelia instituted in his honour (Ammonius, *Vita Arist.*), but we need not suppose that it continued to Mandeville's time.

Page 9, l. 1. "Athos."—The classical allusions to the shadow of Mount Athos falling on a brazen cow in the agora of Myrina (now Kastro) in Lemnos are collected by Rhode (*Res Lemnicæ*, 1829, p. 11), the best known being the line "Ἄθως καλύπτει πλευρὰ Λημνίας βοός," quoted by Plutarch (*De Facie in orbe Lunæ*, ed. Oxon., 1797, iv. p. 526). The fact is confirmed by Belon du Mans (*Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, 1553, f. 26b). See also Conze, *Reise, etc.*, 1860, p. 108. Pliny makes the distance (which is said to be really about forty English miles) to be eighty-seven miles (*Nat. Hist.*, iv. 73, ed. Sillig, i. p. 305), and Solinus eighty-six (cap. 11, 33, ed. Mommsen, p. 86). Mandeville's "lxxvi." (Fr. text) is perhaps due to Isidore (*De Etym.*, xiv. 8, Migne, lxxxii. 522). The story which follows is to be found in the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor (ob. 1179), the mountain named being Olympus (Gen., cap. 34, Migne, cxcviii. 1084). It may be compared with what Solinus says of both Olympus and Athos being so high above the clouds that the ashes on the altars on their summits were never washed away by rain (*loc. cit.*, and cap. 8, 6, p. 69).

Page 9, l. 9. "a fayre place ordaynd for iustynge."—This is not mentioned by Boldensele. Clavijs in 1403 thus describes it: "On another day the ambassadors went to see a plain called the Hippodrome, where they joust. It is surrounded by white marble pillars, so large that three men can only just span round them, and their height is two lances. They are thirty-seven in number, fixed in very large white marble bases; and above they were connected by arches going from one to the other, so that a man can walk all round on the top of them; and there are battlements, breast high, of white marble, and these are made for ladies and maidens and noble women, when they view the jousts and tournaments" (*op. cit.*, p. 34). The palace mentioned was that of Boukoleon, adjoining the Hippodrome or Atmeidan; according to Schiltberger, "very beautiful, and much decorated inside with gold, lapis-lazuli, and marbles" (p. 79).

Page 9, l. 18. "Ermogenes the wyse man."—The French text is undoubtedly correct in reading "Hermes," meaning the mythical Hermes Trismegistus; but I have not succeeded in tracing the story to its source. As for Hermogenes of Tarsus, he lived in the latter part of the second cent. A.D.

Page 9, l. 19. "3it thai vary fra oure faith," etc.—Much of what is here said of the religious tenets and usages of the Greeks is to be found in J. de Vitry, *Hist. Hierosol.* (ed. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1611) pp. 1089-1091. See also Schiltberger (ch. 59, p. 81), who probably copied Mandeville. Among the passages not in De Vitry is, of course, the story of pope John xxii. [1316-1334]. This presumably refers to his abortive negotiations with the emperor Andronicus Palæologus (Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1333, §§ 17, 18; 1334, § 1), which, though favoured

by a party at court, were treated with scorn by the people (Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. 1829, II. iii. 315, sqq.). Possibly, however, the papal letters mentioned may be those of pope John xxi., 20 Nov. 1276, claiming performance of the terms of the union of the two churches agreed upon at the Council of Lyons in 1274 (Raynaldus, 1276, § 45); but the sarcastic terms of the supposed answer point rather to John xxii., whose avarice was notorious. Very similar answers indeed might have been returned at any time, as in 1237 to Gregory ix.: "His autem salutaribus monitis auditis, sed non exauditis, non se Græci ecclesiæ Romanæ subdiderunt, forte tyrannidem et avaritiam ejus pertimescentes" (Matthew Paris, ed. Luard, iii. p. 469).

Page 10, l. 4. "leuaynd breed": cf. J. de Vitry, "Cum autem sancta Romana Ecclesia et omnes occidentales ad imitationem Domini ex azymo pane sacramenta conficiant, ipsi contra mysterium ex fermentato pane conficiunt sacramenta" (p. 1091). Our text is more correct here than C. and other English MSS. which represent the Greeks as making the sacrament of "therf," i.e. unleavened bread, in which case the usage of the two churches would have been identical. C. moreover says that "oure Lord made it of suche (therf) bred, whan he made his Mawndee," whereas E., like the French text, puts it the other way. What the Greek belief was, or was supposed to be, on the point is thus expressed by Sanudo: "quia Christus in comestione agni Paschalis tempus prævenit una die, et quod luna xiv. passus est, ac per hoc aiunt eum in fermentato non in azymo consecrasset" (p. 181). As to "Maundee," cf. Piers Plowman, B. text, xvi. 139 (ed. Skeat, 1869, p. 295, and Notes, p. 379):—

"a litel bifor Paske,

The Thorsday before, there he made his Maundee."

Maundy Thursday is in fact "dies mandati," in allusion to John xiii. 34, "Mandatum novum do vobis." These words were sung as an anthem at the washing of the feet of the poor on this day, the rubric for the service being also "conveniunt clerici ad faciendum mandatum." The other term "Schire Thursday" (l. 6) has been derived from the custom of the clergy shaving their heads on this day preparatory to Easter (Hampson, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, ii. p. 358); but "the spelling *shir* shows at once that the word is our modern *sheer*, which formerly had the sense of pure, bright, clean" (Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 380). Schiltberger's account of the making of the sacramental bread is merely that "it is not baked by any man, but only by a virgin or nun" (cf. Heineccius, *Abbildung der Griech. Kirche*, 1711, ii. p. 275); but that special efficacy was attributed to the Host consecrated on Maundy Thursday is asserted in art. 14 of a list of thirty-one Errors of the Greeks sent by Ant. Caucus, Latin Archbishop of Corfu, to pope Gregory xiii. (Bertrand, *Dict. de toutes les Religions*, 1848, col. 1029).

Page 10, l. 8. "ne dippes thaim bot anes in the fount."—This, if true, is at variance with modern usage, trine immersion being one of the most distinctive features of Greek ritual (Schaff, *Religious Encyclopædia*, ii. p. 902). The same is the case with the next statement, "Thai anynt na seke men"; for it is in the repetition of unction for the sick, instead of using extreme unction only, that the Greek church varies from the Roman (Schaff, *ibid.*; cf. Simon, *Hist. Critique de la Créance et des Coutumes des nations du Levant*, 1684, p. 13).

Page 10, l. 9. "Thai say also that fornication is na dedly [synne]."—This allegation is repeated by Schiltberger and Caucus (art. 28), but is not justified by anything in the dogmatic teaching of the

Greek church, whatever the laxity in practice (cf. Leo Allatius, *De libris et rebus Eccl. Græcorum*, 1646, ii. p. 70). It is not in De Vitry, nor am I aware that it was used as a weapon by Latin controversialists before Mandeville. Only the clergy moreover were forbidden to marry more than once; as to the laity, both De Vitry and Caucius (art. 16) state that the prohibition was against fourth marriages.

Page 10, l. 11. "*Thai say that oker es na dedly synne*": so also Schiltberger and Caucius (art. 19); but by the *Nomo-canon*, cap. cix., the usurer was held accursed (Cotelerius, *Eccl. Græca Monumenta*, 1677, i. p. 86). As to the word "oker," cf. Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 372 (ed. Peacock, E.E.T.S., 1868, p. 12):—

"Vsurre and okere, þat beth al on,
Teche hem þat þey vse non."

Page 10, l. 14. "*Thai fast noȝt the Seterday*," etc.: cf. De Vitry, "Diem autem Sabbathi adeo sollemnem reputant quod non licet alicui eorum in Sabbatho jejungere, excepto tantummodo Sabbatho sancti Paschæ"—and for the sentence following, "Altaria supra quæ Latini celebraverunt divina, prius quam in ipsis celebrant, abluere consueverunt" (p. 1090; cf. Sanudo, p. 181).

Page 10, l. 17. "*oure Lorde ete neuer bodily mete*," etc.—I do not find this mentioned elsewhere as a belief of the Greeks. Something to the same effect is in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vi. 9 (Migne, *Patr. Græca*, ix. 291).

Page 10, l. 20. "*for to plesse the world and thaire wyfes*."—De Vitry (though he seems to have supplied the preceding sentence) tells a story which rather makes the other way, viz. that Baldwin, Count of Edessa, let his beard grow when he married the daughter of a noble Armenian of the Greek faith, and then, on pretence of having pawned it, extorted a large sum from his father-in-law to avert the shame of parting with it (p. 1089). According to Schiltberger, shaving was regarded as a mortal sin only in priests, "because it happens from unchastity and to please the women" (p. 83).

Page 10, l. 22. "*the three days before Ask Wednesday*": so properly rendered for "quarresme carnem perant," or in modern French "carême-prenant."

Page 11, l. 1. "*the abce of Grew*."—This Greek alphabet in MS. E (from which in the printed text "lappa, λ" has unfortunately been omitted) is less corrupt than in most copies of Mandeville. It is erroneously suggested in a foot-note that "encos" is for εἰκοσι. Taking the numerical value of the letters, ω is 800, and "encos" is of course for ἐννεακόσιοι, as "chile" is for χίλιοι. The character Δ, or, as it is perhaps meant to be read, Λ, is an interesting survival, as a numerical sign, of the old Greek san. The earliest form of this letter, as it appears in the inscription of Lygdamis, B.C. 460-455 (Palæographical Soc., *Facsimiles*, Ser. ii. pl. 62), and on the coins of Mesymbria, 5-2 centt. B.C. (I. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, 1883, ii. p. 95) is Π; and it is not difficult to recognise as degradations of it even the forms found in late Western Greek alphabets down to the 15th cent. form Ϝ. Thus, in addition to that in our text, we have ↑ in Rabanus Maurus (Migne, cxii. 1579) and in Roger Bacon, B.M. Cotton MS. Tib. C. v. f. 145b (*Opera*, ed. Brewer, i., facs.); ↑ in Cott. MS. Titus D. xviii. f. 3b. (15th cent.); Λ in B.M. Add. MS. 23892, f. 51b (early 13th cent.); and Δ in B.M. Royal MS. App. 85, f. 25 (13th cent.) In Cotton MS. Vitell A. xii. f. 45b (12th cent.) the character appears in the reversed form Ψ.

Page 11, l. 13. "*the 3ate of Chiuotot*."—A mistranslation of "le port" (cf. Baldric, *Hist. Jeros.*, "Civithot, ubi portus erat opportunus," *Recueil*, iv. p. 29). The Cibotus or Civitot of the Crusaders is said to be the ancient Cius, now Ghio or Gemlik, at the head of the Gulf of Mudania (Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, i. p. 80). This place is really about 27 miles west of Nicæa or Isnik, the lake of Isnik lying between them. Some interest attaches to Civitot from the fact that, according to Orderic Vitalis, it was built or restored by Alexius I. for the English exiles who took refuge in the East after the Norman Conquest (Duchesne, *Script. rerum Norm.*, p. 725). Villehardouin (ed. Brial, 1822, p. 486) locates it on the Gulf of Ismid or Nicomedia, which rather suggests Hersek, 20 miles north of Isnik (cf. Spruner, *Hand-Atlas*, pl. 84). In either case "the mount of Chiuotot" is presumably the range which separates the two gulfs. Further on (p. 63) the port of Civitot is said to be "bot vii. myle" ("vii. lieues," Fr.) from Nicæa. The "lieue et demye lieue" here must refer therefore, not to the port, but to the mountain. The wording, in fact, closely resembles that of a passage in the *Chanson d'Antioche* (12th cent.) of Richard le Pelerin (ed. Paulin Paris, 1848, i. p. 22):—

"Passent le bras Saint Jorge à petite navie,
Le pui de Civetot, qui vers le ciel ombrie,
Qui defors Nique siet plus de liue et demie."

Apart from corruptions in the text, Mandeville's distances are not always intelligible, and many of them are obviously wrong. The "mile" of the English versions is generally, as in the present case, the rendering of "lieue." In the Middle Ages, however, the league was roughly taken to be two miles, e.g. "ther go viii. forelongs to a mile in Yngland, and ii. Ynglysch myle make a Frensh leweke" (quoted by DeMorgan, *Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "League"); and as moreover the old mile seems to have been nearly half as long again as the modern English statute mile (*Ibid.*, art. "Mile"), it was really not far short of three of the latter. Thus, seven leagues will represent correctly enough the twenty miles between Hersek and Isnik; and so again, for example, the distance between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which is actually six miles, is reckoned by different authors as either four miles or two leagues (see below, note to p. 37, l. 5). Elsewhere (pp. 16, 28, etc.) we have the "myle of Lumbardy," which Mandeville expressly says (p. 58) is the same as the English mile, distinguishing both from the "leeges" or "grete myles" of France and Germany. As to the German mile, Poloner (see note, as above) states that it equalled two leagues, or four miles. Tobler, however, quotes a passage to the effect that five Italian miles went to one German (*Descr. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 498).

Page 11, l. 16. "*Sayne Nicholas*": see below (p. 12, l. 11, note). The mention of him here, when "sayland in þe Grekes see," is appropriate. Without any such similarity of name as may account for St. Elias having assumed the attributes and powers of the sun-god Helios, St. Nicholas was to the semi-christianised Greek islanders in the middle ages, as in fact he is still, all or nearly all that Poseidon was to their ancestors (Bent, *Cyclades*, 1885, pp. 234, 480, etc.).

Page 11, l. 17. "*Sylb*": cf. Boldensele (p. 32), "Veni ad insulam Syo, ubi mastix crescit, et, ut dunt, nusquam alibi. Gummi est fluens de arboribus parvulis, punctura certi instrumenti in cortice apertis tempore oportuno." The island is Khio or Scio, in which the mastic of commerce has been almost exclu-

sively produced for ages. This is the resinous gum of a variety of lentisc (*pistacia lentiscus*), distinguished by its arborescent character (Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant*, 1886, ii. p. 633), but not confined, as was formerly supposed, to this particular island. The culture of the tree, which grows about six feet high, is confined to the low-lying districts in the S. and S.W. of the island, the southernmost point of which is Capo Mastico. The mastic exudes from the bark in globules, either naturally or from incisions made during the summer months. It was an important monopoly in the middle ages, especially during the administration of the island by the famous Maona, or joint-stock company, of the Gius-tiniani of Genoa (Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, ed. 1877, v. p. 70), and down to comparatively recent times; and it is still the principal source of revenue. Although no longer valued for its supposed medicinal properties, it is extensively chewed in the East, especially in the harems, and it is also employed in the making of *raki* and other cordials (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 1874, p. 142).

Page 12, l. 1. "*The ile of Pathmos, etc.*—This paragraph closely follows Boldensele (p. 32), except as to St. John's age, the mappa in his tomb, and the stirring of the earth. According to St. Jerome (*De Viris Illust.*, cap. 9), the saint died in the sixty-eighth year after the Passion; and the "lxii." of MSS. E.S.G. is no doubt primarily due to a careless scribe. The story that he caused his own tomb to be made and lay down in it alive, and that, when it was opened, nothing but manna was found within, occurs in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles by the pseudo-Abdias (Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*, ii. p. 589), dating back to the 6th cent. See also Jac. de Voragine, *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 9, p. 62. It seems to conflict somewhat with the other story lower down, which represents the saint as still reposing underneath. This myth—"quod illic terra sensim scatire et quasi ebullire perhibetur, atque hoc ejus anhelitu fieri,"—is sarcastically alluded to by St. Augustine (*Tract. cxxiv. in Joannem*, Migne, xxxv. 1970). Friar Jordanus (*circ.* 1330), on the authority of a "devout religious person, who was there and heard it with his own ears," gives the highly realistic detail that the subterranean sound was "as of a man snoring" (*Wonders of the East*, transl. Yule, Hakl. Soc., 1863, p. 58). The emanation of manna or, as the Greeks called it, *μύρον* was not peculiar to St. John. It was found either in a liquid form or as an aromatic powder ("in modum farinæ," Greg. Tur., *Lib. Mirac.*, i. 30) in the tombs of many other saints; and an easy solution to the phenomenon is to suppose that these so-called *μυροβλῦται* had been embalmed. Belon du Mans says that the hand of St. John, with which he wrote the Apocalypse, was still shown at Patmos, and that the more the nails were cut the more they grew! (*Singularitez, etc.*, ed. 1553, f. 89).

Page 12, l. 11. "*the citee of Pat'eran*": cf. Bold. (p. 33), "Inde procedens, multis insulis hinc inde lustratis . . . perveni in ipsa Minori Asia prope maris litus ad urbem Pataram, unde beatus Nicolaus traxit originem, et post ad Myram civitatem, ubi divino nutu postmodum fuit in episcopum ordinatus." The ruins of Patara are on the S.W. coast of Lycia, a few miles east of the Xanthus (Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia*, 1847, i. p. 30). "Marc" or Myra, the capital of Lycia, is the modern Dembre, further round the coast to the east (*ibid.*, i. p. 125). The legend went that the saint (*circ.* 325), returning from Palestine, reached Myra on the eve of the election of a new bishop, when it was divinely intimated to the chapter to choose one Nicholas, who

should first enter the church on the morrow (*Leg. Aur.*, cap. 3, p. 23). Mandeville was seemingly ignorant (p. 11) that his body was removed from Myra to Bari in 1087, as may be read in a very curious account by John, archdeacon of Bari (Orderic, *Hist. Eccl.*, in Duchesne, p. 650). On the other hand, it is said to have been carried off to St. Petersburg in the present century and a poor picture sent by the Czar in exchange (Fellows, *Lycia*, 1841, p. 200; Spratt and Forbes, i. p. 126). Neither Boldensele, nor, so far as I know, any other writer, mentions the wine of Myra. Can it be that Mandeville had heard of the "*μυρίνης οἶνος*" of the Greeks and "murrhina potio" of the Romans (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xiv. 92), and had his own idea of its meaning? D'Anglure, however, when in Cyprus in 1395 (*Le Saint Voyage*, p. 85), had a present from the King of "tres bon vin de Marboa" (*al.* "Maruwa"); and this, whatever it was, may possibly be the same as Mandeville's "vin de Marrea."

Page 12, l. 13. "*the ile of Grece, i.e. Crete*, as in the French text. In saying it was given by the emperor to the "Ianuynes," Mandeville confounds the Genoese with the Venetians, as he has done before (p. 6, l. 22, and note). In the partition of the spoil after Constantinople was taken by the Latins in 1204, Crete fell to Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat. He sold it to the Venetians, who retained possession of it until 1669.

Page 12, l. 16. "*Ypocras doghter*."—This story of the daughter of Hippocrates, the physician of Cos, may possibly have been influenced not only by the prominence of the serpent in the cult of Asclepius, of which the island was a noted centre, but by the fact that Hippocrates had a son or grandson Draco. It is found again (*circ.* 1420) in Bondelmonti's *Liber Insularum* (p. 103), but with a difference. After telling how, not long before, a huge serpent had appeared, devouring the herds, and how a doughty champion had encountered and slain it, he goes on to say that the daughter of Hippocrates also shows herself alive once in six or eight years, bewailing her fate and praying God for deliverance; but whether he means to imply that she assumed the form of a serpent is not quite clear. His followers Porcacchi (*L'Isola piu Famose*, Venice, 1576, p. 78) and Boschini (*L'Arcipelago*, Venice, 1658, p. 60) are divided, the former taking the affirmative view. If we can credit an episode in Martorell's 15th cent. Spanish Romance *Tirante lo Blanch*, the spell was at length broken by a certain Espertius, though his own courage had little to do with it. Before he even saw the dragon, he swooned with fear, and in this state he received the kiss which he ought to have given. But the result was equally happy; for, when his senses returned, a lovely damsel was caressing him. He married her, with all her wealth, and the two ruled the island and founded a dynasty. In the absence of the very rare original, it is impossible to say whether the passage is due to Martorell himself or to his French translator or adapter, Count Caylus (*Œuvres Badines*, 1787, ii. p. 333). Whoever is responsible for it, he evidently had Mandeville before him, copying the story, so far as the latter carries it, almost word for word.

The class of tales in which a human being, generally a woman, is changed into a dragon or kindred monster, only to be released by a kiss or by three kisses, is a widely extended one, as may be seen from the polyglot examples given by Child, *English and Scotch Popular Ballads*, p. 306. The succour of beauty in such distress forms the central adventure of Guinglain in Renaud de Beaujeu's 14th. cent French romance *Le Bel Inconnu* (Gaston Paris, in *Hist.*

Littéraire, vol. xxx., 1887, p. 171). Here again it is the dragon or wyvern, a gruesome beast four fathoms long, that gives the kiss, just as the knight, who is bold enough, is about to strike; but the disenchantment does not immediately follow. The dragon returns to the recess (*armoire*) whence it came, and only shows herself to Guinglain as Blonde Esmerée, queen of Wales, when he awakes from the sleep or trance into which he falls after the kiss. The part which on the classic ground of Cos was taken by Diana, is assigned to two magicians, both of whom Guinglain has previously slain. The complications which, in the French poem, arise from the hero's love for the Fairy of the Isle d'Or, and which hinder for a while his union with Blonde Esmerée, are absent from the English version, *Libius Disconius*, or *Li Biaux Desconneus* (Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, 1802, ii. p. 1; Hales and Furnivall, *Bp. Percy's Folio MS.*, 1867, ii. p. 415). Otherwise the adventure is much the same, except that, directly,

"Or Sir Lybius itt wist,

The worme with mouth him kist,"

her tail and wings fall away, and the "Lady of Sinadowne" [Snowdon] stands revealed at once in peerless beauty. In the well known ballad of *Kemp Owyne* (Child, *op. cit.*, p. 306) the enchantress is a wicked step-mother and three kisses are needed, each of which looses one of the three turns taken by the monster's tail round the trunk of a tree.

Page 13, l. 20. "*the ile of Rhodes*": cf. Bold. (p. 33), "Post hæc vidi Rhodum. Rhodum insulam fratres Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani vi armorum Constantinopolitano imperio abstulerunt." A treaty for the reduction of Rhodes was made between the Knights of St. John and the Genoese in 1306, but it was not till Aug. 1309 that the Byzantine garrison surrendered the capital. From that date Rhodes was the chief seat of the Hospitallers, until the Turks finally wrested it from them in 1523. The statement that it was formerly called Colos, in allusion to the Colossus, is also in Ludolph (p. 27), together with the identification of its inhabitants with the Colossians of St. Paul. This was a common blunder in the Middle Ages, when the Colossæ of Phrygia had passed out of remembrance. The name *Κολοσσαῖς*, however, was frequently applied to the Rhodians by the Byzantine Greeks, and the official title of the Latin Metropolitan was also "Colossensis" (Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times*, 1887, p. 81). The distance between Constantinople and Rhodes is more nearly 500 than 800 miles.

Page 14, l. 3. "*Cypre, whare er many vynes*," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 33), "Inde processi versus Cyprum. Hæc insula optimi vini ferax est . . . Vina Cypri crescunt rubea, sed post annum albescunt, et quanto veteriora sunt, tanto magis clarescunt et redolent; sana sunt et fortissima, sine multæ aquæ appositione potui minus apta." Boldensele, however, is only one of many pilgrims touching at Cyprus who dilate on its wine (Heyd, ii. p. 10). Ludolph states that it was allowed from four to twenty years to blanch, and that the proper proportion of wine to water was one part in nine (p. 34). In spite of its exceeding strength, a man might drink, as he declares, a whole cask of it without being intoxicated, the result being that no where in the world were there "meliores et majores potatores." According to Willibrand (p. 180), it had such body and richness that, when boiled down, it was eaten with bread, like honey. Cyprus wine was held in the highest repute also in the West, where as early as the 12th cent. it was regarded as preeminently a wine for kings (Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben*,

1879-80, i. pp. 298, 300). Later it took the well-known name of Commanderia, the choicest sorts being produced on the estates of the Commandery of the knights of St. John. What Boldensele and Mandeville wrote of it in the 14th cent. is repeated in curiously similar terms by Porcacchi (*L'isole piu Famose*, 1576, p. 148), whose epithets for it are "soavissimo et stomachale"; by Estienne de Lusignan (*Descr. de toute l'isle de Cypre*, 1580, p. 222), who pardonably, as a Cypriote, thought it "le meilleur de tout le monde"; and in recent times by Unger and Kotschy, "Der Commanderiawein ist jung dunkelroth, fast schwarz, aber je älter er wird, eine desto lichtere Farbe erlangt er, und wird zuletzt sogar braungelb," etc. (*Die Insel Cypern*, 1865, p. 450). Sir S. Baker, however, says exactly the opposite, "There is an unusual peculiarity in Commanderia; instead of the colour becoming paler by great age, it deepens to an extraordinary degree. The new wine is the ordinary tint of sherry, but it gradually becomes darker, until after forty or fifty years it is almost black, with the syrup-like consistence of new honey" (*Cyprus*, 1879, p. 277).

Page 14, l. 6. "*Cathaly*," i.e. Attalia, more generally known in the Middle Ages as Satalia or Sathalia ("Hanc nostri correpto vocabulo Sataliam appellant," Will. Tyr., xvi. 26, p. 751). There were two places of the name, New and Old. The former, at the head of the gulf, is the modern Adalia, now, as in the Middle Ages, a flourishing town; the latter, Eski Adalia, is the site of the ancient Side. Mandeville's story, a strange perversion of the classic myth of the Gorgon's Head, was evidently brought from the East by the Crusaders. It figures in more detail in the *Chronicles of Benedict of Peterborough* (ed. Stubbs, ii. p. 195) and *Roger Hoveden* (ed. Stubbs, iii. p. 158), where it is told in connection with the return of Philip of France from the Holy Land in 1191, the scene being fixed at "Castellum Ruge," i.e. Kastelorizo, off the coast of Lycia, between Patara and Myra. Among other variations from Mandeville, it is the mother in person who (as she warns him in the tomb) brings the monstrous offspring to the father at its birth, bidding him cut off its head and destroy with the mere sight of it whom and what he will. After a time he marries, and his wife is of course consumed with curiosity to learn the source of his power. As he refuses to tell her, she takes advantage of his absence to open the coffer within which she supposes the mystery to lie hid, and, finding the Head, she flings it into the Gulf. Neither her own fate nor that of her husband is recorded; but the Head is still potent for harm, for whenever the face turns uppermost, as it is tossed by the waves, no ship can pass in safety. Walter Map (*De Nugis Curialium*, ed. T. Wright, p. 176) tells the same story of a shoemaker of Constantinople, who falls in love with a noble maiden from seeing her foot. To further his suit he throws up his trade and becomes a soldier, and on its rejection he turns pirate in hope of revenge. On hearing afterwards of the lady's death, he commits the outrage, and later, "effosso tumulo, caput humanum recipit a mortua, sub interdicto ne videatur nisi ab hostibus interimendis." By its aid he proves invincible, and at length marries the emperor's daughter. His wife coaxes his secret from him, blasts him as he opens his eyes on awaking from sleep, and commands both his corpse and the Head itself to be thrown into the sea. A whirlpool is the result, which is called Sathalia after the lady's name. There is a different version still in Gervase of Tilbury (ed. Liebrecht, 1856, p. 11), immediately following another variant of the Theseus and Gorgon tale. The warning voice is heard within the tomb, but it does

not proceed from the dead queen (as she is called), and in due time the knight himself fetches away the "caput monstrosum" he has begotten. Later, when he is at sea with a mistress, he falls asleep; she steals the key of the casket, looks within, and is immediately struck dead. When he awakes, he lifts up the Head in a paroxysm of grief and sinks the ship with himself and all on board. As for the Head, the face comes up once in seven years, boding storms and disaster. The most revolting part of the legend is paralleled by, if it was not actually connected with, the story of Callimachus and Drusiana of Ephesus in the pseudo-Abdias (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr.*, ii. p. 547). In this case, however, the crime is prevented by the divine interposition of a serpent, which slays the youth within the tomb and remains coiled upon his corpse. The next day St. John comes with Andronicus the lady's husband, resuscitates both Callimachus and Drusiana, and all ends happily. The reading "an eddere" in C., instead of "a heued," is unfortunate, all connection with the Gorgon myth being thereby lost.

Another legend of the Gulf of Adalia was that St. Helena reduced its notoriously stormy waters to perpetual calm by throwing into it a nail from the Holy Cross (Porcacchi, p. 145; Est. de Lusignan, p. 4); but the experiences of Sæwulf (Wright, *Early Travels*, 1848, p. 49), D'Anglure (p. 89), and others suggest some doubts of its truth.

Page 14, l. 15. "*Fra Rodes to Cypre es nere v^e myle*."—This is about double the real distance in a direct line. The natural advantages of the "gude ile" Cyprus, and the wealth and luxury displayed in it during the Frank occupation, are a constant theme with mediæval travellers. Willibrand, however, shows the reverse by his remarks on the servile condition of the native population. Its four principal "gude citez," and the seats also of its four Latin bishops were Nicosia (the archbishop's see), Famagusta, Limasol, and Papho or Baffo (*cf.* Willibrand, p. 180; Ludolph, p. 30), Larnaca, now the most flourishing town, having risen to importance in recent times. Under the Lusignan kings (1192-1489) the inland Nicosia was the capital, as it is still; and the precedence Mandeville gives to Famagusta refers to its commercial prosperity.

Page 14, l. 19. "*the hill of the Haly Crosse*": see above, p. 159. The "moignes noirs" are called Benedictines by Boldensele, with doubtful propriety unless the Greek monks had given place to the Latin order.

Page 14, l. 21. "*In Cipre lyes sayn Genouefe*."—What saint is here meant is open to doubt. St. Geneviève is out of the question; nor is "Zenonime" (H) at all recognisable. The printed text of Boldensele, who furnished this and the following sentence, has "Zozonio" (p. 34), and Ludolph "Zyzonimus" (p. 30). This last perhaps comes nearest the mark; for in the list of saints in the Chronicle of Machæras (p. 43) there is a certain Sozomenus, Bishop of Potamia, *i.e.* Potami, south-west of Nicosia. But we should have expected some less obscure saint, *e.g.* St. Epiphanius. The name of St. Barnabas, another Cypriote, occurs lower down, but in the French text only (l. 41).

Page 14, l. 22. "*the castell of Amours*" ("*de Damurs*," Fr. text): *cf.* Bold. (p. 33), "*in castro quod Gedamoros (al. de Damos) dicitur*." The ruins of the mediæval "Chateau du Dieu d'Amour" may still be seen on Mount St. Ilario, north-west of Nicosia. It took its name, as is said, from occupying the site of a temple of Cupid (Est. de Lusignan, p. 222), and it is best known as the place of refuge in which John of Ibelin, Regent of Cyprus, fortified himself against Frederic II. in 1228. For plans of it, and

of its companion fortress Buffavento, see Rey, *Monuments de l'Architecture militaire des Croisés*, 1877, p. 239. In this spot, then an almost inaccessible solitude, St. Hilarion the hermit spent the last five years of his life, having first expelled the demons which haunted it; and there he was buried, in his own garden. His disciple Hesychius, however, contrived to carry off his body to his native Majoma near Gaza; and thence arose, says St. Jerome (*Vita S. Hilar.*, Migne, xxiii. 29), great contention between Palestine and Cyprus, the one claiming to possess the saint's body and the other his spirit. Nine hundred years later, if Mandeville is correct, Cyprus had become bolder and claimed the body also!

Page 14, l. 23. "*In Cipre men huntet with papiouns*," etc.: *cf.* Bold. (p. 34), "*Sunt etiam in Cypri montibus oves silvaticæ, in pilis similes capreolis et cervis, quæ nusquam alias esse perhibentur. Multum velox est animal, bonas carnes et dulces habens. Plures capi vidi, existens in venatione cum canibus et maxime domesticis leopardis*." The wild sheep of Cyprus is generally identified with the Moufflon of Corsica (*Ovis Musimon*), but Blyth in his monograph (*Proc. Zool. Soc.*, 1840, pp. 72, 78) considers it to be a distinct species (*O. Ophion*). It is still found, but in rapidly diminishing numbers, on the mountain range of Troodos, the natives calling it Agrina (R. H. Lang, *Cyprus*, 1878, p. 316). What this writer remarks of the resemblance of its hair to that of a deer, of its fleetness of foot, and of the excellence of its meat, is in complete accord with Boldensele. It is associated by Willibrand (p. 180) with wild asses and deer; and it is also mentioned as hunted with leopards by Ludolph (p. 33), who dwells with wonder on the extraordinary passion for the chase in Cyprus. The trained hunting-leopard or cheetah, used immemorially in the East, was not unknown further west even than Cyprus in the Middle Ages. It was included in the sporting train of Frederic II. in Italy (Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1875, i. p. 384; Kington, *Frederic II.*, 1862, i. p. 472); and the three leopards which, in allusion to the English royal arms, he sent to Henry III. in 1235 (Matt. Paris, ed. Luard, iii. p. 324), were perhaps of the same species. In the 15th cent. (as one Quentin Durward had reason to know) it was employed in France by Louis XI. among others. The term "papioun," as applied to it, is, so far as I can ascertain, peculiar to Mandeville. It is perhaps merely due to a misapprehension of a passage of J. de Vitry (p. 1101), where the "papio" is mentioned among natives of the East immediately after the hunting leopard, the two animals, however, being quite distinct. De Vitry's words are, "*Sunt ibi papiones, quos canes silvestres appellant, lupis aciores, continuis clamoribus de nocte ululantes*." This description suggests the hyæna or jackal; but, at the same time, the word "papion" is undoubtedly our "baboon" (*babuino*, Ital.; *babouin*, Fr.; *pavian*, Germ.). This is still more evident from the old form of the latter, "babion" (*e.g.* B. Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, i. 1, "neither your satyr, nor your hyæna, nor your babion," quoted in Murray's *Dict.*). If, however, De Vitry's papion was an ape, it must have been of some other kind than what we now call a baboon, the genus *cynocephalus* being entirely confined to Africa and Arabia. Further on (p. 102) Mandeville himself speaks of "babewynes" (C) at Cassay. Col. Yule (*Glossary*, etc., p. 33) derives baboon from Pers. *maimūn*, and compares Ital. "*gatto maimone*, 'cat-monkey' or rather 'monkey-cat.'" Boldensele, it may be noticed, saw at Cairo both "babuinos" and "catos maymones" (p. 41); just as Odoric (see above, p. 102, note 5), at Cassay, speaks of "simiæ, catti maymones." The

latter appear to be represented in our text by "marmusetes." With regard to the cheetah in Cyprus, its introduction was probably later than Willibrand's time (1211), and it had apparently gone out of fashion before D'Anglure visited the island in 1395. In its stead we hear of the king hunting the "moustons sauvages" and other game with the "carable." This animal D'Anglure describes as not so large as a fox, "et n'y a beste sauvage que icelle petite beste ne preigne" (p. 85); but what it really was no one seems able to explain.

Page 15, l. 2. "In Cipre . . . all men . . . etez thaire mete apon the erthe."—I can neither find the source of this statement nor anything to confirm it. Possibly it originated in a misconception of the object of the trenches dug by the Cypriotes for the storage of their wine. Jordanus says much the same of the Persians, that they "sit upon the ground and eke eat upon the same" (ed. Yule, p. 9).

Page 15, l. 7. "In Cipre . . . with that salt."—This sentence is apparently an interpolation in E., but the fact it records is notorious. There are indeed two lakes of the kind, one near Larnaca and the other near Limasol, the brackish water of which, evaporating in the hot summer, deposits on the soil a thick layer of fine salt (Unger and Kotschy, p. 8). This was a highly profitable monopoly of the Lusignan kings (Heyd, ii. p. 10), being exported to all parts; and even now the revenue from the Larnaca lake alone, though it is said to have decreased from twelve miles circuit to about two, exceeds £25,000 (Lang, p. 259).

Page 15, l. 10. "the hauen of Tyre," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 34), "Perueniens in Syriam . . . applicui ad portum Tyri, quæ nunc Sur vulgariter appellatur. Est autem Tyrus antiquissima civitas. Nobilissima et fortissima quondam fuit, nunc vero quasi destructa est. Portum vero ejus Sarraceni custodiunt diligenter," etc. All the rest of Mandeville's account of Tyre, except as to the church of St. Saviour and the finding of rubies (by which he probably means garnets), may have come from the same source; though very similar particulars are given by J. de Vitry (p. 1071), Sanudo (p. 159), and others. The "Fons Hortorum" is the famous Râs el 'Ain or "Fountain-head" which by means of an aqueduct now in ruins, supplied ancient Tyre and its environs with water. This spring, or collection of springs, is noticed by nearly all mediæval pilgrims; and, after the usual fashion, it was assumed to be specially alluded to in Scripture, whence Willibrand and his companions chanted Vespers over it, with the antiphon "Fons Hortorum," etc. (p. 165). It is described in some detail by William of Tyre (xiii. 3), who represents it as walled round, so that the water flowed from a tower, as it were, ten cubits high, the fall carrying it along the aqueduct to the city. Burchard (circ. 1280), who places the site, correctly enough, within a league south of Tyre, speaks of four such walled "putei" (ed. Laurent, p. 24). John Poloner (1422) appears to have seen only three, the centre one being 34 cubits in height (Tobler, *Descr. Terræ Sanctæ*, 1874, p. 264). These were presumably the three "cisterns called Solomon's," of which an interesting account is given by Henry Maundrell (1697), who calls the place by its modern name Râs el 'Ain (Wright, *Early Travels*, 1848, p. 424). More recent descriptions confirm Burchard (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, 1856, ii. p. 457; Pal. Explor. Fund, *Survey of W. Palestine*, 1881, i. p. 69). There are in fact four elevated reservoirs for collecting the outflow of as many springs, the principal one being an irregular octagon 66 feet in diameter (as Maundrell also describes it) and

25 feet high, distant 150 yards from the other three. A good engraving of it is in Guérin's sumptuous work, *La Terre Sainte*, 1884, ii. p. 133. The "stane whare on oure Lorde satte" stood two bowshots outside the east gate and was remarkable for the fact that the sand, which covered everything else, always left it bare (Burchard, p. 25; Sanudo, p. 160). According to an anonymous tract *De situ urbis Jerusalem, etc.*, written circ. 1130 (De Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, 1860, p. 431), after remaining intact till the capture of Tyre by the Christians (1124), it was then shattered by the French and Venetians, and the church of St. Saviour was built over what remained of it. This is repeated almost identically by Eugesippus (*De distantiiis locorum Terræ Sanctæ*, Migne, *Patr. Græca*, cxxxiii. 993); by Fretellus, whose work is practically the same as that of Eugesippus (*Liber locorum sanctorum*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clv. 1041); and by J. of Wirtzburg (*Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, ed. Tobler, 1874, p. 182). All these writers are of the 12th cent. and, together with Theoderic (circ. 1172), seem to have had access to a common original (*Theoderici Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. Tobler, 1865, p. 157). The city was retaken by the Saracens in 1291, from which time it sank into utter decay, and not a vestige of stone or church probably now remains.

Page 15, l. 21. "And viii. myle . . . citee of Beruch": cf. Euges. (*loc. cit.*), "Octo milliaria a Tyro contra orientem, supra mare, Sarphen, quæ est Sarepta Sidoniorum. In qua quondam habitavit Helias propheta, in qua et resuscitavit filium viduæ, Jonam scilicet . . . Sex milliaria a Sarphen Sidon, civitas egregia; ex qua Dido, quæ Carthaginem construxit in Africa. Sexdecim milliaria a Sidone Berytus" (p. 993; cf. J. Wirtzb., p. 183, and Theod., p. 110, who takes the places in the reverse way). The tract *De situ, etc.*, agrees with our MSS. S. E. in making the distance from Sydon to Beyrout to be 18 miles. "Serphen" in Sûrafend, about 12 miles north-east of Tyre ("contra septentrionem," J. Wirtzb.). The modern village is not strictly "apon the see syde" (where, however, some ruins are still to be seen), but on the adjacent hills (Robinson, ii. p. 475). The tradition that Jonah was the widow's son of 1 Kings, xvii. is mentioned by St. Jerome (*Comm. in Jonam*, Migne, xxv. 1118). It was seemingly unknown to the English translator of MS. E., who blundered sadly in consequence. "Dydoncato" is also clearly a corruption of "Sidon Saiete," Saiete or Sagitta (*Saida*, Arab.) being the common mediæval name of Sidon ("vulgariter dicitur Sageta," Sanudo, p. 245). "Achilles" (E.) and "Acheus" (S.) for Agenor, the father of Dido, are equally bad. "Sardyne" ("Serdenar," Fr.) is the Sardinia of J. de Vitry (p. 1126), which he places at four miles from Damascus; it is the modern Saidenaya (see below, p. 61).

Page 16, l. 1. "porte Jaff," etc. Most of this paragraph is from Bold. (pp. 35, 36), who travelled to Cairo along the coast, leaving Jerusalem for awhile on the left. For Jaffa, see also below, p. 62; and for its distance from Venice, cf. the *Itinerary* (1458-62) of Wey (Roxb. Club, 1857, p. 8):—

"Fro Venyse to port Jaff by the see
Hyt ys ij^m myle and hundrys thre."

The "geaunt pat hight Andromedes" is added by Mandeville. He seems to have misread Solinus, cap. 34 (ed. Mommsen, p. 170), where it is stated that the marks of the chains by which Andromeda was bound were still visible on a rock at Joppa, and that the actual bones of the monster to which she was exposed were conveyed thence by M. Scaurus, when ædile, and exhibited

at Rome, its length being forty feet. Solinus himself got this from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, v. 69, ix. 11; cf. Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, iii. 9, 3).

Page 16, l. 6. "*the citee of Acon*": said to have been called Ptolemais after Ptolemy Soter. It was taken from the Saracens by Baldwin I. in 1103, recovered by Saladin in 1187, and again taken by Richard Cœur de Lion in 1191. From that time, under the Knights of St. John, it was "a citee of Cristen men" until 1291, when it was once more, and finally, lost to them. Boldensele's remark on its condition forty years later is, "per Saracenose destructa est, posset tamen de facile reparari" (p. 35).

Page 16, l. 10. "*the hill of Carmele*," etc.—Bold. has here, "prope Acon vix ad quatuor miliaria supra mare a dextris est mons Carmel," etc. The real distance between Acre and Carmel is about 11 miles. The monastery stands at the end of the ridge, not quite two miles from Haifa. The present building, the successor of several others, dates only from 1825, and includes the chapel over the so-called grotto of Elijah (*Survey*, i. p. 283). The foundation of the Carmelite order proper dates from about A.D. 1200, though the Mount had been the resort of hermits from a very early period and the pilgrim Phocas, visiting it in A.D. 1185, found there the ruins of an ancient monastery, in which the nucleus of the future order was already established (Migne, *Patr. Græca*, cxxxiii. 962). One monastery was destroyed, and the monks massacred, by the Saracens in 1238 and another in 1291; and it was not until 1631 that the Order again had, and then for a time only, a home on the spot from whence it took its name (Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.*, 1887, p. 91).

Page 16, l. 12. "*Caiphas*": "Caiphas nomine, nunc destructa," in Bold., but without the absurd derivation from Caiaphas the high-priest. This is also given by Albert of Aix (v. 41, p. 460). The place is Haifa, i.e. "a haven," at the south end of the Bay of Acre.

Page 16, l. 14. "*Saffre*."—This passage is wholly from Bold., who calls the town "Safara." It is not Seffûrieh (foot-note 5), which is too distant, but Shefa 'Amr, 10 miles east of Haifa. This is the "Safran" of *La Citéz de Jherusalem*, or rather of the *Pelerinages de la Terre Sainte* at the end of it (De Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 449) and the "Saphar castrum" of Sanudo (p. 253), in both works identified as the birthplace of SS. James and John. The former (1187) speaks also of the church there, but as being in ruins (cf. Bold., "pulchra fuit ecclesia constructa"). It was no doubt the Byzantine edifice of the 5th or 6th cent. described in the *Survey*, i. pp. 273, 339. "Saffra" is mentioned again on p. 57.

Page 16, l. 15. "*Scale de Tyre*": the "Scala Tyriorum" of the Vulgate (Macc. xi. 59) and "κλίμαξ Τυρίων" of Josephus (*B. J.*, ii. 10, 2), and well known in Crusading literature. It was the ladder-like road climbing the steep headland of Râs en Nâ-kûrah, midway between Tyre and Acre, called by Sanudo (p. 245) Mount Saron (p. 155). A glance at the woodcut in Guérin (ii. p. 144) shows how appropriately it was named. Bold. does not mention it.

Page 16, l. 16. "*a litil riuer . . . Belyon*."—The ancient Belus, now Nahr N'amein, draining the district between the Wâdy el Halzûn on the north and the Wâdy Abellin (which preserves the name) on the south, and entering the sea about a mile south of Acre (*Survey*, i. p. 268). The passage, as an example of the growth of the marvellous, may be compared with Josephus (*B. J.*, ii. 10, 2), whose words (Traill's Translation, 1847, i. p. 208) are: "On the south it (Ptolemais) is girded by Carmel at an interval

of 120 furlongs; and on the north by the loftiest of these hills, called by the people of the country the 'Ladder of the Tyrians,' and 100 furlongs removed. Two furlongs from the town runs the little river Beleus, besides which stands Memnon's monument. Near to the latter is a spot, 100 cubits in extent, that claims our admiration. It is circular and concave, and yields vitreous sand. When emptied by the numerous ships that put in there, it is again filled, the winds drifting into it, as if by design, the waste sand outside, all of which is immediately converted by this mine into vitreous matter. And what seems to me still more surprising is that the vitreous particles, when thrown out of their bed, become once more common sand." This account is copied by Foucher de Chartres (*ob.* 1127), *Hist. Hierosol.*, iii. 52 (*Recueil*, iii. p. 479). Tacitus speaks of the sand round the mouth of the Belus being mixed with natron for making glass (*Hist.*, v. 7); and Pliny goes farther and represents glass as actually having been invented there, from the accident that some storm-driven Phœnician merchants used blocks of natron from their cargo to support their pots when cooking on the shore (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi. 26). Mandeville's term "foss" is used both by G. de Vinsauf (ed. Stubbs, *Memorials*, etc. of Richard I., i. p. 76) and by J. de Vitry (p. 1166). In describing the spot both these writers refer to Solinus, whose work, however, contains nothing to correspond. For the "Gravelly Sea," see below, p. 134.

Page 17, l. 1. "*Also fra Acon*," etc.—This paragraph and the next are mainly from Bold. (p. 36), the "three (iii.) day journez" being a blunder in S. G. E. for "iiii." The hill (monticulus, Bold.) to which Samson bore the gates of Gaza lies to the south-east of the city and is called El-Muntâr, or "The Watch-tower" (*Survey*, iii. p. 237).

Page 17, l. 9. "*Fra this citee*": evidently meaning Gaza, though properly it should be Acre, the route being from north to south. Mandeville in fact fell into a trap. Bold. states that he went from Tyre to Acre in one day and from Acre to Gaza in four, and then proceeds to speak of the intervening places, coupling Cæsarea with Pilgrims' Castle, and apparently reversing the relative positions of Ascalon and Jaffa. Mandeville, however, following him blindly, fixed each town along the coast as he found it mentioned, thus making Cæsarea north of Pilgrims' Castle, Ascalon north of Jaffa, and Gaza north of them all! "Gerare" in E. may be merely a scribe's blunder for "Cesaire"; but the translator perhaps purposely substituted Gerar (Genesis, xx. 1), which really was in the proper direction, and is identified with Khûrbet umm Jerrâr, 6 miles south of Gaza (*Survey*, iii. p. 389).

Page 17, l. 9. "*The castell of Pilgrimes*": now 'Athlît, 13 miles north of Cæsarea, one of the strongest and most famous of Crusading fortresses. It was built by the Templars, with the aid of pilgrims and others, in 1218, a small fort called Districtum or Le Detroit (now Khûrbet Dustrey) close by having existed as early as A.D. 1191 (*Survey*, i. p. 293). A good description of the castle is given by J. de Vitry (p. 1131), which is borne out by the massive ruins that still remain (see Rey, pl. xi.) It held out against the Saracens until 1291, when it was taken just before the fall of Acre; and "with its capture the last hopes of the Christian Dominion in the country were overthrown" (Conder, *Tent Life*, p. 104).

Page 17, l. 13. "*The castell of Ayre*": i.e. Darum ("Daire," Fr. text), now Deir el Belah (*monasterium dactylorum*), between 8 and 9 miles south of Gaza, near the sea and close to the southern

border of Palestine (*Survey*, iii. p. 234). The name Darum is explained by Will. of Tyre (xx. 26), De Vitry (p. 1070), and Sanudo (p. 164) as meaning "Domus Græcorum" (Deir er Rûm), in allusion to an early Greek monastery there. It was fortified by king Amaury in 1170, and was retaken from the Saracens by Richard I. in May, 1192 (Vinsauf, ed. Stubbs, p. 354).

Page 17, l. 13. "And than a man passez oute of Surry," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 37), "De castro igitur quod Darium dicitur processi versus Aegyptum per desertum arenosum in septem (viii., Mand.) diebus; in quo deserto est aquæ penuria, portanturque victualia et alia necessaria in camelis. Sunt tamen ordinata per Sarracenos certa secundum diætâs hospitia, ubi etiam inveniuntur necessaria competenter . . . Et primo procedens versus Babyloniam veni ad villam famosam et magnam, quæ Belbeis nominatur." The stages between Gaza and Belbeis are given by the Moor Ibn Batuta in 1326 (ed. Defrémery, etc., 1853-58, i. p. 111) and by the Irish Franciscan Symon Simeonis, whose interesting Itinerary is not as well known as it deserves (ed. Nasmith, 1778, p. 65). Both these writers mention appreciatively the institution of the "Khan" or "Fundus," as also does Ludolph (p. 51). The names of the wilderness and of Egypt, and the position assigned to Belbeis, are Mandeville's own additions to Boldensele. "Acchelek" ("Alhilet," Fr.) should probably be read Atthelek (Athilet, Fr.), *c* and *t*, as was so often the case, having been confounded. It may thus include the name Et-Tih, by which the desert between Syria and Egypt is generally known. As for the final syllable, both here and in "Calahelic" (p. 18, l. 32), I am informed by Prof. de Goeje, of Leyden, that it can hardly be anything but the Turkish termination *lik*, which is used to form local nouns, though he adds that he has never seen it affixed to actual names of places. "Canopak" marks the ancient importance of the town of Canopus and the Canopic branch of the Nile; while "Merfyne" (better "Mersin," S.) represents Mizraim, the Hebrew name for Egypt, in Arabic Misr, Mesryn. From what precise source Mandeville obtained these names I have not discovered. "Balbeor" is undoubtedly Belbays or Belbeis; but by locating it "at the end of the kyngdom of Halope," our author seems to confound it with Baalbak, 35 miles north of Damascus and towards the southern limits of the sultanate of Aleppo or Halep. It was also confounded by the mediæval writers with Pelusium (Will. Tyr., xix. 13, xx. 5; cf. Quatremère, *Mem. Géogr. sur l'Égypte*, 1811, i. p. 58). Babylon of Egypt (founded, it is said, by Cambyzes, B.C. 525, and in Roman times an important military centre) lay just to the south of the more modern Cairo (A.D. 969)—"duæ civitates multum magnæ, parum distantes et quasi contiguæ" (Bold.). There was, however, a third city between them, El-Fustât (A.D. 638), now Misr El-Atikah or Old Cairo, which was no doubt regarded as part of El-Kâhireh, and went to swell its proportions. According to Ludolph (p. 51) it was seven times as large as Paris; but the less extravagant Sym. Simeonis (p. 50) makes it only double the size and four times as populous.

Page 18, l. 3. "a faire kirk of oure Lady," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 39), "ecclesia beatæ Virginis in Babylonia, ubi ipsa cum Christo Jesu et Joseph, quando in Ægyptum de Judæa metu Herodis fugerat, aliquamdiu dicitur habitasse. Item alia ecclesia beatæ Barbaræ virginis, in qua corpus ipsius in parvo monumento marmoreo conservatur." Sym. Simeonis (p. 52) has an interesting notice of these churches. The former, "S. Maria de la Cave," was granted, he says, by the Sultan, 8 Sept. 1323, to the Christians for their

services, at the instance of Guillaume Bonemain, of Montpellier (cf. Heyd, ii. 34), after it had been closed during three years of persecution; and he buried there his companion Hugh the Illuminator, who died of dysentery. The church of St. Barbara on the contrary was still closed; though the fears which, as we are told by Ludolph (p. 54), were entertained for the safety of the saint's remains proved to be groundless—"Soldanus nunquam in uno membro minoravit." Both buildings, dating from the 8th or 9th cent., are still in existence within the circuit of the Roman fortress, the former bearing the name of Al 'Adra or Sitt Mariam, and the latter that of Burbârah (Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, 1884, pp. 148, 235).

Page 18, l. 5. "the three childer," etc.—This confusion between the two Babylons is Mandeville's own blunder. Where he got his interpretation of the Chaldee names (Daniel i. 6, 7) it is hard to say; not from Isidore, the common mediæval authority, who explains them as "decorus meus," "risus, gaudium," and "serviens taceo" (*Etymol.*, vii. 8).

Page 18, l. 10. "At Babilon," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 37), "ubi est sedes Soldani in uno castro pulcherrimo prope Kadrum. Hoc castrum in monte est non alto, sed petroso; largum est et valde pulchris palatiis decoratum. Dicitur quod continue, pro diversis ipsius Soldani servitiis et custodia ejus, in ipso castro commorentur circa sex milia personarum, quibus quotidie de curia victualia ministrantur." The name "Calahelic" (Fr. text) is Mandeville's addition. It refers to the citadel, El-Kalah, which was built by Saladin in 1166. For the termination, see above, p. 17, l. 13, note.

Page 18, l. 16. "lord of fyue kyngdomes," etc.—This passage is not in Boldensele. It comes apparently from the *Tractatus de Statu Saracenorum*, etc., (cap. 19) of William of Tripoli, written in 1273, and printed by Prutz, *Culturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1883, pp. 575-598. "Halope in the land of Dameth," there "regnum Alapie in terra Emac" (p. 587), is of course Aleppo in the land of Hamath. Caliph is not "als mykill at say as kyng," but means "successor" ("eo quod dignitatis et principatus Machometi successor existeret," J. de Vitry, p. 1060; cf. Will. Tyr. xix. 20); neither was the Sultan properly identical with the Caliph (see below).

Page 19, l. 1. "The first sowdan of Egipte," etc.—As pointed out by Col. Yule (*Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., xv. p. 474) this list of the Ayyoobee and Memlook Sultans is derived from the *Liber de Tartaris* of Hayton, the Armenian prince who died a Premonstratensian Prior at Poitiers in 1308 (capp. 52, 53, Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, 1532, p. 468). Although accurate in the main, many of the details need correction, as a brief summary will show (cf. *Encycl. Brit.*, art. "Egypt"). "Xaracon" (Fr. text), the Siraconus of Will. of Tyre (xix. 5), is Sheerkoo, the Kurd general of Noor-ed-deen, Sultan of Damascus, who, shortly before his death (1169), was made vizir by the last Fatimite Caliph El-'Adid, in reward for his services against Amaury and his native allies. He was the uncle, not the father, of Salah-ed-deen or Saladin, who succeeded him as vizir and after the death of El-'Adid (1171) assumed the title of Sultan, which was not borne by Sheerkoo. The printed text of Hayton does not name "Boradyn" as his successor, but merely states that his brothers and nephews reigned after him, down to the time of Melecsala. Saladin, however, was succeeded in Egypt by his son El-'Azeez (1193), and his grandson El-Mansoor (1198), who was dethroned in 1199 by Saladin's brother El-'Adil Seyf-ed-deen, the Saphedin of the Crusaders. "Boradyn"

or "Noradin" (S. G.) must be Saladin's son El-'Afdal *Noor-ed-deen*, who, after ruling Damascus (1186—1193) and acting as regent of Egypt for El-Mansoor, was ousted from both governments by his uncle El-'Ádil. The latter was followed by his son Melik-el-Kámil (1218) and grandson Melik-el-'Ádil II. (1238), whose tyranny soon led to his deposition (1240) in favour of Melik-es-Sálih his brother, the "Melechsala" of our text. At this point MS. E has a curious blunder, by which "li Comainz" are transformed into the "comoun pople" and "comouns." The same mistake is found in some French MSS. and reappears in Latin versions as "communitas populi" (cf. Vogels, p. 14). An extract from Hayton will best explain the real meaning of the term:

Iste Melechsala dominabatur in Ægypto tempore illo quo Tartari subjugaverunt regnum Cumanorum (see above, p. 157) et, audiens qualiter Tartari pro modico pretio vendebant Cumanos quos ceperant, misit cum magna summa pecuniæ per mare mercatores et fecit emi de junioribus Cumanis in maxima quantitate, qui fuerunt deportati in Ægyptum." These "servi empticii Cumani," trained and pampered as the Sultan's body-guard, became the nucleus of the force of Memlooks, or (as the name imports) "slaves," which thenceforth played so conspicuous a part in Egyptian history. Melik-es-Sálih himself, however, was not one of them, nor was he slain by them, as Mandeville and (as regards the latter statement) Hayton assert; nor again was it until after his death (21 Nov. 1249) that St. Louis was taken prisoner, during the brief reign of his son Toorán Sháh. After the latter's murder by the Memlooks (May, 1250) Shejer-ed-Durr, the slave-widow of Es-Sálih, reigned for a short time alone, and then married the Memlook Emir El-Mo'izz Eybek and made him Sultan. This Eybek is Mandeville's "Tympiemán" (Turquimanum, Hayton), scarcely recognizable as the surname "Turcoman," expressive of his origin (Michaud, *Croisades*, ed. 1857, iii. p. 182). Melik-el-Mansoor, Eybek's son, really intervened (1257—1259) between him and "Cothas" or Kutuz; and the latter's title, moreover, was Melik-el-Mudhaffar, not "Melechomethos" or "Melecmees" (Hayton), which evidently represents Melik-el-Mo'izz, that is Eybek himself. "Bendochdaer" or "Melechdaer" is the famous Beybars or Melik-edh-Dháhir Beybars el-Bundukdáree (1260), who was succeeded by his sons Melik-es-Sa'eed or "Melechsayt" (1277), and (for 100 days only) Melik-el-'Ádil Selámish (1279). Then followed Melik-el-Mansoor Kaláoon (1279), called Elfi or "Elphy" (Makrizi, ed. Quatremère, II. i. p. 1), who took Tripoli in 1289; his son Melik-el-Ashraf Khaleel (1290) or "Melechesserak," who took Acre in 1291; and another son, Melik-en-Násir Mohammad (1293) or "Melechinasser." The last named, being a mere child, was soon relegated to the Castle of Karak or Mont Real by the usurper Melik-el-'Ádil Ketbooghá (1294), Mandeville's "Melechadell" and "Guytoga" (Guiboga, Hayton), who in his turn succumbed to Melik-el-Mansoor Lageen (1296), or "Melechmanser" and "Lachin" (Fr. text). The account of Lageen's death seems to combine the different versions of Abulfeda and Makrizi. The former states that the conspirators burst in upon him when playing chess, Corgi striking him the first blow (Reiske, *Annales Muslemici*, v. p. 151); while Makrizi, without noticing the chess incident, says that Nougai first struck him with a sword the Sultan had given him a moment before, after refusing it to Kurdji (Quatremère, II. ii. p. 106). After this tragedy Melik-en-Násir was restored (1299), and was still reigning when Hayton wrote in 1307, as he continued to do, except for a brief abdication

in 1309-10, until his death in 1341. The character which Mandeville, supplementing Hayton, gives to his reign is borne out by the historians, but the names of his successors present inexplicable difficulties. Eight sons of En-Násir followed him one after another, four of them before the end of 1342. The only one of these having a name in the least like "Melechinader" or "Melechmader" (C.) is the fourth, Melik-es-Sálih *Imad-ed-deen*. He was succeeded (1345) by Melik-el-Kámil, and the latter by Melik-el-Mudhaffar (1346), who may possibly be "Melechmadabron." As Col. Yule, however, observes, Mandeville's statements fit neither of these princes. If he did leave Egypt when El-Mudhaffar was Sultan, it must have been in 1346 or 1347, for Melik-en-Násir Hasan succeeded in the latter year; but "Cils fuist Soudan" possibly refers back to Melik-en-Násir the father.

Page 20, l. 4. "*the sowdan may lede oute of Egipte,*" etc.: cf. Hayton (cap. 50, p. 467), who, however, fixes the number of men under an "amuratus" or emir at a hundred or two hundred, more or less. Bold. speaks of the "admirati, id est capitanei," and men at arms as quartered "sub castro in civitatibus" in thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (p. 37). The last sentence, "And if any derth com," etc., which, if the author really served the Sultan, might have been a personal experience, also comes literally from Hayton (p. 475).

Page 20, l. 13. "*the sowdan has three (four) wyfes,*" etc. (cf. Fr. text).—The matter of this paragraph is neither from Boldensele nor Hayton, nor have I succeeded in tracing it to any other source. Will. of Tripoli, however, in speaking of Beybars, the Sultan of his own time, says "Conjugium laudat, quatuor habens uxores, quarum quarta est Christiana juvencula Antiochena, quam semper secum circumducit" (cap. xxi. p. 588).

Page 20, l. 21. "*tars or in chamelet.*"—Tartary cloth appears to have been some rich material from China, so called as brought thence through the Tartar dominions (Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 285, and *Cathay*, p. 246; cf. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii. p. 700, and Ducange, s. vv. Tartara, Tartarinus). "Camaka" (camocas) is not properly rendered "chamelet"; it was damasked silk, known as *καρυχᾶς* by the Greeks (Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.*, s. v.), who got the name from the Arabs. *Kimkhwá* or Pers. *Kimkha* (Yule, *Cathay*, p. 295; Heyd, ii. p. 697). In Chinese, as Prof. R. K. Douglas kindly informs me, *Kinshá* would mean brocaded, or embroidered, silk gauze, or fine silk; but the term is not to be found in the dictionaries. Camlet (Ital. camelotto) on the contrary was a woollen stuff, with a long, plush-like nap. It was often, but not necessarily, made of camel's wool; the name, however, had nothing to do with the camel, being derived from Arab. *Khaml*, pile or plush (Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 274; Heyd, ii. p. 703). Both "tartaire" and "camocas" are of common occurrence in mediæval inventories.

Page 21, l. 3. "*And wit 3e wele that this Babiloyne,*" etc.: an expansion of the text "et sciendum, quod hæc Babylonia de qua nunc fit mentio non est illa antiqua Babylonia" (Bold., p. 38). The description of old Babylon comes from Herodotus (i. 178), filtered down through Pliny and other later writers. The notion that the "wricched place" was given over to dragons, etc., probably originated in the prophecy of Isaiah, xiii. 22. Theodosius (*circ.* 530) speaks of it as uninhabitable because of serpents and hippocentaurs (ed. Tobler, p. 75); and, according to Jordanus, not only was it haunted by "hairy serpents and monstrous animals," but during the night there were "such shoutings, such howlings, such

hissings, that it is called Hell" (ed. Yule, p. 49). Mandeville's words, however, are from Boldensele. His story of the parting of the Euphrates is told by Herodotus (i. 189) of the Gyndes, with which Cyrus was wrath, because the current had swept away one of the sacred white horses. Sanudo (p. 55) makes the river the Ganges!, the provoking cause being the loss of a single soldier, and the number of channels by which it became "vetularum etiam pedibus transmeabilis" being (as in E.) 340 instead of 360.

Page 21, l. 21. "*Fra that Babilon . . . to the grete Babilon er xl. day iourneez*": about 35 in Bold. (p. 39), about 36 in Ludolph (p. 56), and only 30 in J. de Vitry (p. 1128). The first named adds "et illius patriæ dominus nunc est Chan, id est imperator Tartarorum de Persia," from which the rest of the paragraph is worked up.

Page 22, l. 3. "*The citee of Meek*."—The belief that Mahomet was buried at Mecca, instead of at Medinah, was a widely spread mediæval error, for which perhaps J. de Vitry (p. 1060) is as much responsible as any one. It is repeated by Friar Odoric, whose connection with Mandeville will appear later on (Yule, *Cathay*, p. 66); and, if Bertrandon de la Brocquière (1432-3) was correctly informed, it appears to have been current even among Moslem pilgrims to Mecca (ed. Wright, *Early Travels*, p. 302). Mandeville copied the mistake, together with the name "Musquet", from Bold. (p. 38); but the latter makes the distance from Cairo to be only 25 days.

Page 22, l. 8. "*it ioynes apon Ydumee toward Botron*": cf. Euges. (p. 993), "*Arabia jungitur Idumæ in confinibus Bostron*." The place is Bostra, now Bosrah, about 80 miles south of Damascus.

Page 22, l. 11. "*The citee of Aran*," etc.: cf. Will. Trip. (cap. xii. p. 582), "*Zaram, quam Abraham habitavit, de qua civitate fuit gloriosus doctor Effrem, et etiam Theophilus, quem virgo Mariae manu inimici liberavit*." Ephrem Syrus (4th cent.) is generally called a native of Nisibis in Mesopotamia (Smith, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*); but "Aran" or Harran is not far south of Edessa, where he spent the most important part of his life. The story of Theophilus was one of the most popular among the Miracles of the Virgin in the Middle Ages; but the scene of it is elsewhere laid at Adana in Cilicia, not at Harran. Having been deposed by the bishop from the office of "Vicedominus," he bought the devil's aid to enable him to regain it at the price of his soul, which he formally made over by deed and seal. After his reinstatement he repented of the bargain, and by his prayers he prevailed upon the Virgin to force the devil to surrender the document, which was laid before the bishop and publicly read in the church. The legend exists in a Greek version professing to be written by one Eutychianus, a disciple of Theophilus himself; and it was the subject of a Latin poem by Hroswitha in the 10th cent. See also *Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Feb.; Dasent, *Theophilus, in Icelandic, Low German*, etc., 1845; and, for English versions, Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, vol. i. 1877, p. 16.

Page 22, l. 15. "*The citee of Baldak*": Baghdad, on the Tigris, the seat of the Abbasside Caliphs, descendants of Abbas, uncle of Mahomet. The dynasty came to an end with the capture of the city by the Tartar Hulagu in 1258. In what follows Mandeville (still copying Will. of Tripoli, p. 582) makes a single city of Babylon, Baghdad, and "Susis" or Shushan. With regard to Babylon and Baghdad he has the support of the Catalan Map of 1375, and Bold. alludes (p. 39) to a current opinion to the same effect. Ludolph also (p. 56) places Babylon only half a mile from

Baghdad, the former site being deserted for the latter because it was infested with venomous animals; Susis, however, he makes to be four days' journey distant, identifying it with "Thaurus" or Tabriz, the site of the Dry Tree, and so far agreeing with Friar Odoric (Yule, *Cathay*, p. 47). For the three caliphs of Baghdad, Egypt, and Morocco (Fr. text) see J. de Vitry, p. 1061; but Mandeville probably got his account of them, together with his notice of Daniel, from Will. Trip., p. 583. The statement that from Saladin's time the Caliphs were called Sultans (l. 19) is hardly correct. Though the Fatimite caliphate became extinct in 1171, Saladin and his successors paid a nominal deference to the orthodox Abbassides, who, even after the fall of Baghdad, retained the titular dignity of the caliphate in Egypt.

Page 22, l. 21. "*The tane of tham*," i.e. Babylon, "*sita super ipsum fluvium sine medio*" (Bold., p. 37). The account of the rise of the Nile is, however, from some other source, perhaps Pliny, v. 56-58. The time fixed, June—Sept., is correct enough, more so than in Hayton or Ludolph, who make the rise begin in August. Ibn Batuta states (i. p. 78) that a rise of over 18 cubits or under 16 is equally harmful, thereby agreeing with Herodotus. The best height now is said to be 23 cubits; "a single cubit more is apt to cause terrible devastation in the Delta . . . , while a deficiency of two cubits causes drought and famine in upper Egypt (Baedeker, 1885, p. 58).

Page 23, l. 8. "*a mountayne that hat Alloche*."—This name is a puzzle, and I can only suggest that Atlas is meant. A somewhat similar account of the Nile is in Honorius of Autun's *Imago Mundi*, i. 10, except that it is in the first instance that the river is said to rise near Mount Atlas ("*Geon, qui et Nilus, juxta montem Athlantem surgens, mox a terra absorbetur*," etc., Migne, clxxii. 123). The foundation of all mediæval notions on the subject was no doubt the well-known passage in Pliny, v. 51-53. It is perhaps worth noting, though probably no more than a coincidence, that there is a Wâdy *Allâki*, the name of which recalls Mandeville's "Alloche" or "Aloch." It extends from the mountains of Etbai, the highest range in Nubia, down to the Nile, midway between the first and second cataracts.

Page 23, l. 16. "*The land of Egipte*," etc.—This and the following paragraph are chiefly worked up from Bold. (p. 39) and Hayton (cap. 54, p. 470). Neither of these writers, however, mention "the citee of Couston," by which is apparently meant Kûs or Kous (the Coptic Cos and the Chus of Will. Tyr., xix. 24, and Sanudo, p. 260), on the east bank of the Nile, a little below Luxor. This was a place of great importance as the starting point for the transport down the river of the produce of the Indies, which was brought thither by caravan from the port of Aidab (Heyd, i. p. 381, ii. p. 8). In the Catalan Map (1375) it is made to exchange names with Kousseir, the port opposite to it on the Red Sea. Josephus, it may be noted, makes the Red Sea extend to Coptos (μέγρι Κοπρού, B. J., iv. 10.5), just below Kous; and this perhaps after all was the ultimate source of Mandeville's "Coston" (Fr. text), π and σ being easily confounded. As for the Nubians, "qui sunt Christiani, et sunt nigri sicut pix propter solis æstum" (Hayton), the interpolation in E. may partly come from J. de Vitry (p. 1122), "nos autem nigros Æthiopes turpes reputamus, inter ipsos autem qui nigrior est, pulchrior ab ipsis judicatur."

Page 24, l. 13. "*In Egipte er v. cuntreez*."—These are called by Hayton (p. 471) Sayt, i.e. Sa'id or Upper Egypt; Demesor, i.e. Damanhûr, the capital of the present province of Behêreh;

Alexandria; Resint ("et ista quidem est insula et fluminibus circumdata"), i.e. Reshîd or Rosetta; and Damietta. The town of Damietta was taken by the Crusaders in 1219 and evacuated in 1221, again taken by St. Louis in 1249, and restored, as part of his ransom, in 1250. It was destroyed by Beybars in the following year, and rebuilt on its present site further from the sea.

Page 24, l. 21. "*a haly hermite*."—St. Antony, whose encounter with a satyr is described by St. Jerome in his *Vita S. Pauli* (Migne, xxiii. 23), the passage being quoted also by Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imper.*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 7). See also J. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, p. 95. Mandeville's "3it es þe heued halden and keped" seems to be a liberty taken with his authority, who states that a similar monster was once brought alive to Alexandria, and after death was pickled and taken to Antioch to be shown to the Emperor Constantius.

Page 25, l. 3. "*a fewle that men calles Fenix*."—This particular form of the story of the Phoenix, or Bennu, appears to be derived from the moralised Bestiary known as *Physiologus*, widely popular in the Middle Ages (Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii. 1851, p. 182). The description of the bird itself, however, as well as the name of Heliopolis, are probably from Pliny (x. 3), or Solinus (cap. 33). See also Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, (bk. ii. 73), ii. p. 104.

Page 25, l. 18. "*In Egipte er placez*," etc.—This paragraph is chiefly from Bold. (pp. 41, 42). The first sentence, so far as regards the definite number of crops (*cf.* Fr. text), is an exception, together with the statement as to the prevalence of mice after rain. As to the mice, something of the same kind is mentioned by Pliny (ix. 179, "quippe detegente eo musculi reperiuntur") and Pomponius Mela (i. 9), not, however, as a consequence of rain, but of the subsidence of the Nile. The "grete myrs" of C. (a mistranslation of "sorez" = souris), are presumably ants or pismires, unless indeed "myr" is simply for "mire," a marsh. The egg-hatching houses in Egypt (alluded to by Pliny, "ut in Ægypti fimetis," x. 153), seem to have excited as much wonder in western travellers as the elephant and giraffe or even the pyramids. Those at Cairo are described by J. de Vitry (p. 1105), Ludolph (p. 51), Symon Simeonis (p. 55), and others, as well as by Boldensele. The following may be given as a parallel passage from an anonymous writer who visited Egypt in 1607 (B.M., Royal MS. 18 A. xxxix., f. 5b): "Betwixt Rosetto and Caro, on eyther sides upon the bankes of Nilus, be many little buildinges of claye, mingled with camells and pigeons dounge, like greatt ovens, in the which at the hottest season of the yeare the people of that part do putt in a worlde of egges, laying them in good order. And to them belongeth a furner, who doth receave them of all such as bringes, under them (the oven in the bottome being hollowe and of such stuffe as formerly spoken of) make a little fire (but cheiflye with the extreame heatt of the sunne), and, a little heatt forced, in certaine dayes doth hatch, being often times 12, 10 and sometimes but 8. And in greatt numbers they breade them; and those who had delivered egges cometh at that time and fetcheth chicken, it may well be of a thousand egges five hundred chicken, yf the weather proveth evill not halfe so many." See also the *Relation of a Journey*, etc., in 1610, by Geo. Sandys (ed. 1615, p. 125), who, after describing the arrangement of the ovens, proceeds, "Thus lie the egges in the lower ovens for the space of eight dayes, turned daily and carefully lookt to, that the heate be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from

the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them betweene a lampe and the eye), which are two parts of three for the most part. Ten dayes after they put out the fire and convey, by the passage in the middle, the one halfe into the upper ovens; then shutting all close they let them alone for ten dayes longer, at which time they become disclosed in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of January untill the middle of June."

Page 25, l. 29. "*lang appels*."—The "poma oblonga" of Bold. and others. These so-called "appels of paradyse" are the fruit of the plantain (*Musa Sapientum*), which, when cut transversely, does show something faintly resembling the figure of a cross. Marignoli and others have even contrived to see in it the figure of the Crucified; but as to this Col. Yule (*Cathay*, p. 361, note), appositely quotes Gerarde's *Herball*, "The Crosse I might perceive, as the form of a spread-eagle in the root of Ferne, but the Man I leave to be sought for by those that have better eyes and better judgment than myself." There is a good account of the plantain in Burchard, who speaks of the fruit as combining the flavour of the most delicate butter and honeycomb (ed. Laurent, p. 87). No one, however, describes it better than Symon Simeonis (p. 35), "Sunt enim [poma] oblonga, et glauci coloris quum sunt matura, in aspectu pulcherrima, in odore suavissima, in sapore melliflua, in tactu levissima, et Crucifixi signaculo insignita, quia, quum scinduntur ex transverso, in eis apparet imago Crucifixi apertissime, velut in cruce extensi. Non enim sunt arboris poma, sed cujusdam herbae in altum crescentis ad modum arboris quae Musa appellatur, cujus folia in figura et colore foliis cujusdam herbae quae Anglice dicitur *Radigthe* multum assimilantur, quamvis in longitudine et latitudine illa multum excedant. Folia enim ipsius communiter habent in longitudine duos vel sex pedes et in latitudine quandoque unum, quandoque duos, quandoque minus, quae ipsa poma a ventorum et imbrium impulsibus protegent et defendunt. Et notandum quod praedicta herba nunquam facit fructum nisi semel, et quando fructus etollitur seu aufertur, statim arida efficitur, et in loco ejus alia de radice ipsius consurgit, quae in proximo anno sequenti fructum faciet et vices ejus per omnia supplebit." The likeness to the radish (if that is what he means by *radigthe*) is rather fanciful, even if we are to suppose the root of the radish to represent the trunk or stalk of the plantain; but the description is otherwise singularly accurate.

Page 26, l. 2. "*Adam appels*."—Apparently some species of citron (Yule, *Marco Polo*, iv. 101; and *cf.* Jessen, *Alb. Magnus de Vegetalibus*, 1867, p. 433). J. de Vitry, whom Mandeville may have copied, speaks of them (p. 1099) as "poma pulcherrima et citrina . . . in quibus quasi morsus hominis cum dentibus manifeste apparet, et idcirco poma Adami ab omnibus appellantur."

Page 26, l. 4. "*Pharao figges*."—The fruit of the *Ficus Sycomorus*, which "shoots forth on dwarf sprigs from all parts of the stem or stalks, quite distinct from the leaf-bearing twigs" (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, 1867, p. 397). This description, it will be observed, differs from Mandeville's, who says the tree bears no leaves at all. He perhaps bungled the information supplied by J. de Vitry (p. 1099), "quædam singulares ficuum species fructus in ipsis truncis absque ramis et foliis facientes, non inter folia vel ramos superiores, sicut fit in aliis arboribus, sed ipsi trunco adhærentes: has autem ficus Pharaonis appellant." Thietmar (1217) is equally accurate, "ficus Pharaonis, quæ fert fructum non inter folia, sed in ipso trunco" (ed. Laurent, 1857, p. 52).

Page 26, l. 4. "*A felde whare in bawme growes,*" etc.—The mediæval Matarea, now the garden of El-Matariyeh, a little north-east of Cairo, where the so-called Tree and Well of the Virgin are still to be seen. The balsam plant, however, (*balsamodendron Gileadense*) is said to be no longer cultivated nearer than Yemen. It is described as a small evergreen, the balsam being "obtained from the bark by incision, from the green nut, and an inferior quality from bruising and boiling the young wood. The exudation is of a yellow colour, very tenacious, and has a fragrant resinous scent" (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 338). The story went that it was procured by Cleopatra for her garden at Babylon from Jericho (Burchard, p. 61; see also, p. 50), where it was formerly propagated from a root given by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. Mandeville's account of it is based on Boldensele (p. 42), supplemented from other sources, though it is difficult to say exactly from whom. Burchard and Boldensele only mention the one Well of the Virgin, while J. de Vitry (p. 1099) mentions six wells, and Ludolph (p. 52) five. The last named enters more fully than others into the subject of the plant and its culture, drawing his information, as it would seem, from four compatriots, whom he found among its custodians. Symon Simeonis also, as usual, gives an admirable description (p. 48), not omitting the flint knife, which in our English text (*cf.* footnote 6) takes so portentous a name. This and other parts of Mandeville's account, including the adulterations and tests, may have come from Pliny, xii. 111-116, 119-123 (*e.g.* "inciditur vitro, lapide osseisque cultellis; ferro vitalia lædi odit"), or Solinus, cap. 35. Of more modern authors, *cf.* Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), *De Vegetalibus*, vi. 8, "De proprietatibus Balsami" (ed. Jessen, p. 354), and Alex. Neckam (b. 1195), *De Nat. Rerum* (ed. T. Wright, 1863, p. 171); and, for the whole subject, Heyd, ii. pp. 575-580. The terms commonly applied to balm, according as it was obtained from the juice, the fruit, or the wood, were *opobalsamum*, *carpobalsamum*, and *xylobalsamum* (Isidore, *Etym.*, xvii. 8, 14); but Mandeville's Arabic names, wherever he got them, are not so easily explained. Prof. De Goeje indeed suggests (in a letter to Prof. W. Wright) that *Enochbalse* is "corrupted from *dohn-balsân*, balsam oil, as the Arabs use to call the *opobalsamum*," while "*Abebissam* seems to be '*anab* (classical '*inab*) *balsân*, balsam-grapes." Of *Oxbalse* or *Guybalse* he can make nothing. As to the Trees of the Sun and Moon, and the balm there, see p. 147.

Page 27, l. 7. "*Ioseph bernes.*"—This account of the Pyramids (the "nedders" excepted) is from Boldensele (p. 42), whose sensible opinion, however, as to their sepulchral character Mandeville rejects. Both Ludolph (p. 55) and Symon Simeonis (p. 51), keep him in countenance in taking the more popular view, which is at least as old as Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.*, i. 10). D'Anglure's description of these "Greniers Pharaon" is particularly full and interesting (p. 65). Among other things told him by his guide, he says (p. 68) that the entrances were closed because the chambers were the resort of coiners.

Page 27, l. 17. "*In Egipte er diuerse langagez,*" etc.—To what language the alphabet here given belongs I cannot tell; it seems corrupt past recognition.

Page 28, l. 17. "*In that ile [Sicily] es a gardyne,*" etc.—The "Campus Hennensis, in floribus semper et omni vernus die" (Solinus, cap. 5), the scene of the rape of Proserpina (Ovid, *Metam.*, v. 385-408). The ancient Henna is now Castro Giovanni, in the centre of the island.

Page 28, l. 20. "*In Cicile es a maner of nedder,*" etc.—It looks

as if the author had here merely transferred to the *Sicilians* what is elsewhere told of the *Psylli*, a tribe of North Africa. According to Pliny (vii. 13) and Solinus (cap. 27) the bodies of these *Psylli* were endowed by nature with a subtle venom fatal to serpents, upon which their very odour acted as a narcotic. They exposed their children therefore in the manner described, adjudging them adulterous, if the reptiles attacked them—a caution to wives, as one would think, to choose their lovers at least from among the tribe! For the *Psylli* as the hereditary snake charmers of Egypt, see Quatremère, i. p. 203; and *cf.* Vivien de St. Martin, *Le Nord d'Afrique dans l'Antiquité*, 1863, p. 491.

Page 29, l. 3. "*Ethna . . . Gebel.*"—Etna is still called by the Sicilians *Mongibello*, a compound of *Monte* and its Arabic synonym *Gibel* or *Jebel*, a relic of Saracenic dominion. The "swelghes" are not the craters of Etna, but the seven volcanic Lipari islands, the description coming from Pliny (iii. 92-94) or Solinus (cap. 6). As to divinations from the flames, these authors merely state that the Sicilians foretold changes in the wind three days in advance from the smoke of Strongyle.

Page 29, l. 9. "*The citee of Pisane,*" etc.—By the "two hauens" of Pisa are presumably meant the mouth of the Arno and the Porto Pisano, a little south of it (Spruner, *Hand-Atlas*, pl. 23). "Greef," or Corfu, did not belong to the Genoese, but was attached to the kingdom of Sicily from 1147 till 1386, when it was taken by the Venetians. Mandeville therefore perhaps confounded it with Corsica, won by Genoa from the Pisans in 1284. "Mirrok" is, I suppose, Hiericho (Spruner, pl. 84), on the coast of Albania, perhaps the modern Mavrovo. "Valon," or Avlona, is a little more to the north, and Durazzo is further north still. Its Dukes in Mandeville's time (since 1315) were Angevins of the royal house of Naples. This route to Constantinople through Durazzo was that taken by Robert of Flanders in the 1st Crusade, when John, son of the Emperor Isaac, was Duke (Baldric, *Hist. Jeros.*, i. 14), and it is not unlikely that it is to this earlier period that Mandeville really refers.

Page 29, l. 15. "*Sayne Kateryne.*"—St. Katharine is said to have been beheaded at Alexandria during the persecution of Maximin early in the 4th century, after having been miraculously saved from death at the wheel, which is her well-known emblem. Her body was transported by angels to one of the summits of Sinai (Sim. Metaphr., 25 Nov.; *cf.* J. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 172, p. 789), where three or four centuries later it was found by the monks of the convent which still bears her name (see below).

Page 29, l. 16. "*Sayne Marc.*"—The earliest authorities speak as if St. Mark died a natural death at Alexandria (St. Jerome, *De Viris illust.*, 8); but the legend of his martyrdom appears in Simeon Metaphrastes (25 Apr.). How, in the time of the emperor Leo (A.D. 468) the two Venetian merchants, Bonus and Rusticus, stole the body away from Alexandria, and how they got it on board ship by hiding it in a basket under pieces of pork, from which the Saracen custom-house officers turned away in disgust, may be read in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 Apr. (*cf.* J. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 59, p. 267).

Page 29, l. 21. "*many precious stanes,*" etc.: *cf.* Bold. (p. 39), "Inveniturque in eo et circa ipsum lignum aloë et diversi coloris lapides carneoli." The notion that the fragrant and finely marked wood known as *lign-aloë* came down the Nile from Paradise is referred to by J. de Vitry among others (p. 1100). Isidore says it grew in India and Arabia (*Etym.*, xvii. 8, 9). It

has nothing to do with the Aloe, and Col. Yule suggests that its name is a corruption of the Arabic term for it, *Al-'ud*, "the wood" (*Marco Polo*, ii. p. 252). He describes it as "the result of disease in a leguminous tree, *Aloexylon Agallochum*, whilst an inferior kind, though of the same aromatic properties, is derived from a tree of an entirely different order, *Aquillaria Agallocha*," the chief seat of its production being Champa or Cambodia (*ibid.*). It was used for incense and as an ornamental wood, as well as in medicine (Heyd, ii. pp. 581-585). The "many evils" for which it was a remedy are enumerated by Alb. Magnus, *De Veget.*, p. 344.

Page 29, l. 25. "*fra Babilon to the mount Synai.*"—From this point to the end of the chapter there is a general agreement with Bold., chap. 4, but with differences enough to show that Mandeville did not solely depend upon him. What he means by his two routes to Sinai is not clear, since the places he names are all on the route round the head of the Red Sea. The first Well is not mentioned by Bold. It is apparently the 'Ayûn Mûsâ, or "Springs of Moses," a few miles below Suez (*Ordn. Survey of Sinai*, Frontispiece; Guérin, *La Terre Sainte*, pt. ii. p. 401). "Marrac" (the Marah of Exodus, xv. 23) is identified with 'Ain Hawwârah, and "Elym" with Wâdy Gharandel. Bold. and others give the number of palm trees at Elim as seventy (*cf.* Exod. xv. 27; Numb. xxxiii. 9). He is not responsible for the statement that it is only one day's journey thence to Sinai, though his words might perhaps be so interpreted by a careless copyist. Altogether his journey from Cairo to Sinai occupied ten days, three of which, as he says, were spent along the Red Sea. Bædeker, it may be noted, allows three days from Suez to Wâdy Gharandel, and five from thence to Sinai, exactly the division of time marked by Rudolph von Frameynsperg in 1346, riding, however, in the opposite direction (Canisius, *Thesaurus*, ed. 1725, p. 358). As he reached Cairo in four days more, his whole time was twelve days, thus agreeing with Mandeville's estimate lower down. The latter probably (as in the case of the Pyramids) has a covert allusion to Boldensele in what he says of the greater haste of some travellers. He says moreover that no man can pass the desert on horseback, which the other prides himself on having done. Ludolph also (p. 63) made the journey in twelve days, but he seems to have expended six before he reached the Red Sea.

Page 30, l. 17. "*men that can speke Latyne.*"—This is of course a translator's blunder, a "latinier" or "latimier" (whence the English surname) meaning simply an interpreter. Thus De Joinville, ch. 110, "un latimier, qui savoit lour language [Armenian] et le nostre" (ed. De Wailly, 1874, p. 308), where, by the way, it is curious to find so genuine a Romance word truchement, *i.e.* dragoman.

Page 30, l. 21. "*ane abbay of mounkes.*"—The famous monastery of St. Katharine, at the foot of the Jebel Mûsâ, including within its walls the church of the Virgin or the Transfiguration, said to have been built by Justinian. Modern descriptions show that the house and its inmates have changed but little since Mandeville wrote, though the number of monks, estimated by Frameynsperg at 100, by D'Anglure at 200, and by Ludolph at more than 400, has dwindled to about thirty. See especially Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ed. 1856, i. p. 90, *seqq.*; the *Ordn. Survey of Sinai*, 1869; and Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 1871.

The fine series of photographs in the *Survey*, and the plates in Guérin's *La Terre Sainte*, pt. ii., include nearly all the places of interest Mandeville mentions.

Page 31, l. 1. "*That oile comes to tham as by miracle.*"—This story is not in Boldensele. It is told also by Schiltberger (p. 54), but in words so closely similar that he probably took it from Mandeville. In Thietmar's *Peregrinatio* (1217) the oil is differently accounted for (ed. Laurent, 1857, p. 46). Owing to a deficiency of so indispensable a commodity—"moris enim Græcorum est ut in ecclesiis suis plurima habeant luminaria, immo infinita"—the monks at one time determined to remove elsewhere. When, however, they reached the spot where the Virgin had before interposed in the matter of fleas (see below), she met them in person and bade them return, promising that for the future their oil-jar should prove inexhaustible. "I have seen that jar," adds Thietmar convincingly, "and had of its oil, and it is held in great veneration." As there is now no lack of olive trees neither miracle is longer necessary.

Page 31, l. 6. "*the brynnand busk.*"—The chapel of the Burning Bush is at the east end of the church, behind the central apse, the actual spot where the Bush grew being marked by a silver plate—perhaps the same "tablette d'argent" noticed by D'Anglure (p. 48). The statement lower down that the monks showed the Bush itself (l. 15) is, so far as I know, borne out by no other writer. The tract *De Situ, etc.* (De Vogüé, *Eglises*, p. 418) goes so far indeed as to say that traces of it remained ("rubus sua adhuc signat vestigia"); and Thietmar explains that it had been carried away in pieces by Christians for relics—"ad instar autem illius rubi factus est aureus rubus ex laminis aureis, et ymago Domini aurea super rubum, et ymago Moysi aurea stans ad dexteram discalceans se" (p. 42).

Page 31, l. 9. "*the tounge of alabastre*": rather, as in C., the "fertre" or *feretrum* ("capsa marmorea alba," Bold.). D'Anglure calls it "ung vaissel de pierre de marbre, qui gist a la destre partie du grant autel; et veismes dedans icellui vaissel son chef et les os de ses bras, qui sont merueilleusement gros, selon le temps present" (p. 46). The last statement is curious by the side of Thietmar's "Tumba quidem brevis est, quia ipsum corpus admodum parvum est" (p. 44). When the relics were shown to Dr. Robinson, they consisted of "a skull and hand, set in gold and embossed with jewels" (*Bibl. Res.*, i. p. 97). The oil, in which, as Thietmar has it, they "swam," appears to be quite exhausted. In its time it was highly valued, being bestowed upon pilgrims of distinction. A phial of it figures in an inventory of the relics of the Sainte Chapelle in 1363 (Ducange, *s.v.* Oleum). The "iiii. (iii., Fr.) greez" or steps are represented in Bold. by the words "in loco aliquantulum eminenti." The latter also has nothing to say of the bloody cloth, though he describes the ghastly performance of stirring the bones.

Page 31, l. 17. "*when ane abbot dyes,*" *etc.*—This miracle also I have not found recorded earlier. Like that above, of the birds and the olive branches, it is repeated by Schiltberger (p. 55). The passage is otherwise interesting from the direct assertion which it contains of Mandeville's personal visit to the monastery.

Page 31, l. 28. "*In that abbay commes neuer fleess ne flies*": *cf.* Bold. (p. 47), "Intra septa hujus claustrum nec muscæ nec pulices aut hujusmodi immunditiæ esse possunt," *etc.* The same legend is constantly repeated by mediæval pilgrims. Ludolph (p. 67), on the authority of a monk "miræ conscientiæ," gives a variation

of it, in which the Virgin bore no part, the relief being granted in answer to prayers to God offered by the convent at the advice of one of their number. Modern visitors, it is said, have reason to question the continued efficacy of the miracle!

Page 32, l. 5. "*Before the gate of that abbay es the well,*" etc.—This well is described by Bold. (p. 47) as being within the monastery. It is perhaps the well in the garden of which Guérin gives a woodcut (p. 341). There is another behind the church, where Moses is said to have watered Jethro's sheep (cf. Antoninus Martyr, ed. Tobler, p. 112). The position of both is accurately described by D'Anglure in 1396.

Page 32, l. 8. "*men gas vp on many grece,*" etc.—This is the ascent of the Jebel Músá called Sikket Syedná Músá, or Path of our lord Moses, "a track which has been followed by monks and pilgrims for many centuries past—a rude flight of rocky steps, formed of huge slabs of granite arranged with considerable skill, but now destroyed at many points by the fall of rocks or rush of torrents" (*Survey*, p. 114; cf. p. 207). As these steps, said to be 3,000 in number, are not mentioned by Antoninus (circ. 570), they were probably made at a later period. Before reaching the "Kirk of oure Lady," now the Chapel of the Virgin of the Oeconomus, the road passes another Spring of Moses, which is also said to have been the scene of his watering Jethro's flock. D'Anglure, however, whose account of the ascent is particularly good, makes this "belle fontaine merveilleuse" (p. 49) to be the spring which Moses made with his rod (Exod. xvii. 6), and it may therefore be the well meant by Mandeville just above. The chapel of Elijah (Fr. text) is built over the so-called cave in which he hid himself from Jezebel (i. Kings, xix. 8, 9). Boldensele, it may be noted, speaks as if it was at the same elevation as the chapel of Moses, a mistake which Mandeville avoids. What the latter means by the vine planted by St. John (Fr. text), I cannot explain; no other writer seems to mention it. As for the chapel of Moses—"on the top of the mountain within a few yards of each other are two buildings, a chapel near the 'Clift in the rock' (Exod. xxxiii. 22), and a mosque built over the cave in which he is said to have lived during his sojourn of forty days and forty nights" (*Survey*, p. 207). This "muscat de Sarrazins," of which Mandeville says nothing, existed in D'Anglure's time, and his Arab guides duly performed their devotions within it (p. 51).

Page 32, l. 15. "*another grete mount.*"—The Jebel Katherín (8,536 ft.), to the south-west of the Jebel Músá (7,363 ft.). The "kirk of xl. martirs" is the now deserted monastery of el-Arbáin, in the valley of el-Lejá between the two mountains. It had its name from the massacre of forty monks by the Arabs, circ. 373, accounts of which have come down to us from Ammonius and Nilus, who were fortunate enough to escape (Robinson, i. p. 123). The place is still famous for its garden, as it was in the 14th cent. (D'Anglure, p. 52; Palmer, p. 119). Bold. (with whom Ludolph agrees) says nothing of the ruined chapel on the top of the mountain. Otherwise his words are closely reproduced:—"In hac summitate nulla capella est aut habitaculum, sed petris et collibus locus inventi corporis est signatus." D'Anglure speaks of a monolith only:—"Sachiés qu'il n'y a nul edifice, ne aultre apparance, n'y verrez fors une pierre, qui encor y est, ainsi come de la longueur d'une personne" (p. 52). He adds that this stone, on which St. Katharine's body was laid, was never soiled by the birds. The "colett of Sayne Kateryne" (cf. Bold., "oratio dicit ecclesiæ," etc.) is to be found

in the Roman Breviary, 25 Nov. It begins as follows, "Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi in summitate montis Sinai et in eodem loco per sanctos angelos tuos corpus beatæ Catharinæ virginis et martyris tuæ mirabiliter collocasti," etc.

Page 33, l. 5. "*thase mounkes giffez,*" etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 48), "peregrinis advenientibus dant de victualibus . . . et iterum pro itinere versus Syriam secundum numerum diætarum," etc. Thietmar got fish and fruit as well as bread (p. 50). According to Frameynsperg (p. 358) the monks gave ten loaves to each pilgrim, to last for as many days. His route, however, from the monastery was towards Egypt. Boldensele's time "toward Surry," apparently to Beersheba, was thirteen days (p. 49); D'Anglure's the other way, from Gaza to the monastery, was twelve (p. 44). Bread, it appears, is still doled out freely, but Prof. Palmer's remarks on its composition are not complimentary (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 61).

Page 33, l. 7. "*Arabienes, Bedoynes and Ascopardes.*"—This account of the Bedawîn chiefly differs from Boldensele's (p. 49) in giving them a worse character, derived perhaps from J. de Vitry (p. 1062). The term "Ascopardes" is added by Mandeville, and represents the people whom Alb. of Aix describes as "gens nigerrimæ cutis de terra Æthiopiz dicta vulgariter Azopart" (vi. 41). Mandeville seemingly identifies them with the Bedawîn, but their mode of fighting (cf. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, i. p. 252) makes this doubtful, to say the least. Wilken (*Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, ii. p. 175) calls them Moors, quoting the vivid description given by Vinsauf (i. 35). The name is familiar in the literature of romance, particularly in connexion with Ascopart, the giant squire of Sir Beowulf of Hampton. Neither Bold. nor J. de Vitry says that the Bedawîn roast by the heat of the sun. The latter's account of them, however, is followed by some remarks on sun-worship in the East, which Mandeville may have thus improved upon. "Pai do nozt elles bot chacez wilde bestez" is a distortion of Bold., "vivunt maxime de camelis et capris" (cf. Burchard, xiii. 6, p. 89; Sanudo, p. 93), which is something very different. Again, the "whyte linnen clathe" (i.e. the Kufeiyeh, as to which see Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 342) is in Bold. merely "panno lineo longissimo," while J. de Vitry gives the colour as red.

Page 33, l. 23. "*Bersabee,*" i.e. Beersheba, now Bîr es Seb'a: cf. Bold. (p. 50), "veni in Bersabeam . . . quæ quondam fuit villa competens. Pulchras habuit ecclesias, quarum adhuc aliquæ perseverant . . . In hac villa beatus Abraham diu moratus est." Beersheba is dragged in by Mandeville, the name Beersheba really meaning "Well of the Oath" (cf. Gen. xxi. 31) or "Well of the Seven" (Robinson, i. p. 204).

Page 34, l. 2. "*Ebron*"—Hebron, now el-Khulîl (*Survey of W. Pal.*, iii. pp. 305, 317), about 28 miles north-east of Beersheba. Mandeville's distance therefore, given as twelve miles in E. and as two good miles in C. (cf. Fr. text), presents a difficulty, not removed by comparison with Boldensele, who rode from one place to the other in half a day. Taking, however, the "xii. myle" to be the rendering of "xii. bones lieues" and the latter to be French leagues, each of two English miles, we get a fair approximation to the true distance. In the *Onomasticon* it is given as twenty miles; and the ten miles (Fr. leagues?) of the tract *De Situ* (p. 415) probably mean the same. On the other hand, if "ii. gode myle" is the proper reading, it may be that Mandeville refers in a clumsy way to the distance between Hebron and Mamre, now er-Râmeh, which is correctly given as two miles by the Bordeaux Pilgrim

(A.D. 333) and others (*Survey*, iii. p. 316). Eugesippus, however, seems to place Beersheba and Hebron two miles apart, as he makes the one 18 and the other 16 miles from Jerusalem (p. 997). As for the account here of Hebron in general, though to some extent founded on Boldensele, it agrees more closely with other authorities, especially the class represented by De Vogüé's *De Situ*, Eugesippus, Theoderic, and John of Wirtzburg.

Page 34, l. 3. "*the Vale of Greeting*": cf. "Vallis Lacrymarum, dicta eo quod centum annis in ea luxit Adam filium suum Abel" (*De Situ*, p. 415; cf. Euges., p. 991, J. Wirtzb., p. 177). The sentences following may also be found in the same authorities. The actual cave in which Adam and Eve wept is said by Burchard (p. 81; cf. Sanudo, p. 248) to lie three bowshots west of the "Spelunca Duplex," and to contain their beds and a spring from which they drank. This spring is now identified with the 'Ain el Judeideh, "in a vault, roofed with masonry and reached by steps" (*Survey*, p. 307). The tradition does not appear to be mentioned by the earlier pilgrims, as Antoninus, Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, etc.

Page 34, l. 10. "*the grauez of the patriarches*."—These are beneath the floor of the famous Haram or Sanctuary, minutely described in the *Survey* (p. 333), where many of the historical notices of it are collected. The statement that Hebron was called Kirjath Arba or "City of the Four" (cf. Joshua, xiv. 15) because four patriarchs, including Adam, were buried there, is found in the Talmud; and it is repeated by St. Jerome (*Peregr. S. Paulæ*) and most later writers, the name generally appearing, as here, in the form Cariatharbe and taken to be Arabic. As for the name "Arboch" (Fr. text), it is given by Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (ed. 1862, p. 370) as the ancient name of Hebron, and is explained by St. Jerome in his translation as a faulty substitute in Greek codices for the Hebrew Arba. It seems to be peculiar to Mandeville among later writers. Some pilgrims, it may be noted, as Willibald (723-726) and Ludolph (1336), speak only of three patriarchs at Hebron; and St. Jerome himself records a common opinion that the fourth was not Adam but Caleb (cf. Judges, i. 20). Adam's burial there is, however, asserted in the Vulgate, Josh. xiv. 15, "Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariatharbe. Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est"; for the origin of which reading see Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, ii. p. 88. Another tradition, carried back to Josephus and repeated by Antoninus (*circa* 570) and Sæwulf (1102), represents the bones of Joseph as finally interred there instead of at Sichem, and his tomb is now shown without the line of the Haram enclosure, apparently in the position assigned by St. Jerome to that of Caleb. In our English MS. E the name of Leah has been erroneously omitted, the translator having perhaps taken "lie" to be a verb. The common mediæval term "*Spelunca Duplex* or Double Cave" renders accurately enough the Biblical Machpelah (Gen. xxiii. 19) or "Division in Half." Mandeville's explanation, that one cave lay *above* the other, is probably no more than his own surmise, though it is said to be supported by other authorities. Moslem jealousy, however, has hitherto prevented any exploration underground by which the actual positions might be ascertained. According to the Jew Benjamin of Tudela (1163), "If any Jew come who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the times of our forefathers who rest in peace; and, with a burning candle in his hands, the visitor descends into

a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, one opposite the other" (Wright, *Early Travels*, p. 86). The cave, in fact, "probably resembles many of the rock-cut sepulchres of Palestine, with a square antechamber carefully quarried, and two interior sepulchral chambers" (*Survey*, p. 338). Later pilgrims, Christians and Jews alike, were denied admittance into it altogether, the prohibition dating apparently from the visit of Sultan Bibars to Hebron in 1265 (Makrizi, ed. Quatremère, I. ii. pp. 27, 249). Ludolph, notwithstanding, says (p. 70) that in his day Jews were still allowed to enter, having purchased the privilege ("quod temporibus meis pecunia procuraverunt"), but that Christians could only pray at the door. By this he appears to mean the entrance of the actual cave (into which, as he says, "per gradus, ut in cellarium, descenditur"); for immediately after he states that they might wander at will about the church or mosque, both within and without. Other writers, like Mandeville, extend the prohibition to the Haram altogether; nor, except as an extraordinary privilege, is it even now permissible to enter. Felix Fabri and his party, for instance (1483), with all their efforts, could not get farther than the steps outside, where they performed their devotions in the midst of a crowd, to whom at that date, as he says, western pilgrims at Hebron were an unheard of rarity (*Evagatorium*, ed. Hassler, 1843, ii. p. 339). Felix also was struck by the fortress-like appearance of the building:—"nec habet aspectum ecclesiæ, sed castri vel grandis palatii."

Page 34, l. 17. "*Abraham hous*."—The so-called House of Abraham, now Râmet el-Khulil, lies a little to the north of er-Râmeh and consists of two courses of masonry only, with a well in one corner (*Survey*, p. 322). Its real date and object are undetermined; but it is no doubt the same as "the house of our father Abraham" mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (p. 86). The Latin words which Mandeville quotes from "Haly writte" only include the substance of Gen. xviii. 1, 2. He gets them from Bold., who, however, does not refer them to the Bible. It is significant of a common origin that exactly the same words are also in Euges., J. Wirtzb., Thietmar, Odoric, etc.

Page 34, l. 21. "*in that same place was Adam made*."—The legend that Adam was created at Hebron probably grew out of the tradition of his burial there, which, as stated above, was stereotyped in the Vulgate. It is not countenanced by the earlier pilgrims, but had established itself by the 12th cent. (*De Situ*, p. 414; Euges., p. 991; Theod., p. 81; J. Wirtzb., p. 176). The *ager Damascenus* lay about a bow-shot to the west of the *Spelunca Duplex* (Burchard, p. 81). It is alleged to have got its name as belonging to the Sultan of Damascus; but more probably it was so called to avoid a difficulty arising from the legendary connexion of Adam's creation with Damascus itself. As to the length of his stay in Paradise, according to rabbinical authority he sinned in the tenth hour after creation and was expelled from Paradise in the twelfth (Barclay, *The Talmud*, 1878, p. 23). So too the curious 13th cent. catechism of science known as *Sydrac and Boctus* (quoting the later English metrical version):—

"And in Paradyse they wore
Seven howers and no more.
The thynde hower after his making
Gaue Adam name to all thyng:

The syxth hower ete his wyfe
 The appull that made all the stryfe :
 The seuenth hower Adam dyd of yt ete,
 And was chasyd and streyth out bete."

(*The History of Kyng Boccus and Sydracke . . . translatyd by Hugo of Caumpeden out of Frenche into Englysche*, about 1510). A Mahometan legend, on the contrary, declares that he lived no less than five hundred years in Paradise before tasting the forbidden fruit (Weil, *The Bible, Koran and Talmud*, 1846, p. 7).

Page 34, l. 25. "And thare the aungell bad Adam," etc.: cf. Euges., "In qua (valle) et monitus postea ab angelo cognovit suam uxorem, ex qua genuit filium suum Seth, de cujus tribu erat Christus oriundus" (p. 991; cf. J. Wirtzb., p. 177). This was at the end of the hundred years of mourning for Abel. According to Felix Fabri (p. 345), two caves were shown, one of mourning (see above) and the other of reconciliation.

Page 34, l. 27. "In that valay es a felde," etc.: according to Burchard, identical with the *Ager Damascenus*. See Euges., "In Hebron habetur quidam ager cujus gleba rubea est; quæ ab incolis effoditur [et comeditur, J. Wirtzb.] et per Aegyptum venalis asportatur, et quasi pro specie (i.e. as a spice) carissime venditur. Prædictus ager, in quantum late et profunde effossus fuerit, in tantum divina dispositione in anno futuro [anno finito, J. Wirtzb.] reintegratus reperitur" (p. 991; J. Wirtzb. p. 177). The *De Situ*, Theoderic, Thietmar, Burchard, Odoric, Ludolph, etc., say much the same, the red earth being further described by Burchard (and later by Felix Fabri) as being plastic, like wax. No other writer, however, than Mandeville, within my knowledge, calls it "cambil," though some MSS. of J. Wirtzb. call the field itself "Gebal" (ed. Tobler, p. 445). The same word *cambil* is found in the *Pandectæ Medicinæ* of Matthæus Silvaticus (circ. 1317), who defines it as "terra rubea minuta, quæ affertur de Mecha" (ed. Lugduni, 1641, fol. xiii.); and it is also explained to signify red earth by Joh. de Garlandia (Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.* s. v. *καμβήλ*). What is really meant is no doubt the substance known to the British Pharmacopœia by its Bengali name of *Kāmala*, a reddish dust-like powder obtained from a shrub (*Mallotus Philippinensis*) growing in Arabia, India, and other eastern countries. Under the name *canbīl* (class. *kinbīl*) or *wars* it is mentioned by Arab physicians from a very early date (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 1874, p. 515). Its present use in medicine is that of an anthelmintic and a remedy for diseases of the skin. The following description from the Encyclopædia of Nowairi (Leiden MS. 273, p. 791) I owe to the kindness of Prof. De Goeje:—"As for the *kinbīl*, which has great likeness to the *wars*, it falls in Yemen, as red sand, but the red colour has a tinge of yellow. They say that it is found also in Khorāsān on the surface of the earth after rain."—"As for the *wars*, this is a manna that falls in China, in India, in Abyssinia, and Yemen, on the leaves of a plant that resembles the *badarūdj* (*basilicum*). The whole plant is cut off and put to dry in the sun till it is hard dry. Then it is shaken on a carpet of leather so that the leaves fall with the *wars* adhering to them. The colour is red, but, when pounded, it becomes yellow." It still remains doubtful whether the pilgrims merely confounded this substance with the red earth of Hebron, or really had reason for saying that the latter was exported and eaten, as to which, by the way, Ludolph, for one, expresses a doubt. Mandeville's "chose roigastre" is hardly spoken of as if it was the earth itself.

Page 35, l. 4. "the grafe of Loth": cf. Euges., "Duo milliaria ab Hebron, sepultura Loth, nepotis Abrahæ" (p. 991; cf. Theod., p. 82; J. Wirtzb., p. 177). The *De Situ* (p. 415) has "mil. tertio . . . contra meridiem." The place is now identified with Beni N'aim, where there is a Mosque of Neby Lût, three miles east of Hebron (*Survey*, pp. 303, 325). The tomb is mentioned by St. Jerome (*Per. S. Paulæ*, xii.).

Page 35, l. 5. "And ther es a tree of ake, that the Sarzenes callez Dyrpe," etc.—This passage strongly recalls Odoric, "Non remote ab Ebron est mons Mambre; et in ipso monte stat arbor, scilicet quercus arida, quæ ab antiquitate sua speciale sibi nomen meruit habere in universo mundo, et vocatur Arbor Sicca. Sarraceni dicunt eam Dirp. Hæc creditur stetisse a tempore Abrahe, et quidem ab inicio mundi, virens, donec passionis Christi tempore siccaretur" (cap. 46, p. 154). So too J. of Wirtzburg, "Juxta Hebron mons Mambre, ad cujus radicem terebinthus illa, quæ Dirps [diu, Euges.] vocatur, id est ilex aut quercus," etc. (p. 177; cf. Euges., p. 991; Theod., p. 81). These writers, however, as well as the *De Situ* and Burchard, represent the tree of their day (whether they mean the same or not) as being only a lineal descendant of the original Oak of Abraham. The latter according to St. Jerome (*Onomasticon*, p. 173) ceased to exist in his infancy (as to this, however, see Arculf, ii. 10). When, or how often, the site was shifted, as one tree died and another took its place in popular estimation, is doubtful. The earliest accounts place it at or near the modern er-Râmeh; but the present Abraham's Oak, styled by Dr. Tristram "the noblest tree in South Palestine" (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 369), is about a mile and a half north-west of the Haram, going by the name of Ballûtet Sebta, or "Oak of Rest" (*Survey*, pp. 308, 316; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 241). Bold., Ludolph, and Felix Fabri do not mention the tree at all; but Friar Anselm (1509) localises it at five or six furlongs south of Hebron (Canisius, *Thesaurus*, iv. p. 780). He describes it as an "arbor frondosissima," greatly venerated by the Arabs, who covered its branches with pieces of fluttering rag (as is still their custom with sacred trees) and believed that whoever took even a twig from it would die within the year. The descriptions of the Ballûtet Sebta, and the plate in Guérin (ii. p. 285), exhibit it as equally luxuriant in growth.

Though Euges., J. Wirtzb., etc., call the oak of Mamre a dry one, Odoric and Mandeville alone, as it seems, identify it with the Dry Tree, as to which little can be added to Col. Yule's learned note in *Marco Polo*, i. p. 136 (see also his *Cathay*, p. 48). The passage in Ezek. xvii. 24, "Siccavi lignum viride et frondere feci lignum aridum," which he reasonably suggests as the basis of the legend, should perhaps be supplemented by Luke xxiii. 31, "Si in viridi ligno hæc faciunt, in arido quid fiet?" The prophecy, moreover, to which Mandeville refers is to be found in the Book of Sidrach already mentioned, though not in Caumpeden's English version. The French work, after foretelling how the western invaders shall pursue their beaten foes as far as the "Arbre sec" (the position of which is evidently rather in Central Asia than near the coast), proceeds "le pere de la sainte maison do filh de deu pape ferat sacrifice messe al filh de deu en cel arbre sec; et en celle heure que ilh le ferat larbre rauerdira et getterat foelhes et flors" (B. M., Add. MS. 16,563, f. 142). See also the Italian version, Bartoli, *Il Libro di Sidrach*, 1868, p. 511. In its less legendary sense the Dry Tree is supposed to be the *Chínár* or

oriental plane. Another native name for the *Chínár* is said to be *Delb* or *Dulb*, but the truth of this is doubtful (Abdallatif, ed. De Sacy, p. 80; cf. Tobler, *Theod. de locis sanctis*, p. 211). If it were so, this might perhaps be the origin of the name *Dirp* or *Dirps*. It is, however, by no means impossible that the word is not Arabic at all, but merely a bad corruption of *Δρύς* derived from St. Jerome's "Drys, id est quercus Mambre" (*Onomasticon*, p. 173). For the preservative properties of the tree, cf. Euges., "Quæ, licet arida, medicabilis tamen esse probatur in hoc, quod, si de ea quis equitans aliquid secum detulerit, animal suum non infendit" (so also J. Wirtzb., and Sanudo, p. 248). Burchard, curiously enough, credits exactly the same to the Red Earth, and he is supported by Felix Fabri. But the "falling evil" with them is not, as with Mandeville, the disease so called, but "casus" in the sense of falling from one's horse.

Page 35, l. 17. "*Bethleem . . . es bot fyue myle.*"—The distance is really about 15 miles, "myle" here, as usual, being the rendering of "lieues" (see above, p. 162, col. 2). Eugesippus makes the distance twelve miles (p. 997). The description of the road and town follows Bold.; but there is more exactness in some of the details of the church, etc. This church—"the only Basilica of Constantine left standing in Palestine" (*Survey*, p. 83)—figures conspicuously in pilgrim literature. Ludolph (p. 71) estimates the number of columns at about 70; but J. Poloner in 1402 (p. 247) comes close to Mandeville with 48. According to De Vogüé the total, counting only those that are detached from the walls, amounts to 46 (*Églises*, p. 46). Again both Mandeville (Fr. text) and Poloner (as also Phocas, Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, cxxxiii. 958) make the number of steps from the choir down to the Grotto of the Nativity (for which see Guérin, i. p. 160, plate) to be 16, Bold. merely having "per paucos gradus," and Ludolph "per aliquot." Burchard (ed. Laurent, p. 78) speaks of only 10, and Theoderic (ed. Tobler, p. 78) of 25. It is somewhat curious that our author does not mention the fine series of frescoes and mosaics in the church, upon which other writers dilate, from Phocas (1185) downward, though he alludes to the adornment of the grotto.

Page 35, l. 22. "*the felde floridus.*"—A "campus floridus" is mentioned by Odoric as the scene of Elijah's ascent to heaven, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (cap. 37, p. 153). This is the "champ flori" of the French Itineraries, e.g. of *Les Pelerinaiges*, "De Iherusalem vers midi si a j. lieue iusques a S. Helye; apres est le champ flori," etc. (Michelang and Reynaud, *Itinéraires*, 1882, p. 98; cf. pp. 66, 186, 232). Mandeville's field can hardly be the same, unless by "citee" he really means Jerusalem, and not Bethlehem. As for his story of the origin of roses, I have not found it told elsewhere. The legend ordinarily associated with the "campus floridus" above named is that of the petrified pease (*Survey*, iii. pp. 54, 164). Ricold of Monte Croce (ed. Laurent, p. 111) and Poloner (p. 233) give the name "campus florum" or "hortus floridus" to the Garden of Gethsemane.

Page 36, l. 5. "*a pitte whare in the sterne fell*": cf. the *De Situ*, "ante eandem criptam est puteus existens dulcis et frigidæ aquæ, in quem dicitur stella cecidisse" (De Vogüé, p. 413; cf. *Les Pelerinaiges*, p. 99). It is mentioned by Poloner as close to the altar of the Magi, "et dicitur quod in eadem cisterna stella disparuit" (p. 248). Gregory of Tours has a legend that the star was still to be seen, though only by the pure in heart (*Lib. Mirac.*, Migne, lxxi. 707); and the same is in Odoric (cap.

39, p. 153), "ad manum dextram est puteus, ubi videtur stella," etc.

The names of the Three Kings, contained in the traditional line "Gaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum," are given by Bede (Migne, xciv. 541), though, as regards the first two, the offerings are differently assigned. In the so-called Greek and Hebrew names (Fr. text) Mandeville follows Pet. Comestor (*Hist. Scholast.*, Evang. 8, Migne, cxcviii. 1542), even to the confusion, as it would seem, of the two languages. The localisation of the Magi at Cassak or Kashan (see below, p. 75) is from Friar Odoric (Yule, *Cathay*, p. 50). Marco Polo places them at Saba in Persia (ed. Yule, i. p. 82). In the history of the Three Kings by John of Hildesheim (ob. 1375) we have "Malchior rex Nubiæ et Arabum, Balthazar rex Godoliæ et Saba, Jaspar rex Tharsis et insulæ Egriseulæ" (ed. Köpke, 1878, p. 14).

Page 36, l. 10. "*the charnell of the Innocentz*":—cf. Odoric, "In dextra ipsius [ecclesiæ] parte sepulti fuerunt sancti Innocentes" (p. 153). Euges. makes the place of their burial two miles south of Bethlehem (p. 998; cf. J. Wirtzb., p. 172); while the *De Situ* has "tertio milliario" (p. 425). Sanudo combines the two versions, saying that some were buried under the church and the rest three miles south (p. 258). The "xviii. greez," or steps, appear to be peculiar to Mandeville. As he talks of the cloister, they are perhaps the same as the steps down to St. Jerome's study (see next note). Tobler's plan of the church shows the Altar of the Innocents under the north transept (*Bethlehem*, 1849, p. 180; cf. De Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 50).

Page 36, l. 11. "*the tounge of sayne Jerome*": cf. Euges., "haud longe a præsepio requiescit corpus beati Hieronymi" (p. 998; cf. *De Situ*, p. 413; J. Wirtzb., p. 172; Theod., p. 79; Ludolph, p. 72). The actual body, however, had been removed to Rome. Bold., although he says that St. Jerome lived and died at Bethlehem, does not mention his tomb at all. His "chaier" is the "sedes ubi sedebat" of Ricold of Monte Croce (p. 110). What is meant is probably the "studorium" described by Poloner (p. 249) as being 19 steps below the cloister on the north side of the church (cf. Odoric, "Infra claustrum canonicorum est cripta in qua . . . Jeronimus transtulit bybliam," p. 153; Burchard, p. 78; Thietmar, p. 28).

Page 36, l. 13. "*kirk of sayn Nicholas*":—cf. Euges. (p. 998), who speaks of it as the burial-place of SS. Paula and Eustochium. It is the same therefore as Odoric's Church of St. Paula, in the crypt of which the earth showed stains of the Virgin's milk (p. 153). This legend is told more fully by Ludolph (p. 72), who says that the Virgin hid there for three days from Herod, "et casu et timore de lacte ejus ibidem supra petram cecidit et stillavit. Illud lac usque in presentem diem non deficit. Ipsum lac ut humor erumpit de lapide, habens lacteum colorem modica rubedine mixtum." As to the position of the church, Burchard (p. 78) calls it a stone's throw to the east, Poloner (p. 250) the same distance to the south, of the Basilica; while in Tobler's plan it is immediately to the north, though he speaks of another church of St. Nicholas a mile to the east (*Bethlehem*, pp. 204, 228). The present "Grotto of the Milk" is distant from the Basilica about 300 paces east-south-east (Guérin, pt. i. p. 168, and plate). The soil is a whitish tufa, scrapings of which are still swallowed by women as a powder—"elles espèrent par ce moyen ou rendre leur lait plus abondant, si elles en ont déjà, ou même le recouvrer, si elles l'ont perdu."

Page 36, l. 15. "*And 3e sall vnderstand,*" etc.—For this and the next sentence see Bold. (p. 52); but the account of the Korán, etc., is from Will. of Tripoli (cap. 25, p. 590), who gives the names as "Alcoranum Meshaf seu Harme" (printed "Harine"). Of these "Meshaf" is for Arab. *Mashaf*, book, often used as a title for the Korán, and "Harme" must be Arab. *Horme*, holy, inviolable (Prof. de Goeje). For a repetition of this, and for the story of Mahomet and the hermit, which comes from the same source, see lower down, pp. 66, 71.

Page 37, l. 5. "*bot twa myle,*" i.e. two leagues, as in Burchard, Odoric, etc., and equal therefore to the four miles of Euges., Bold., and others. The *De Situ* has "quarto miliario" in one place (p. 425), and "duas magnas leucas" in another (p. 413). Poloner has "duæ leucæ, id est unum milliare Alemannicæ viæ" (p. 249). The real distance is about six miles, as it is given in the *Onomasticon* and by the earlier pilgrims.

Page 37, l. 6. "*the tounge of Rachel,*" etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 52), but the passage agrees more closely still with Odoric (p. 153). The tomb is constantly mentioned by pilgrims from the earliest times. The stones seem to have been arranged in a pyramid or cairn (Arculf, ii. 7; Euges., p. 998; J. Wirtzb., p. 174), and to have been surmounted by a cupola on four pillars (Benj. of Tudela, p. 86). The site, at Kubbet Rahîl, is now covered with a modern building, preserving, however, part of an ancient structure (*Survey*, iii. pp. 54, 129, and plate).

Page 37, l. 9. "*many kirkes*": cf. Bold. (p. 52), "In hac via sunt plurima Christianorum monasteria gratiosa."

Page 37, l. 13. "*Ierusalem . . . cundytes fra Ebron.*"—This passage closely follows Bold. (p. 53), but the sentences following, about the name of Jerusalem, appear to be from Pet. Comestor, (*Hist. Schol.*, 2 Kings 7, Migne, cxcviii. 1329). Much the same, however, occurs elsewhere (e.g. in the *De Situ*, p. 426, De Vitry, p. 1077, Odoric, p. 148, etc.). By the "cundytes" is meant the famous aqueduct, said to have been constructed by Pontius Pilate (*Survey*, iii. pp. 89, 325). The distances (l. 22) vary somewhat from those given by other authorities, as Euges. and Burchard; but the frequent corruption of numerals in MSS. makes the fact of little importance.

Page 38, l. 2. "*a kirke of sayne Markaritot*": i.e. the monastery of St. Chariton, now Khûrbet Khureitûn, about 4½ miles south-east of Bethlehem, founded before A.D. 410 (*Survey*, iii. pp. 315, 357). Bold. does not mention it. As told in the *De Situ* and by Euges., J. Wirtzb., etc., the story was that when St. "Karioth" or "Karitoth" (the printed text of Euges. has "Paretolis"!) died, his monks died with him for grief, and that their skeletons (compagines) were preserved in the church in the attitude of mourning, but were afterwards removed thence to Jerusalem. Thietmar, however, in 1217 says that, in spite of attempts by the Saracens to burn them, they were still in the crypt, "et adhuc eo modo carnaliter apparent, quo in agonia tunc temporis extiterunt" (p. 29; cf. Pet. Comestor, *Evang.* 178, "et adhuc compaginati videntur"). Ludolph (1336) tells the story in much the same way as Thietmar, but adds "sed nunc claustrum est desertum et nihil ex eis apparet" (p. 71). The term *Markaritot*, i.e. *Saint Karitot*, is curious. It is found in other MSS. of Mandeville, as well as in E., and suggests that the author's information was derived directly or indirectly from some native source. I know of no other western pilgrim who uses it.

Page 38, l. 8. "*vii^{xx} zere and mare*": considerably more than

seven score years, if the tenure is to be reckoned, as is natural, from the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. Possibly a unit has dropped out (viii^{xx}), or Mandeville may have blindly copied an earlier writer.

Page 38, l. 11. "*the sepulchre of oure Lorde.*"—This account of the Holy Sepulchre is evidently grounded on Bold. (p. 57), but he gives the dimensions of the "parva domuncula . . . ad modum semicirculi" as nine palms long, six wide, and twelve high (cf. Burchard, p. 70; Ludolph, p. 79). The lamp miraculously rekindled at Easter (which Bold. does not mention) is referred to in the *De Situ*, "In nocte Paschæ . . . singulis annis fuso divinitus igne Sepulchrum Domini honoratur" (p. 427); and it is also described by Theod. (p. 21), in the *Pelerinages* (De Vogüé, *Eglises*, p. 446), and by the Continuator of Will. of Tyre (Michelant and Reynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, 1882, p. 164). The miracle is mentioned indeed by Bernard the monk as early as *circ.* 865 (*Itinerarium*, ed. Tobler, *Descr. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 92), and frequently by the Crusading historians (e.g. Albert of Aix, xii. 33, Baudri of Dol, i. 4, and Foucher of Chartres, ii. 8). Mandeville's version comes nearest to that of Tobler's "Innomatus iii" (Theod., p. 131). The annual festival of this so-called Holy Fire is still observed, and a vivid account of it is given by Capt. Conder (*Tent Work*, pp. 174-181). "Every educated Greek," as he says, "knows it to be a shameful imposition; but the ignorant Syrians and the fanatical Russian peasants still believe the fire to descend from heaven."

Page 38, l. 22. "*the mounte of Calvary,*" etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 60), "In eadem ecclesia versus orientem ad manum dexteram prope chorum ecclesiæ est ille locus ad quem ascenditur per gradus non multos. . . . Golgata et Calvariæ monticulus de viva petra albi coloris, rubeo quodammodo immixto." According to Burchard (p. 71), Calvary was 120 feet distant from the Sepulchre and 18 feet above the floor of the church; Sanudo, who otherwise copies him word for word, makes the numbers 108 and 29 (p. 254). The "mortays" or "fendure" is Burchard's "scissio petræ," the size of his head, and still showing the colour of our Lord's blood. Theoderic, who gives a good account of Calvary, calls it "foramen rotundum et adeo latum quod caput fere posset intrudi" (p. 29). For the finding of Adam's head, and also for the blood on the rock, cf. Odoric (p. 149) and the Cont. Will. Tyre, "Là disoit on que li chiéz Adam fu trouvéz apréz le deluge. Là fist Abraham sacrefice à Nostre Seigneur" (p. 163). When D'Anglure was there (1395), the actual skull of Adam was still to be seen! (p. 26).

Page 39, l. 3. "*before that awter lyes Godfray de Boloon,*" etc.—These tombs of Godfrey, Baldwin, and three others, are described by Theod. (p. 26), the altar being apparently the same as that mentioned below (l. 19). See also Ludolph (p. 78), "Supra montem Calvariæ etiam est capella. . . . In eadem capella sepulti sunt," etc. The tombs themselves remained as late as 1808, when they were destroyed by the Greeks (De Vogüé, p. 195); but they had been ransacked and the bones within them scattered abroad in the Kharezmian invasion of 1244 (Williams, *Holy City*, i. p. 426).

Page 39, l. 4. "*es writen in Grew lettres,*" etc.—The first of these inscriptions, properly "ὁ θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνος εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς," is given by Pet. Comestor (*Hist. Schol.*, *Evang.* 179, Migne, cxcviii. 1634). It is the Septuagint version of Ps. lxxiii. 12. The other is printed by

Tobler (*Golgotha*, 1851, p. 277) in the form "πέτρα ἣν ὁρᾶς ἐστὶ βάσις τῶν πιστέων τοῦ κόσμου"; but the earliest authority, other than Mandeville, to which he refers is P. Apian and B. Amantius, *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctæ Vetustatis*, 1534, p. 510. The sentences following about our Lord's age, the change in the Calendar, etc., look like Mandeville's own. The argument proceeds on the assumption that a month in a year of ten months was of the same length as a month in a year of twelve months, when of course the former year would be only five-sixths of the latter, and 40 years would be equal to 33½.

Page 39, l. 19. "ane awter, whare the piler lyes," etc.: cf. Theod. (p. 26), "In dextro retro chorum altare decorum existit, in quo pars magna columnæ, circa quam Dominus ligatus et flagellatus est, consistit." Burchard (p. 71) says that the altar, "sub quo est pars columpnæ," etc. (cf. Odoric, p. 149, "et est sub quodam altari") was 24 feet (10, Sanudo, p. 254) to the east of Calvary; and he describes the column as a dark porphyry, "habens maculas rubeas naturaliter, quas credit vulgus tincturas esse sanguinis Christi." See also Ludolph (p. 80), who, like Burchard, says that the remaining part of the column was at Constantinople. The "four stanes," but without such particularity as to number and position, are mentioned by Bold. (p. 60), "Circa hunc locum (i.e. the place where the Cross was found) sunt quædam columnæ marmoreæ, aquam continue distillantes," etc., the phenomenon being explained by him in the manner referred to above, p. 160, col. 2. I do not find them noticed elsewhere before Mandeville, except by Ludolph (p. 81). The drops were of course no more than would naturally be expected to hang on damp walls and columns (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 223).

Page 39, l. 21. "And nere to this forsaid awter," etc.: cf. Burch. (p. 71), "De altari columpnæ hujus contra orientem ad x. pedes descenditur per gradus xlviii. ad locum, ubi," etc. Bold. (p. 60) has merely "sub hoc . . . monte Calvariæ in eadem ecclesia" (cf. the *De Situ*, "Non longe a loco Calvariæ," p. 428, and Euges., "sub loco Calvariæ," p. 1002). None of these authorities names more than the single Cross. Ludolph (p. 81), who mentions the three crosses, gives the number of steps down to the crypt as "lx.," perhaps a mistake for "xl." The *Pelerinages* (p. 94) has 40, the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 164) 44, and Theod. (p. 25) 45, made up of "xxx." and "xv." (xii. ?) D'Anglure, like Mandeville, has 42, made up of "xxx." and "xii." (p. 29). According to Tobler there are now 41 (note to Theod., p. 182; and *Golgotha*, p. 308). The portions of the Legend of the Holy Cross, with the nails, etc., which are next introduced, are all to be found in Jac. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 68 (p. 309).

Page 40, l. 6. "In the middes of the qwere . . . es a sercle," etc.: cf. Odoric (p. 149), "Ibi juxta est locus ubi Joseph ab Armathia et Nycodemus corpus Christi de cruce depositum laverunt. In medio chori est locus qui dicitur medium mundi," etc.; and for a more elaborate description of this "meditullium terræ," J. Wirtzb. (p. 145). The belief that Jerusalem was the centre of the whole world was widely held, (cf. Tobler's *Golgotha*, p. 326, seq.). Eugesippus, however, classes it, with our Lord's prison mentioned below, as a fable (p. 1002); and Theod., though he describes (p. 20) the altar where our Lord's body was washed, does not mention it. The notion grew out of a too literal interpretation of Ezekiel v. 5, as well as of Psalm lxxiii. 12 (St. Jerome, *Comm. in Ezek.*, ii. cap. 5). The exact centre seems not to have been always in the same position. In Arculf's time (circ. 670) it was marked by a

lofty column which stood to the north of the Holy Places in the centre of the city, where the corpse had been restored to life by the Cross being laid upon it (see above p. 39, l. 26), and which at midday in the summer solstice cast no shadow (i. 13, ed. Tobler, p. 156). Mandeville refers to this later on (p. 91).

For the term "cumpas" and the sentences following see the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 164), "em mi le cuer de l'esglyse . . . et là deléz estoit li compaz que Nostre Sirez mesura de sa main, ou mi leu del monde, si come l'en disoit. Là fu Diex mis, quant il fu mis ius de la Croiz. À senestre partie del cuer estoit la Chartre (sc. Carcer) Nostre Seigneur. Là endroit s'aparut il premièrement à Marie Magdalene aprèz la resurrection." For the "Carcer Domini," which is said to be first mentioned by Sæwulf in 1102 (Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 332), see also the *De Situ*, "In loco qui Carcer vocatur moram habuit Ihesus, dum Crux ei parabatur" (p. 427; Theod., p. 24). J. Wirtzb. (p. 142) describes it as being in the form of a chapel just opposite Calvary in the left apse of the church, which corresponds well enough with Mandeville's "on þe north syde" (cf. Tobler's plan). So also D'Anglure, "en alant d'illec autour du chancel à senestre main est la chartre," etc. (p. 28). As to the "chayne," it is mentioned in *Les Pelerinages* (circ. 1231) and in other similar tracts in Michelant and Reynaud's *Itinéraires* (pp. 94, 182, 193, 230).

Page 40, l. 12. "chanouns of the ordre of saynt Austyne": so J. de Vitry (p. 1078), and still more closely Thietmar, "In ecclesia Dominici sepulchri erant canonici regulares secundum regulam Augustini . . . Priorem habuerunt . . . et patriarchæ obedientiam promiserunt" (p. 53).

Page 40, l. 13. "withouten the dore of the kirke, at the rixt syde," etc.: cf. the *De Situ* (p. 427) "Sub loco Calvariæ ad dextram in introitu ecclesiæ oratorium, in loco in quo tradunt tres Marias luxisse illum, dum in cruce pateretur"; and for Christ's address to the Virgin, cf. Euges. (p. 1001), J. Wirtzb. (p. 142), Ludolph (p. 79). D'Anglure (p. 31) fixes the spot "à l'issir de l'eglise du S. Sepulcre, à main senestre, à une montée de degrez dont l'uisserie est estouppée." It seems to be Tobler's "Chapel of Mary on Golgotha" (*Golgotha*, pl. iv.) and the "Chapel of the Agony" of the Ordn. Survey plan, 1865.

Page 40, l. 17. "a chapell, whare prestex synges" ("prestres Yndiens," Fr.), etc.—Bold. (p. 57) mentions "Indici, presbyteri Johannis fidem tenentes," as being at Jerusalem; and J. Wirtzb. (p. 190) apparently assigns them a chapel, but without defining its position. D'Anglure, however, confirms Mandeville precisely, "Dessus ce dit lieu a une petite chappellette, ou les Chrestiens de la terre Prestre Jehan font le service de Nostre Seigneur a leur usage" (p. 31). Poloner also, in 1422, speaks of four chapels at the entrance, the first of which on the left, coming out of the church, was dedicated to the Virgin and St. John, because they stood there at the Crucifixion, and belonged to the Indians, the other three belonging to the Jacobites, the Georgites, and the Greeks respectively (p. 228).

Page 40, l. 24. "the kirke of saynt Steuen."—Bold. mentions the place of stoning, but not the church—"exiensque de porta ejus boreali supra vallem Josaphat veni ad locum, ubi," etc. (p. 62; cf. the *De Situ*, p. 412). Ludolph, who also fixes the place without the north gate, adds, "in hoc loco pulchra videtur stetisse ecclesia, quæ nunc est eversa, et est supra vallem Josaphat sita" (p. 83). Both these writers, however, may really be speaking of the gate of Josaphat in the sense referred to below. The church

in question, which was first built by the Empress Eudoxia, *circ.* 460, stood about a furlong outside the north gate, called the Gate of St. Stephen or Gate of Damascus (*Survey*, vi. p. 383; De Vogüé, p. 332; *cf. Gesta Franc.*, xxxi., *Recueil*, iii. p. 509). The Crusaders, who found it destroyed (Sæwulf, p. 847), rebuilt it in the first half of the 12th cent. but themselves razed it in 1187 before the siege, because it was too near the walls (*La Citéz*, ed. Michelant, etc., *Itinéraires*, p. 41). Thietmar speaks of it in 1217 as "nunc a Saracenis funditus eversa" (p. 26). Later the north gate for some reason ceased to be called after St. Stephen, and the term was transferred to the more northern of the two gates on the east, also called the Gate of Josaphat, without which the Church of St. Stephen was consequently supposed by pilgrims to lie (De Vogüé, p. 333; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 432). Hence it is that Mandeville speaks of the "Porta Aurea," which was the more southern of the two east gates, as being "pare by syde." This gate, the "Portes Oires" of the French Itineraries, was only opened on Palm-Sunday and on the Feast of the Exaltation of the H. Cross (Theod., p. 53; *La Citéz*, ed. Michelant, p. 40). Bold. (p. 54), like Odoric (p. 151) and others, refers to our Lord's riding through it, but not to its opening "agayne him." This, however, is in Theod., "In cujus adventu una porta excusso pessulo per se illi patuit," etc.; and the "steppes of þe asse" are mentioned by the Cont. Will. Tyre, "encore i pérent li iii. pas en la dure pierre ou degré verz le Temple et verz bise" (ed. Michelant, p. 166; *cf.* pp. 95, 104⁵, 231).

Page 40, l. 27. "*a grete hospitale of saynt John*."—The hospital and church of St. John (built *circ.* 1130-40) are uniformly said to have stood just to the south of the Holy Sepulchre (*cf.* the *De Situ*, p. 412; Theod., p. 33; J. Wirtzb., p. 144; and *Itinéraires*, pp. 94, 104⁵, 183, 193). The "cc passez" seem, however, to be peculiar to Mandeville; nor again, so far as I know, does anyone else (Schiltberger excepted) specify the number of pillars. The two other churches are also commonly described as being close by, though it is not so distinctly stated that St. Mary "La Grande" lay, as it did, to the east of the Hospital. The first church in date was that of St. Mary "Latine," so called as the earliest in which the Latin rite was followed at Jerusalem. It originated in a grant of the site by the Caliph, *circ.* 1014-23, to merchants of Amalfi, who built there a monastery for the reception of pilgrims (Will. Tyre, xviii. 4, *seqq.*; J. de Vitry, p. 1082). From this house, as its needs outgrew its capacity, the Hospital of St. John was an offshoot, finally overshadowing it after the foundation of the order of Hospitaliers. St. Mary "La Grande" (also built *circ.* 1130-40) was an abbey of nuns, and, like St. Mary "La Petite" at an earlier period, owed its existence to the difficulties attending the reception of women pilgrims in the houses of male confraternities. See De Vogüé, *Eglises*, pp. 246-265. As to the connection between the church of St. Mary Latin and the two Marys, *cf.* the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 165), etc.

Page 41, l. 8. "*the temple Domini so haly place*."—So much of Mandeville's description of the famous Moslem Kubbet es Sakhrāh, or Dome of the Rock, known to mediæval Christians as Templum Domini, is from Bold. (p. 53)—"est rotundum figura, satis largum et altum, plumbo coopertum," etc. Theod. (p. 38) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 123) more correctly describe the building as octagonal; and so also Will. Tyre, "forma quidem octagonum, tectum habens sphæricum, plumbo artificiose coopertum" (viii. 3). Bold. does not give the distance, "aght score

passez," from the Holy Sepulchre; by other writers it is generally fixed at two bowshots (*e.g.* Sæwulf, p. 842; *Itinéraires*, pp. 94, 165). The highly curious passage following, in which Mandeville dilates on the "speciale grace" done to him by the Sultan, is also suspiciously like what Bold. wrote before him, though not specially in connection with his account of the so-called Temple—"Soldanus namque Babylonie fecit mihi singularem gratiam, Dei mediante favore, dans mihi literas quibus me omnibus subditis recommendabat, ut me ad loca sancta per totum ejus dominium libere ire permitterent sine omni tributo exactione teloneo, et me meos ac mea salvarent, honorarent, ab omni offensa et injuria quorumcunque custodirent. Multi iverunt ultra mare, magni et parvi, nobiles et ignobiles, sed hujus temporis nullus hoc modo, quod reputo singularem gratiam et donum gratuitum Salvatoris. Quocunque perveni et illis, quorum intererat, literas Soldani monstravi, statim se levabant, literas osculabantur, super caput ponebant, me honorabant, et se mihi ad beneplacita benevolos exhibebant" (p. 45; see also p. 36). One point of difference is that Mandeville contrasts the Sultan's "lettres" and his "signet," whereas Bold. has nothing to say of the latter. Again, when Bold. further on comes to speak of the Temple or Mosque, he does not, like Mandeville, claim to have entered it; but as to this, apart from his own assertion, there is nothing in Mandeville's description to suggest that he had any more intimate knowledge of the building than others. That a patent of the kind was not so exceptional as they both make out is evident from Sym. Simeonis (1323), who gives a curious and entertaining account of the process by which he obtained one (p. 61). It was in fact, as might have been expected, a matter of *baksheesh*. To procure audience of the Sultan he had to bribe three powerful renegades; for, as he amusingly expresses it, "omnes a Soldano gratias volentes postulare vel ad eum accessum habere necesse est ut manus eorum inungant affluenter oleo Florentino." Access once gained, the licence to enter, free of toll, the Sepulchre and other Holy Places, seems to have been granted readily enough. As for the patent itself, Symon describes it as being as long as his arm and half as wide as it was long; and the Sultan's autograph, "figura vilissima," he likens to the fingers of an outstretched hand—no bad simile for some Arabic signatures. In what he says of the reverence shown to it he agrees exactly with Bold. and Mandeville.

Page 41, l. 24. "*Chanouns reguleres*": so in J. de Vitry (p. 1078) and in Thietmar (p. 53). See above, note to p. 40, l. 12. The chapter was established in 1112.

Page 42, l. 1. "*And in this temple was Charlemayne*," etc.—The fiction of Charlemagne's expedition to the Holy Land, which in the 11th cent. formed the subject of a special Chanson, is said to have first appeared in the chronicle of Benedict of Soracte, *circ.* 968 (Gaston Paris, *Hist. Poét. de Charlemagne*, 1865, p. 57); but the strange story here referred to does not occur before the 12th cent., when it is to be found in the *De Situ* (p. 426), Euges. (p. 999), J. Wirtzb. (p. 119), Pet. Comestor (Evang. 6, Migne, cxcviii. 1541) and J. de Vorag. (*Leg. Aur.*, cap. 13, p. 86), and probably elsewhere. The authorities named agree in stating that Charlemagne carried the "præputium" to Aix la Chapelle, and that it was removed by Charles the Bald to Charroux in Poitou—whence Mandeville's "Poitiers" and "Chartres" (Fr. text). It appears, however, that no less than six different churches claimed to possess the same very remarkable relic (G. Paris, *loc. cit.*)

Page 42, l. 4. "*nozt the temple that Salomon made*," etc.—This

history of the Temple appears to be a medley from various sources, though taken directly perhaps from some single compilation. Thus, for the duration of Solomon's Temple, *cf.* Orosius, vii. 9; for the number of Jews slain in the siege, *cf.* Josephus, *B. J.*, vi. 9. 3; and for the selling of the survivors at thirty for a penny, *cf.* St. Ambrose, *De Excid. Hieros.*, cap. 12. This last story figures also in Sanudo (p. 120), who refers for it to Hugo Floriacensis. The earthquake which frustrated the design of Julian (ignorantly represented here as Amm. Marcellinus (xxii. 1) and Greg. Nazianzen (*Orat.*, v. 4—7) downwards; and the same is the case with the restorations of Hadrian in A.D. 136. The statement that the latter was "of pain of Troy" is probably due to a confusion between "Trojanus" and "Trajanus." Bold., among others, speaks of his having included the Holy Sepulchre within the walls (p. 57), and also of the special form of reverence shown by the Saracens to the "Templum Domini" (p. 53). The exact dimensions assigned by Mandeville to the Temple I have not found elsewhere, nor yet the "stage of xxiii. (xiii. Fr.) grecez hie" in the centre. This was the position of the Holy Rock ("unde Saraceni Templum Domini usque hodie rupem appellant," J. de Vitry, p. 1080; Odoric, p. 151), which to mediæval pilgrims represented the site of the Holy of Holies. During the Christian domination it was shaped and enclosed in marble, but in 1187 Saladin again laid it bare, as it still remains. With insignificant exceptions everything else from this point down to the end of the description (p. 44, l. 6), may be paralleled from earlier authorities, such as the *De Situ*, Theod., J. Wirtzb., the Cont. Will. Tyre and other of Michelant's *Itinéraires*, and Boldensele; and there are only one or two points which need particular reference. For the well on the north side, see J. Wirtzb. (p. 125), who, like several others, gives the same quotation, "de qua propheta, 'Vidi aquam,'" etc. The prophet meant is Ezekiel, as in Theod. (p. 43), "aquas quas Ezechiel propheta vidit," etc.; but neither in his book nor elsewhere in "Haly Writte" do the exact words occur, the nearest approach to them being Ezek. xlvii. 1, "Ecce, aquæ egrediebantur subter limen domus," etc. The Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 160) has "entre les portes du Temple par devers boire estoit la Fontaine dont en chante entre la Pasque et la Pantecouste 'Vidi aquam,'" etc. The words are in fact the beginning of the Antiphon sung "in aspersione aquæ benedictæ, tempore Paschali" (*Graduale Rom.*, Paris, 1858, p. 2). The detail that the well was dry seems peculiar to Mandeville. The identification of Moriah with Bethel, the site of Jacob's dream, is in Sæwulf (p. 843), Theod. (p. 64), J. Wirtzb. (p. 122), Bold. (p. 54), etc.; but it was not universally credited, being controverted by Burchard (p. 60) among others. The legend of our Lord's hiding in a cleft of a rock, and of a star's descending to light him, I have only found in the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 166). Sæwulf, however, mentions the marks of his footsteps in the rock where He concealed himself. The place where our Lady "lerned hir sawter" is, I suppose, the "schola beatæ Mariæ" of Theod. (p. 37), as to which see the *Survey*, vi. p. 43. The altar outside (p. 44, l. 3), on which the Jews offered "dowfes and turtils," is represented by J. Wirtzb. (p. 123) as the actual spot where Zacharias fell (*cf.* Theod., p. 37); and the same writer, as well as the *De Situ* (p. 426) and Euges. (p. 1000), mentions that the Saracens had made a "horologium" of it (*cf.* Fr. text). It was no doubt the old sundial which "used

until a few years since to stand on the Platform south-west of the Dome of the Rock" (*Survey*, vi. p. 43).

Page 44, l. 7. "*the scole of Salomon*": *cf.* Bold. (p. 55), "Prope Templum a dextris est ecclesia oblonga, plumbo cooperta, quæ Scola Salomonis vulgo dicitur. Quidam dicunt ibi fuisse quondam habitaculum et pretiosum Salomonis porticum." What Bold. means is evidently the Mosque al-Aksa at the south end of the Haram enclosure, built on the foundations of Justinian's Basilica of St. Mary (*Survey*, vi. p. 12). The curious thing is that Mandeville, having spoken of it under one name, following Bold., immediately proceeds to describe it again, as if it were a different building, under its more common mediæval appellation of "temple Salomon" ("ab austro vero domum habet regiam, quæ vulgari appellatione Templum Salomonis appellatur," Will. Tyre, viii. 3). Elsewhere it is called Solomon's palace ("Ad dextram manum, versus meridiem, est palatium illud quod Salomon dicitur exstruxisse," J. Wirtzb., p. 129; *cf.* *De Situ*, p. 413, Theod., p. 46). The Knights Templars were first established there by Baldwin II. in 1118, receiving a rule from pope Honorius II. ten years later (Will. Tyre, xii. 7).

Page 44, l. 11. "*the bathe of oure Lord*," etc.: *cf.* Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 166), "D'illeucques verz oriant en l'angle dedens le clos du Temple estoit la couche ou li bainz Nostre Seigneur, et li liz sainte Marie et le sepulcre saint Simeon" (*cf.* Sæwulf, p. 844, *De Situ*, p. 413, Theod. p. 49, Odoric, p. 152, and *Itinéraires*, pp. 95, 104⁵, 188). The "vi^{xx} pascez" and the statement that the water came from Paradise seem to be additions by Mandeville. As to the bath or cradle, "the niche for a statue, to which this tradition is attached, still lies recumbent in the little chamber in the south-east angle of the Haram" (*Survey*, vi. p. 44). Theod. styles it a "concha lapidea grandis."

Page 44, l. 13. "*kirke of saynt Anne*": *cf.* Bold. (p. 55), who, however, does not mention the tree nor the number of steps down to the crypt. He speaks also of the tomb of St. Anne, as well as of that of Joachim. Other writers, as Sæwulf (p. 844), Theod. (p. 64), J. Wirtzb. (p. 163) and the *Itinéraires* (p. 16) do not mention the latter; but Theod. gives the number of steps down to St. Anne's tomb as about twenty. For a detailed account of the church, which dates from the first half of the 12th cent. and is the best preserved of crusading edifices, see De Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 233. It is curious that in the Ordnance plan of Jerusalem a single tree is marked opposite its north-west corner. After Saladin's conquest it was made a Moslem school known as the Salahiyeh; but it was abandoned in the 15th cent., and was ceded by the Sultan to the French in 1856 (*Survey*, vi. p. 83).

Page 44, l. 17. "*Probatica Piscina*," i.e. the Pool of Bethesda of John v. 2; *cf.* Bold. (p. 55), but he merely states that it was contiguous to the church, not within it. So too *La Citez*, "Devant celle abeie a une fontaine," etc. (p. 49; *cf.* Cont. Will. Tyre, p. 161, Ludolph, p. 76). The *De Situ* (p. 426) speaks of it as "collateralis S. Annæ," Theod. (p. 65) as lying to the north of the church, and J. Wirtzb. (p. 163) as a little to the right, going out. There was, however, some difference of opinion as to the real Bethesda, others identifying it with what is now the Birket Israil, adjoining the north-east wall of the Haram, and between it and the street leading to the gate of Josaphat or St. Stephen (*Itinéraires*, pp. 95, 104⁵, 194; Odoric, p. 152). Burchard also, who gives a valuable list of the various pools, after describing the "Prob.

Piscina" as on the left as one entered the gate, proceeds, "ad dextram vero viæ . . . in eccl. S. Annæ ostenditur alia piscina grandis, quæ dicebatur Piscina Interior" (p. 66; cf. the map of 1187, *Survey*, vi. p. 383, and Sanudo, p. 25). This latter pool, which is now destroyed, appears to have been the northern of the two great pools spoken of by the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333 (Wilson, etc. *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871, p. 196).

Page 44, l. 21. "the hous of Pilate," etc.: cf. Theod., "domum Pilati juxta eccl. b. Annæ et juxta Prob. Piscinam" (p. 10; Odoric, p. 152), what is meant being the Prætorium or fortress of Antonia, at the north-west corner of the Haram. According to Sanudo (p. 257) Herod's spasm was close to the church of St. Mary "Pasmason" or "ad spasmum" in the same quarter. Others, as J. Wirtzb. (p. 138), place the Prætorium on Mount Sion (De Vogüé, p. 299), Ricold speaking also of Herod's house as being near to it (p. 111). D'Anglure seems to identify the latter with Antonia (p. 15), representing Pilate's house as on the other side of the street leading to the gate of Josaphat; and so also Poloner in 1422 (pp. 227, 231). Mandeville's account of Herod himself closely follows Pet. Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, 2 Macc. 23, Evang. 13-18 (Migne, cxcviii., 1535, 1544). See also (especially for the three Herods, p. 45, l. 6) J. de Vorag., *Aur. Leg.*, cap. 10 (pp. 63, 66).

Page 45, l. 10. "a kirk of saynt Saviour."—This is not St. Saviour's, otherwise the Grotto of the Agony, on the ascent of Olivet (*La Citez*, p. 51; De Vogüé, p. 313). It may possibly be the chapel "où sont les reliques de S. Johan Bouchedor," etc., described in *Les Saints Pelerinaiges* as near the Tower of David and the church of St. James, i.e. in the west of the city (*Itinéraires*, p. 104^b; cf. p. 231); but neither there nor, so far as I know, elsewhere is the name of St. Saviour applied to this chapel, nor again are Chrysostom's "left arme" and "sayn Steuen heued" specifically included among its relics. The church of St. James above referred to is apparently St. James "Minor" (De Vogüé, p. 303), and not the better known church of St. James belonging to the Armenians (Odoric, p. 150; De Vogüé, p. 304). This lies a little to the south, on the ascent to Mount Sion, and is no doubt Mandeville's "faire kirke of sayne Iame" (cf. Bold., p. 56). Perhaps, after all, he merely reversed its position with regard to St. Saviour's, and really means by the latter the church of the House of Caiaphas still further south and outside the walls ("Invenitur in Monte Syon eccl. S. Salvatoris, quæ fuit domus Cayphæ," Od., p. 150); but I am not aware that the relics he names are mentioned by any one as being there.

Page 45, l. 12. "mount Syon."—As above, in the case of the Temple, nearly everything not taken from Bold. in this account of Mount Sion may have come from one or another of the earlier sources so often quoted. It will be noticed in this respect that Mandeville speaks of the "faire kirke" of the Coenaculum or St. Mary "of Mount Sion and of the Holy Spirit" as if it were still standing. Although this was the case as late as 1219 (Willibrand, p. 188), it is said to have been in ruins before the 14th cent.; and the present edifice, now known as the Neby Dâûd, or Tomb of David, only dates from 1354, when it was built by the Franciscans, to whom the site was made over in 1342 (De Vogüé, p. 327; *Survey*, vi. p. 410). Sym. Simeonis in fact in 1323 writes "in eodem monte sunt altaria multa devota, quæ nunc quasi totaliter sunt destructa" (p. 72). Odoric, however,

refers to the church in much the same way as Mandeville (p. 150; see also Ludolph, p. 76). He mentions also the "lapis rubeus qui pro altari transportatus fuit de monte Synai per angelos," though he attributes the miracle to the prayers of St. Thomas, without naming the Virgin (*ibid.*, cap. 21). The chapel at the "entree of mount Syon" is that of St. Saviour in the House of Caiaphas (see above), where both the Stone of the Sepulchre and the "lytill pece of the pilar" were preserved (Od., cap. 19). Mandeville, however, calls it (l. 20) the house of Annas; and he is countenanced by D'Anglure (p. 22). The latter is placed by Odoric (cap. 33, p. 152) in the north-east of the city near the church of St. Mary "Pasmoyson"; but in De Vogüé's map it is marked south-east of the Armenian church of St. James, but within the city walls. The "burde" of the "Maundee" (l. 21) is not mentioned by Bold.; it is the "tabula marmorea" spoken of by Sæwulf (p. 846), and it frequently figures in other accounts, e.g. the *De Situ*, p. 413, Theod., p. 55, Tobler's Innom. vii. (*Descr. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 103), and Cont. Will. Tyre, p. 167. It was naturally in the Cœnaculum itself, not, as Mandeville's words might imply, in the chapel lower down the hill. "Under þis chapell" (l. 22) also refers to the Cœnaculum, which (Luke xxii. 12) was the upper part of a church of two storeys (De Vogüé, p. 324). The "xxxii. grecez," or steps, leading down from it to the place of washing the disciples' feet are seemingly peculiar to Mandeville; but Theod. speaks of 30 (p. 55). For "þe vessell þat þe water was in," cf. Theod., "concha illa lapidea in muro posita," p. 55, *Itinéraires*, "la pile," etc., pp. 96, 167, 184, 195, Tobler's Innom. vii., "pila in qua erat aqua," p. 104, and Odoric, "vas lapideum quod dicitur pelvis," p. 150. Theod. and Odoric also mention the tomb of St. Stephen, in which his body was deposited after its translation from Caphar Gamala in 415, until its removal to Rome (cf. De Vogüé, p. 326). Of the "awter whare oure Lady herd aungelles syng mess" (l. 24) I have, on the contrary, found no other notice.

Page 46, l. 5. "The mount Syon . . . other many grauen."—These sentences are translated almost verbally from Bold. (p. 55). The "place whare S. Petre grette" (l. 8) was marked in the 12th cent. by the Chapel of S. Peter "ad Gallicantum," lying to the east of the House of Caiaphas, lower down the valley (De Vogüé, p. 331). It is first mentioned by Bernard, *circ.* 867 (p. 93; cf. the *De Situ*, p. 413, *La Citez*, p. 44, Od., cap. 22, p. 150, Bold., p. 64, etc.). The other "chapell" of l. 9 appears to be the same as that already described on p. 45, l. 17, which Burchard (p. 72) fixes at a "jactus lapidis" from the church of St. Mary. Again the "depe caue" (l. 10) is identified with the Gallicantus above referred to, as in J. Wirtzb., "flevit amare, fugiens in cavernam, quæ modo Gallicantus vulgariterque Galilæa appellatur" (p. 140; Euges., p. 1001). Theod., however, makes the chapel in the valley to be over the dungeon in which Peter was confined by Herod (p. 54; cf. J. Wirtzb., p. 161), and speaks of the Galilee, in which he hid himself and wept, as if it were a different building, but still lying towards the east (p. 63). Others represent the Galilee as actually part of the church of St. Mary of Sion, i.e. according to De Vogüé (p. 324) the south aisle, as, e.g., the *De Situ*, "et in ipsa [eccl. S. Mariæ] est locus quæ dicitur Galilæa" (p. 413). It was so called, in allusion to Matth. xxviii. 7, 10, as the spot in which Christ appeared to Peter and other disciples after his resurrection.

Mandeville, as usual, is more precise than others with his "vij^{xx} passez." Poloner, however, counts 187 paces from the Galllicantus to the House of Caiaphas (p. 240). The raising of "þe mayden fra deed to lyfe" (l. 12) is noticed by Euges. "in accubitu Syon," p. 1,000 (cf. J. Wirtzb. p. 158); and so also the Pool of Siloam, the healing of the blind man, and the tomb of Isaiah (*ibid.*; cf. *Itinéraires*, pp. 96, 104⁶, 168, etc., J. Wirtzb., p. 167, Od., p. 150, cap. 21). For "Absalon hand" (l. 15), see Bold., "Ex opposito ejus (*sc.* Nat. Siloe) statua quædam lapidea bonæ magnitudinis et artificiosa cernitur, quam, ut dicitur, Absalon ob memoriam sui fieri præcepit, et in libro Regum (2 Kings= 2 Sam. xviii. 18) manus Absalon appellatur" (p. 64; cf. Ludolph, p. 84, D'Anglure, p. 19). The monument is the so-called "Absolom's Pillar," known also to the natives as "Pharaoh's Peak," on the east side of the Cedron Valley; it "is considered to belong to the Hasmonean period, and is possibly the tomb of Alexander Jannæus" (*Survey*, vi. p. 413). Benj. of Tudela (1163) is said to be the first who calls it Absolom's pillar (p. 84). Poloner (1422) was in doubt as to whether it was the tomb of Josaphat, of a daughter of Pharaoh beloved by Solomon, or of Absolom (p. 237). There is a good engraving of it in Guérin, i. p. 23 (see also Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 448). The rest of the paragraph may also be from Bold., with two exceptions. The "synagog," etc., (l. 16) evidently refers to the so-called country house of Caiaphas on the Hill of Evil Counsel (Williams, ii. p. 496; Guérin, i. p. 69, pl.; *Survey*, vi. p. 397). I am not aware that any of the earlier Itineraries mention it. D'Anglure, however, in 1395 notices it under the name "Mal conseil" (p. 24), and Poloner in 1422 as the "domus mali consilii" (p. 246). The latter writer also (p. 237) mentions the house of SS. Philip and James (Fr. text), meaning probably the so-called grotto of St. James, now known as the tomb of the Bene Hazîr (*Survey*, vi. p. 414). D'Anglure (p. 19) assigns it to St. James alone. Again, no one anterior to Mandeville, as it seems, actually names the "charnell of þe hospitale of S. John," though the Cont. Will. Tyre in speaking (p. 157) of "Chaude Mar," *i.e.* Aceldama, has "Là getoit on les pelerinz qui se mouroient a l'Ospital de Iherusalem." Ludolph also describes the building itself (p. 85), probably the same of which Robinson writes, "the former charnel house, now a ruin, is a long massive building of stone, erected in front apparently of a natural cave" (*Bibl. Researches*, 1856, i. p. 354).

Page 46, l. 24. "A myle fra Ierusalem . . . John Baptist was borne."—Bold. (p. 62) places the church where the Virgin met St. Elizabeth, otherwise the church of St. John "du Bois" ("locus silvestris," Theod., p. 87) or of the "Magnificat," about five miles west of Jerusalem, and the church of the Holy Cross near it; but Mandeville's distances (with miles for "lieues"), and the passage generally, agree more closely still with the Cont. Will. Tyre (Michelant, p. 170). Euges. (p. 1003) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 180) fix the meeting four miles south of Jerusalem. The church of St. John is in fact at 'Ain Kârim, 4 miles to the south-west, the actual scene of his birth being a grotto north of the high altar (*Survey*, iii. pp. 19, 61). For Emmaus, which Bold. does not mention, cf. Cont. Will. Tyre, "D'illeuc à une liue estoit li chastiaus d'Emauz," etc. This must be the Kubeibeh site, 7 miles north-west of Jerusalem, not the more distant Emmaus-Nicopolis, the modern 'Amwâs (*Survey*, iii. pp. 14, 36). After Emmaus, in the Fr. text (l. 27) and C., is a notice of the "cave de leoun"; and so, with the same juxtaposition, the Cont. Will.

Tyre, "A iii. archieez de Jherusalem avoit une cave que l'en apeloit le Charnier du Lyon" (p. 171). *La Citéz* describes it as outside the "Porte Davi" (on the west) and close to the "Lai del Patriarce" (the Birket Mamilla), mentioning also a monastery there (p. 45; *Survey*, p. 13). It appears too in the 12th cent. Latin Itineraries, as the *De Situ* (p. 428), Euges. (p. 1002), J. Wirtzb. (p. 166), with the same explanation of the name "Carnarium Leonis," that a lion conveyed thither during the night 12,000 victims of Chosroes. *La Citéz* and Theod. (p. 84) explain that they were Christians who fell in battle outside the city, and whose corpses were about to be burnt on the morrow to get rid of the stench. Theod. alone mentions a chapel there, with a descent of 100 steps into the cave.

Page 47, l. 4. "Mount Ioy": the "mons Gaudii" of Theod. (p. 6) and "Monioie" of *Les Pelerinaiges* and other French Itineraries (Michelant, pp. 93, 181, 196, 230), the latter fixing it variously two or three leagues north of Jerusalem. In Odoric (p. 156), at four miles distance, it appears, probably by a misprint, as "Mons Iore, ubi Samuel propheta est sepultus." It is now known as Neby Samwil, and lies four miles north-west of Jerusalem and about two east-south-east of Kubeibeh (*Survey*, iii. pp. 12, 149).

Page 47, l. 7. "the vale of Josaphat," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 62), but the passage more nearly resembles the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 168). The "plaunchoure" over the Cedron does not appear in the earlier Itineraries; D'Anglure, however, notices it in 1395 (p. 16). In the Legend of the Cross in the *Cursor Mundi* the Holy Tree is not over the Cedron but over Siloah:—

"þai drou it þen and made a brig
Ouer a litel burn to lig,
þe burn o Sylwe"

(ed. R. Morris, pt. ii. p. 514; see also Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. xv.). The "pitte" and the "piler" (l. 9) I do not find elsewhere, unless the latter is the "pierre où li Juif loïèrent Nostre Seigneur quant il le pristrent" in Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 169); nor again the well "under ane awter" (l. 13). This last appears to be the same as the "belle fontaine" of D'Anglure, which he places within the vault of the Virgin's tomb (p. 16). For the situation of the church of "oure Lady graue" see Bold. (p. 63), "in quam descenditur per plures gradus lapideos, quia pro majori parte sub terra est, quod credo etiam ruinis civitatem Hierusalem vallem replentibus accidisse." The alternative explanation to which Mandeville refers is a characteristic addition of his own. The present church, which is that built by Godfrey and described by Theod. (p. 57) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 168), is said to be "a subterranean chamber reached from the southern façade, a crusading structure, by a flight of 47 marble steps. . . . In the east apse is the Armenian altar, and just behind it is the supposed tomb of the Virgin, a large sarcophagus" (*Survey*, ii. p. 402; cf. De Vogüé, p. 305, plate). For the "blakk mounkes" (l. 18), *i.e.* Cluniacs, see *La Citéz* (p. 50) and J. de Vitry (p. 1078). Bold., though he speaks of the rock of Gethsemane (p. 63), does not mention the chapel nor yet the other chapel of the Agony, otherwise St. Saviour, or the imprint of our Lord's fingers. Both chapels are noticed by Sæwulf (p. 845) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 136) and in *La Citéz* (p. 51), J. Wirtzb. also describing the finger-marks. The quotation from St. Matthew, xxvi. 39, is in Euges. (p. 1001), J. Wirtzb. (p. 137) and Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 169). Odoric again (like *Les Peler.*, p. 97) mentions the sites and the

finger-marks, but not the chapels, and he gives the quotation in the slightly varied form "si possibile est," etc. (p. 151; cf. D'Anglure, p. 16). The "tomb of King Iosaphat" (l. 23), "dont la vallée est ainsi nommée" (*Les Peler.*, p. 97; cf. Theod., p. 6, J. Wirtzb., p. 167), is commonly noticed both in Latin and French Itineraries. The addition in the Fr. text and C. as to Josaphat's conversion by a hermit, etc., is singular, and I can only suppose that he was strangely confounded with Josaphat of the famous Barlaam and Josaphat legend (*Aur. Leg.*, cap. 180, p. 811). The tombs of St. James and Zechariah are mentioned in *Les Peler.* (p. 97), and the church where they were buried (l. 24) in the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 169); others, as Theod., J. Wirtzb., and Odoric, speak only of the tomb of St. James. This is now known as the Tomb of the Bene Hazîr, just to the north of the Tomb of Zechariah, and to the south of the Tomb of Absalom (*Survey*, vi. p. 414). According to Theodosius (*circ.* 530), St. James caused a single tomb to be made for himself, St. Zechariah, and St. Simeon (*De Terra Sancta*, in Tobler's *Itinera*, p. 66).

Page 48, l. 1. "the mount of Olyuete," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 64), "et quod prædictus mons altior est . . . de ipso monte civitas intrinsecus in magna parte potest prospici," etc. For the mark of our Lord's "left fote in a stane" (l. 5), see *Les Chemins*, etc., "et encores i pert le pié sinestre" (p. 185). Bold. (p. 65, "vestigia quædam apparent in petra"), the Cont. Will. Tyre (p. 169), Odoric (p. 151) and others, from Arculf (i. 23, ed. Tobler, p. 163) downwards, speak of more than one footmark; while *Les Pelerinages* (p. 97) notices only the right foot. Theod. (p. 67) describes the stone as being under the altar in the centre of the church; Burchard, on the contrary, writes "Lapis vero ille positus est in obstructionem ostii orientalis sine calce, tamen et potest bene aliquis immittere manum et tangere vestigia, sed non videre" (p. 75). At the end of the 14th cent. D'Anglure found the right footprint exactly in the centre of the floor of a small chapel in the middle of the church, "et darrier la chappelle est l'autre pierre ou l'autre pié senestre de Nostre Seigneur est descript" (p. 18); but, again, in 1422 Poloner speaks only of the left footprint (p. 234). The "black chanouns" (l. 5) are called "blans moines" in *La Citéz* (p. 51); J. de Vitry (p. 1078) designates them as Augustinians. As to the "kirk" (l. 6), Bold. (p. 65) speaks of it as "nunc plurimum dissipata." The Paternoster Chapel (l. 9) lay to the west of it (Theod., p. 67), or, according to Burchard, who styles it "domus panis," to the south, at less than a stone's cast (p. 75; cf. *Les Peler.*, p. 97); but the "xxviii paassez" are apparently peculiar to Mandeville, as also its connexion with the Beatitudes. Odoric indeed mentions (p. 151) a stone near it from which Christ preached to the multitude and quotes Luke xix. 42; but this seems to be the site noticed by Mandeville lower down (l. 18). For the writing of the Lord's Prayer "pare in þe stane" (l. 9) see Theod., "Hoc eis propria scripsit manu; hoc sub ipso altari scriptum est, ita ut illud peregrini osculari possint" (p. 68; cf. Burch., p. 75). The Fr. text and C., it will be observed, do not speak of the writing as still visible. By "Mary Egipciane" must really be meant St. Pelagia, whose tomb on Mount Olivet is mentioned as early as *circ.* 530 by Theodosius (Tobler, *Itinera*, p. 67), and frequently by later pilgrims, e.g. the *De Situ* (p. 428), Theod. (p. 67), *Les Peler.* (p. 97), Burch. (p. 75), Od. (p. 151), etc. Mandeville's confusion between the two saints, which is not found in other Itineraries, was probably due to the similarity of their mode of life before conversion.

The account of Bethphage and Bethany (l. 10) is in the main an amplification of Bold. (p. 65). The latter, like the Synoptic Gospels and like our MS. E., does not specify the two disciples sent to Bethphage (l. 11). Our Fr. text and C. agree with *Les Peler.* (p. 97) and *Les Chemins* (p. 185) in calling them Peter and James; in Odoric (p. 151) they are Peter and Philip, in Poloner (p. 236) James and John. For the house of "Symon þe leprous" (l. 12) see Euges. (p. 1000), Theod. (p. 52), J. Wirtzb. (p. 130), and the *Itinéraires* (pp. 97, 169, 185, etc.). How he was baptized by the Apostles as Julian, and how too he was made Bishop of Le Mans, may be found in J. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 30 (p. 140); but his identity with Julian the Harbours is there disputed. Both Euges. and Theod. place Bethany at a mile from Jerusalem; but J. Wirtzb. (p. 131) makes the distance two miles, answering to the league of our Fr. text and of the *Itinéraires* (pp. 97, 169, etc.), to the 15 stadia of Odoric (p. 155) and others, and to the half a German mile of Poloner (p. 245). The legend of incredulous St. Thomas receiving the Virgin's girdle (l. 19) from heaven in proof of her Assumption is given in the *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 119 (p. 509); but the site is not named, so far as I am aware, in the Itineraries before Mandeville. It is noted, however, as close to the place where our Lord wept by D'Anglure (p. 17) and by Poloner (p. 234). Bold. (p. 64) and others fix the scene of the Last Judgment (l. 20) in the Vale of Josaphat, but not in connexion with any particular stone. The "mount of Galile" according to Odoric was the same as the Mount of Offence, southwest of Olivet, which was so-called as the site of Solomon's temple to Moloch (p. 154). It is also spoken of as Galilee by D'Anglure and Poloner, and the same two pilgrims mention the place (but not the "kirk") where the angel brought the Virgin a palm and warned her of her end. This legend also is in the *Leg. Aur.* (p. 50), the scene, however, being laid on Mount Sion, that is in the Galilee there, which is mentioned above, note to p. 46, l. 5 (cf. Od., cap. 57, p. 156).

Page 48, l. 24. "Fra Bethany to Iericho," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 66), who, however, does not give the distance or mention Zaccheus. Elsewhere the distance is generally reckoned from Jerusalem, viz. 13 miles (Euges., p. 1001, J. Wirtzb., p. 175), which correspond approximately with Mandeville's "fyue myle," i.e. leagues, from Bethany. The "lytill village" of Jericho ("nunc casale," Bold.) is the modern Eriha, "a miserable mud hamlet" (*Survey*, iii. pp. 172, 223). Burchard in 1283 found it to consist of scarcely eight houses (p. 58). For Zaccheus (Luke xix. 2) see the *De Situ* (p. 429), Euges. (p. 1003), J. Wirtzb. (p. 175), Odoric (p. 155), etc. When the Bordeaux pilgrim (333) and Antoninus Martyr (*circ.* 570) wrote, the sycamore tree itself was still to be seen! (Tobler, *Itinera*, pp. 19, 99). Rahab also is generally mentioned in the Itineraries; but Mandeville seems merely to have amplified Bold.

Page 49, l. 9. "Fra Bethany men gase to the flum Jordan," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 65), "De hoc sancto loco parva diæta est ad Jordanem, deserto quodam montoso medio existente." Ludolph (p. 87) improves upon this, by giving the name of the desert as "Montost"! As to the "hill Quarentane" (not so designated, it will be observed, in the Fr. text or C.), Bold. gives neither the name nor the distance from Bethany; the latter indeed I find nowhere, though the distance from Jerusalem is given as 13 miles (Od., p. 156) or "vii lieues" (*Les Peler.*, p. 98). He speaks, however, of the "kirke," the "hermytage" and the "Georgienes," and also of the garden

of Abraham (cf. Theod., p. 72, Cont. Will. Tyre, p. 169, Od., p. 156) and a "fons pulcherrimus atque magnus" (Theod., l. c.), both described as "infra hunc montem versus planitiem Jordanis" (cf. l. 16, and Fr. text, l. 28). The name "Quarentane," the quotation from Matth. iv. 3, and the distance "fra þis hill vnto Iericho" (two miles) may have come from Odoric (p. 156); but the same, together with Elisha's "lytill bekk" (rivulus) and "the blynd man," are noticed also by Euges. (p. 1003) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 174). The hill Quarentane, so called of course from the forty days (quarantaine) of fast, is the Jebel Kūrūntūl, about three miles north-west of Eriha or Jericho (*Survey*, iii. pp. 184, 201). Another summit two or three miles further north is frequently named as that from which the Devil showed our Lord all the kingdoms of the world, as by Sæwulf (p. 848), the *De Situ* (p. 429), Euges. and J. Wirtzb., Burch. (p. 58), Od. (p. 156), etc., and is mentioned by Mand. himself lower down (p. 52, l. 9). The "grete well" (l. 16) is, I suppose, the 'Ain es Sultān, called Elisha's fountain in the *Survey* (iii. p. 222). From the Bord. Pilgrim downwards, it figures in the Itineraries as the "Fons Helisei." The church of St. John Baptist near the Jordan (Fr. text, l. 32, and again, p. 51, l. 15) is noticed by Theod. (p. 73), by Burch. (p. 58) and, after Mandeville's time, by D'Anglure (p. 37). Its ruins still remain, at Kūsir el-Yehūd, dating from crusading times; but a monastery existed there as early as the 6th cent. (*Survey*, iii. pp. 178, 217). The house of Jeremiah (l. 33) is, so far as I know, not elsewhere mentioned.

Page 50, l. 4. "Three myle fra Iericho es the Deed See": so Bold. (p. 66), but he did not visit it, his Arab interpreter reminding him that he came to see the Holy, not the unholy, Places. For the "moche alom and of alkattran" of C. (cf. Fr. text) see J. Wirtzb., "supra ripam maris prædicti multum aluminis et multum catrani ab incolis reperitur et colligitur," etc. (p. 179); and so the *De Situ* (p. 416), Euges. (p. 992), and Theod. ("alumen quod Saraceni katranum vocant," p. 83). "Catranum," which the *De Situ* describes as "quasi liquor niger et oleum," is the Arab. *katrān*, whence too the Fr. *goudron*, Ital. *catrame*, etc., pitch or liquid bitumen. All the above writers indeed distinguish it from bitumen, "quod Judaicum appellatur," meaning, however, probably by the latter the same substance in a solid form, the "asfaltum" or asphalt of l. 11. Mandeville alone, it may be remarked, prefixes the article and speaks of "alkatran" (cf. Span. *alquitrán*). The "cuntree of Engaddy" (l. 4) and the balm that grew there are noticed, as usual in almost identical terms, by the *De Situ* (p. 416), Euges. (p. 1004), and J. Wirtzb. (p. 176), as also by Burch. (p. 61; cf. Sanudo, p. 251), the last named especially referring to the translation of the balm to Egypt. Engedi itself, the modern 'Ain Jidy (*Survey*, iii. p. 384), is not "betwene Jericho and þat see," but on the western shore of the latter, half-way down, where in fact the above Itineraries place it. For the "hill of Moabites," etc. (l. 7), see J. Wirtzb., "supra lacum Asphaltitem in descensu Arabiæ Karnaim spelunca in monte Moabitarum, in quem Balac," etc. (p. 179); and so Euges. (p. 991), Theod. (p. 83), and Od. (p. 156), the passage in each case being followed by the statement that the Dead Sea parts Judæa and Arabia. The reading of the Fr. text and C. is therefore confirmed. Where the above writers got the idea of a cave I cannot say (Theod. indeed has "Carnaim civitas"); but it evidently refers to the cave-dwellings for which the country east of the Jordan is so remarkable. The place appears

to be the Ashtaroth Karnaim of Gen. xiv. 5, and of the *Onomasticon*, p. 255. This has been identified with Tell el-'Ash'ary, about 3 miles north of el-Mezairîb (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 1886, p. 207). The name does not occur in the Biblical story of Balaam, which may account for the substitution of Arnon (cf. Numb. xxii. 36) by the translator of E. The description, which follows, of the Dead Sea and its marvels (mostly dispelled, as need hardly be said, by modern observations) contains very little not to be found in earlier writers, notably Pet. Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, Gen. 53 (Migne, cxcviii. 1101), the class of Itineraries represented by the *De Situ* (p. 416), Euges. (p. 991), Theod. (p. 82), and J. Wirtzb. (p. 178), Isidore, *Etym.*, xiii. 19. 3 (Migne, lxxxii. 488), and J. de Vitry (p. 1076). Its ultimate source, however, is evidently Josephus, *De bello Jud.*, iv. 8. 4 (ed. Bekker, 1856, v. p. 339), through the Latin version of Hegesippus, iv. 18 (ed. Weber, 1862, p. 251). According to the Jewish historian the water (not the soil, as in our Fr. text and C.) changed its colour thrice a day. Hegesippus reproduces this, but as a fable only; and none of the other writers named alludes to it at all. All of them mention the asphalt, but Josephus alone speaks of blocks as large as headless oxen, the equivalent of Mandeville's "als grete as a hors" (l. 12). He gives the size of the Lake as 580 × 150 stadia or furlongs (cf. Fr. text, which is followed, not only by Hegesippus, but by Arculf (ii. 16, p. 179), Isidore, and others. The "oft tymes" of l. 17 probably means no more than the experiment of Vespasian, who threw in men unable to swim, with their limbs bound (Jos., Heges., Pet. Com.). The sentences following, as to "schippes" and the "lanterne light" (not in Fr. text or C.), are almost exactly as given by Comestor, whose words moreover "etiam gravissima in eum jacta referuntur in altum" may have prompted the particular assertion as to the floating of iron (l. 21), though they seem really to have applied only to living things, "nam omne carens vita in profundum mergitur" (cf. l. 15). Antoninus Martyr indeed declares that everything sank, living or dead, "nec ligna, nec paleæ ibi natant, neque homo" (ed. Tobler, p. 97). With regard to the names (p. 51, l. 4), "Lac Asfaltit," i. e. Asphaltites, is that used by Josephus and Pliny (v. 72); but "Mare Mortuum" appears as early as Justinus (xxxvi. 3, 6, "propter magnitudinem et aquæ immobilitatem"; cf. Mand., p. 50, l. 14) and was popularised for the Middle Ages by St. Jerome, who gives the other explanation of the name, "eo quod nulla ibi vivant animalia" (*Comm. in Joel*, cap. 2). "Mare Diaboli" on the contrary dates only, as it seems, from the Crusades, being commonly given as an alternative name in the 12th cent. (*De Situ*, Euges., J. de Vitry, etc.). For "þe stynkand Flum," as for the description generally, cf. the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 2861 (i. p. 172):—

"þar þaa fue cites war won to be
Es noght now bot a stinkand see,
þat semes als a lake of hell;
Na liuand thing mai þar-in duell.
* * * * *
Men findes lumpes o þe sand
Oþer (al. Of ter) nan finer in þat land.
* * * * *
If þou a brand þar-in wil cast,
þe fire it haldes þar stedfast,
Thorū brennyng of þe brimstane,
Quare-of þar es sa mikel wan.

par-bi groues sum apell tre,
Wit appuls selcut fair to se,
Quen þai ar in hand, als a fise bal,
To poudir wit a stink þai fal."

The description of Segor and the story of Lot's incest (not in E.) are in Bold. (p. 66); but the latter's "cui mons supereminet" (cf. Fr. text) is reversed in "it stude on a hill," (p. 51, l. 2.), nor does he mention "þe walles þeroff abouen (below?) þe water," the source of which was perhaps Heges., "ardent aquæ, in quibus cœlestis ignis reliquiæ recognoscuntur atque adhuc manent." The so-called Apples of Sodom (l. 5) are frequently noticed from Josephus downwards, though not by Bold.; Mandeville's words, however, are most like Burchard's (p. 61). The fruit meant is variously identified with that of the *Solanum Sodomæum* or of the 'Osher tree (*Calotropis procera*); but, as Canon Tristram remarks, neither of these suits the description so well as the Colocynth (*Citrullus Colocynthus*), "a fruit fair to look at, but nauseous beyond description to the taste and, when fully ripe, merely a quantity of dusty powder with the seeds inside the beautiful orange rind" (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, pp. 451, 482). As to Lot's wife (l. 8), cf. Bold., "circa Mare Mortuum a dextris versus montes Israel uxor Loth, contra mandatum Dei retrospectens, miraculose in statuam salis versa est, et si aliquid de ipsa manserit pro certo non potui informari" (p. 66). What particular object was meant it is impossible to say. It could hardly have been the "Bint Sheikh Lot or Lot's wife," on the eastern shore, nearly opposite 'Ain Jidy, "a tall isolated needle of rock, which does really bear a curious resemblance to an Arab woman with a child upon her shoulders" (E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 1871, p. 479, and frontispiece). The *De Situ* (p. 416), Euges. (p. 992), Theod. (p. 82), etc., locate the statue "in exitu Segor," and speak of it as being still visible, Theodoric, like Theodosius in the 6th cent. (ed. Tobler, p. 83), adding that it waxed and waned with the moon. Something of the same kind is in the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 2853 (i. p. 170):—

"A stan sco standes be þat way,
And sua sal do to domes-day.
In a best stan men seis hir stand,
þat bestes likes (sc. lick) o þat land,
þat anes o þe wok day,
þan es sco liked al away,
And þan þai find hir on þe morn
Hale als sco was ar befor."

The reading in E., "turned intil a salt catte," is an extraordinary one. Unless it was a mere freak on the part of the translator, it perhaps originated in a confusion between "statuam salis" (with a long s) and "statuam felis"; but this presupposes that he was working from a Latin original.

Page 51, l. 14. "The flum Jordan rynnes into the Deed See," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 67), "Hic fluvius non est magnus . . . bonos pisces . . . continens . . . In radice montis Libani scaturiens, ex duobus fontibus, ut dicitur, Jor et Dan collectus, re et nomine trahit originem. Per mare Tiberiadis fluens, prope locum ubi Christiani communiter balneantur, in mare mortuum prædictum dilabitur et, non apparens ulterius, inibi absorbetur." The "kirk of S. Iohn Baptiste" (l. 15) appears to be the same as that already noticed (p. 49, l. 32), distant a league from the river (Burch., p. 58)—"From the fourth century downwards the great ford at this

place has been pointed out as the scene of Our Lord's Baptism, the Bethabara of the Fourth Gospel. This view is sanctioned by the Greek and Latin churches alike, and pilgrims yearly repair hither at Easter-time to bathe in Jordan" (Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 208). The "Iaboth" (l. 16) or Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 22), now the Zerka, is not mentioned by Bold.; but it is very similarly described, "duo mill. a Jordane," etc., by Euges. (p. 993), Theod. (p. 107), and Odoric (p. 155), and the same is the case with the sources of the Jordan, the mistaken etymology of which, from Jor and Dan, dates back indeed to St. Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.*, xvi. 13). In speaking of the two springs mediæval writers are correct enough, the river being formed by the junction of the Nahr el-Leddân, rising at Tell el-Kâdy (the ancient Dan), on the west, and the Nahr Bâniâs, rising at Bâniâs (Pancas and Cæsarea Philippi), on the east (*Survey*, i. pp. 109, 139), a third stream, the Hasbâny, flowing in only half a mile further down. Some writers, however, place both the springs at Bâniâs, and, as will be seen below, there is some confusion as to the point of confluence. The passage of the river through the "cuntree (rather "lake," as in C.) þat es called Maran" is noticed in Burch., "Transit autem Jordanis per medium hujus vallis aquarum Maron" (p. 37; cf. p. 32), i.e. the "Waters of Merom" (Joshua, xi. 5), now the Lake el Hûleh. What follows, down to p. 52, l. 2 (excepting the "cedres," as to which, cf. Thietmar, p. 53), seems derived from a common source with the *De Situ* (p. 421), Euges. (p. 994), Theod. (p. 100), and J. Wirtzb. (p. 185). According to these writers, however, it is not Mount Lebanon, but more correctly the valley of the Jordan, which extends to the "deserte of Pharan" (south of the Holy Land); and the reading of S. G., "et vient dez," instead of "et vont les," suggests that Mand. himself really wrote the same. The placing of Idumæa (l. 23) east of the Jordan, instead of south-west of the Dead Sea, was a common mediæval error. "Betron" (Bostron, *De Situ*; Bosræ, Euges.) is Bostra, now Buzrah, about 80 miles south of Damascus. There is another place of a somewhat similar name, el-Buseirah, which does lie within the limits of Edom proper, about 25 miles south of the Dead Sea.

Page 51, l. 23. "and in sum place (a gret weye, C.) it rynnez under the erthe."—These words seem to allude to the statement of Josephus (*B. J.*, iii. 10. 7) that the Jordan starts from Lake Phiala (now Birket er-Râm) and runs thence underground to Pan's Spring at Bâniâs. This is repeated by Burch., who adds that the Saracens called the lake "non Phialam sed Medan, id est aquas Dan; me enim (sc. mâ) aqua Arabice dicitur" (p. 32; cf. Sanudo, p. 251). Mandeville, however, makes the Jordan flow to, and not from, "Meldan"; and his meaning must be sought in the 12th cent. Itineraries. Thus Theod., "Dan ab ortu suo subterraneum ducit gurgitem usque ad planitiem vocabulo Medan, ubi satis patenter alveum suum ostendit. Ad quam planitiem populus innumerabilis, secum omnia deferens venalia, æstate intrante convenit (cf. Fr. text and C.) . . . Ex ipsa planitie Dan Suetam peragrat, in qua pyramis beati Job adhuc superstes ab incolis venerabilis. Deinde quoque contra Galilæam Gentium ad urbem Cedar defluens et plana spineti, ubi medicabilia loca existunt, præterfluens, Jor copulatur" (p. 100); and so the others, with a few variations and the addition, as an alternative to Burchard's etymology, "Saracenice quidem platea sonat Medan (Meldan, Euges.), Latine autem platea forum."

This is nearer the mark, Arab. *Meidân* meaning a plain or open space. But the Dan here spoken of seems to be, not the Jordan, nor either of the two upper confluent, but the Yarmûk, which joins the Jordan from the east below the Sea of Galilee. This might be inferred from the mention of "Cedar," *i.e.* Gadara, and the sulphur springs of Amatha, and from the fact that it is said to join the Jor under the range of Gilboa; but it is made still more evident by comparison with Will. of Tyre's account of the crusading raids into the Haurân in 1126 and 1146 (xiii. 18, xvi. 9; *cf.* F. of Chartres, iii. 50). Thus "Medan" is apparently the open plain round el-Mezeirîb, close to which there is moreover a Wâdy el-Meddan (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 1886, p. 231, and map); and in this case the fair (which W. of Tyre also mentions) would be that which is still annually held there for ten days, during the halt of the Hadj or Pilgrimage to Mecca (L. Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead*, 1880, p. 97, *seqq.*). The "sepulchre of Iob" is shown at Sheikh Sa'ad, not ten miles north of el-Mezeirîb, "Sueta" (Suet, Alb. Aq., x. 5; Suhite, W. Tyr., xxii. 15; Sweze, Mand., p. 76 below) being the district of Suweit in the same neighbourhood. The tomb is described by Oliphant (p. 81) as "a small white-domed building, apparently very ancient," at the foot of the conical mound on which the village is built; but the "pyramis" may be either the mound itself, or a monolith of black basalt in a small temple on its summit, once probably a phallic emblem and now venerated as "the Sakhrat Eyub, or stone to which Job resorted for relief from his cutaneous affliction" (p. 83; and plate in Schumacher, p. 191). With regard to the river, the source of the Dan being, as was agreed, at Bânîâs, its identification with the Yarmûk involved a belief in its flowing underground as far as the lake el-Bajjeh at el-Mezeirîb, from which one of the principal sources of the Yarmûk issues; with the further result that the junction of the Jor and Dan, instead of being above Lake el-Hûleh, was made to be below the Sea of Galilee, or, as Will. of Tyre says (xiii. 18), between Tiberias and Scythopolis, *i.e.* Beisân. Will. of Tyre, however, unlike the rest, distinguishes between the Dan-Yarmûk and the Dan proper.

Page 52, l. 2. "*In this flum,*" etc.—The baptism of Christ in Jordan, the passage of the Israelites and its memorial (l. 5), the cleansing of Naaman (l. 7), the "many kirkes" (monasteria), and the city of Hai (l. 8), are all noticed similarly and in the same order by Bold. (p. 68). He does not indeed give the quotation from Matth. iii. 17; but this is supplied by Euges. (p. 994), etc. The term "fisch hale" applied to Naaman in our MS. E. is highly curious. It may be paralleled from the *Liflade of St. Juliana* (ed. O. Cockayne, E.E.T.S., 1872, p. 59), where, after the saint had been cut to pieces, she rose up, "ase *fischhal* as pah ha nefde nohwer hurtes iselet." The proverb "sound as a roach" is well known (Yarrell, *British Fishes*, ed. 1859, i. p. 435.) For the "hie hill" upon which our Lord was tempted (l. 10), see above, note to p. 49, l. 9.

Page 52, l. 14. "*Carras, that es to say Mount Real*": *cf.* Bold. (p. 66), "Ultra Mare Mortuum versus orientem, extra fines terræ promissionis, est castrum fortissimum in montanis, quod Latine Mons Regalis dicitur, in Arabico autem Krak . . . Dicitur quod sub castro in villa, quæ Sobak dicitur, ac in terminis ejus Christianorum scismaticorum circa 40 millia commorentur de illis partibus oriundi." There seems to be some confusion between Kerak, the ancient Kir Moab, about 10 miles east of the Dead

Sea, and another Kerak (the word in Syriac meaning simply a fortress), otherwise Schobach and Montreal, about 20 miles south of the Dead Sea, fortified by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem (not of France, as in Fr. text and C.), in 1115 (Will. Tyre, xi. 26). Burch. also, among others, confounds the same two fortresses (p. 58). For an account of both, see Rey, p. 273. "Fra þeine" (l. 17) cannot refer to either Kerak; and the corresponding words in Bold. (p. 68), "De his locis," immediately follow the notice of the places mentioned above, "In þis flum . . . enseged and tuke." The rest of the paragraph is also from Bold. (pp. 68, 69), supplemented from Euges. (p. 997) or the earlier authority whom he followed. The statement that Samuel "was grauen on þe Mount Ioy" (l. 20) seems meant to correct Bold.; but the latter may have adopted the theory that "Ramathaim Sophim" (1 Sam. i. 1) was Mount Joy or Neby Samwîl itself (see above, p. 183). Others, as Burchard (p. 77) and Sanudo (p. 249), identify it with Ramleh, on the road to Jaffa. Neby Samwîl was also supposed to be Shiloh (Theod., p. 88; Benj. of Tudela, p. 87; Burch., p. 76); and the position here assigned to "Gabaon" (Jebâ) and "Rama Beniamyn" (er-Râm) better applies to this site than to the true Shiloh (Seilûn). The words "of Ebron" in l. 21 are interpolated by Mand., and their meaning is not apparent, unless they are a scribe's mistake for "of Ephraim" or "of the Hebrews." Neither the distance of "Sychem" (Nâblus) from Jerusalem, "x. myle," *i.e.* 10 leagues (vne iournee, Fr. text), nor the meaning of "Neopolis" are in Bold. The latter is supplied by Euges.; but he gives the distance as 24 miles (*cf.* Odoric, p. 148). It is really about 32 miles English. A church over "Iacob well" (p. 53, l. 1), now Bir Y'akûb, is noticed by the early pilgrims (St. Jerome, *Per. S. Paulæ*, cap. 16, Arculf, ii. 19, Anton. Mart., cap. 6, Willibald, cap. 27), but is said to have been destroyed before the Crusades (*Survey*, ii. p. 172). A successor to it is spoken of by Euges, apparently as in course of erection (p. 997, "ubi nunc et ecclesia construitur"; *cf. De Situ*, p. 425, J. Wirtzb., p. 116), and by Theod. (p. 94) as occupied by nuns. It was seen by Edrisi in 1154, but was demolished in 1187 (De Vogüé, *Églises*, p. 356). For Jeroboam's "twa calfez" (l. 3), the city of "Luza" (l. 4) and "Mount Garisym" (l. 7), not noticed by Bold., again see Euges., "In Sichem juxta fontem," etc. Luz or Bethel (the site of which is fixed by some at Jerusalem, see above, p. 181) was supposed by the Samaritans to be on Gerizim, where the name Khûrbet Lôzeh is still "applied to the heaps of stones round the Samaritan place of sacrifice" (*Survey*, ii. p. 169). The exact source whence the notice of "þe vale of Dothaym" (l. 8; *cf.* Gen. xxxvii. 17) comes is not quite clear. Bold. does not mention it, and Euges. places it four miles south of Tiberias (p. 995; *cf.* Theod., pp. 102, 147). Others again identified it with the modern Khân Jubb Yûsef, which is about 10 miles north of Tiberias (*Survey*, i. p. 368). J. Wirtzb., however, describes it as between Genon (Jenîn) and Sebaste (Sebüstieh) or Samaria, specially noticing also the "cisterna" (p. 114). This site appears to be that now generally regarded as the true one, viz. Tell Dôthân, about 9½ miles north of Sebüstieh (*Survey*, ii. p. 215). As for the "twa myle," *i.e.* four miles (ii. *lieues*), separating Dothaim and Sichem, it may be suspected that Mand. carelessly copied his authority, this being the distance between Sichem and Samaria as given by both Euges. and J. Wirtzburg. The description of "Samary" (l. 10) closely follows Bold., *e.g.* "caput hujus provinciæ. Nunc Sebaste dicitur et

multum assimilatur civitati sanctæ in situ . . . in monte valde pulchro sita," etc. Hence "siet entre montaignes" (l. 32), so strangely rendered in C. (note 3). With regard to St. Iohn Baptist (l. 12), Bold. merely states that his headless body was interred there in a fine church (cf. l. 17), "cujus adhuc apparent vestigia," meaning the crusading edifice, "now a mere shell," described and figured in the *Survey*, ii. p. 212 (cf. De Vogüé, p. 361). The sentences "betwene twa prophetez . . . wirschepe perto" (l. 16) are all in Euges. and J. Wirtzb. (p. 114), who represent St. Thecla as conveying the Baptist's finger to Maurienne among the Alps of Savoy (cf. "into mountes," Mand.). This Thecla seems to have been a pilgrim from Maurienne, not the saint who is the best known bearer of the name (Greg. of Tours, *Lib. Mirac.*, i. 14; Alb. of Stade, *Annales*, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, xvi. p. 343). The *De Situ*, (p. 424) calls her, not Thecla, but Tygris. The history of the Baptist's Head is recounted by Pet. Comestor (Evang. 73. Migne, cxcviii. 1574) and J. de Vorag. (*Leg. Aur.*, cap. 125, p. 569), either of whom Mand. may have used, as well as, less fully, by Euges. and J. Wirtzb. Legend held that the severed head was immured, not at Samaria, but in Herod's palace at Jerusalem. Thus the *Cursor Mundi* (l. 13228, p. 758).—

"Here nu quat Herodias did.
In a wall his heued sco hid;
Sco has it salted in a wall,
For sco hir dred if sua moght fall
His hefed war til his bodi don,
pat he mond quiken als son."

According to the writers above named it ultimately found its way, in Pepin's time, into Poitou, viz. to St. Jean d'Angely; but another account asserts with equal confidence that it was brought from the East in 1205 to Amiens, where it is said to be still preserved. The whole subject, which is more curious than edifying, is learnedly discussed by Ducange, *Traité Hist. du chef de S. Jean Baptiste*, 1665. See also Razy, *St. Jean Baptiste*, etc., 1880.

What is most singular here is the statement that "þe vessell where in his heued was layd" (l. 20) was at Genoa, the relics there being generally spoken of as bones or ashes only. Mand. evidently refers to the *catino* or bowl (once supposed to be of emerald, but now proved to be of glass) said to have been captured by the Genoese among the booty at Cæsarea (Ub. Foliet, *Hist. Genuens.*, i. A.D. 1101). Others saw in this precious relic the dish which was used at the Last Supper and in which Joseph of Arimathea received drops of the Saviour's blood at the descent from the Cross—in short the *Holy Graal* itself.

Page 53, l. 23. "*Fra Sebaste to Ierusalem er xii. myle.*"—This distance, viz. 24 miles, is that given by Euges. (cf. J. Wirtzb., p. 116, Od., p. 148) as from Sichem not from Sebaste, making the distance from the latter place 28 miles. Burch. (p. 63) makes it 16 leagues, i.e. 32 miles, which is about right.

Page 53, l. 23. "*a well that chaungez his coloure*" etc.—This spring, "in partibus Samariæ," is described in very similar terms by J. de Vitry (p. 1098), but he does not give it a name. Isidore on the other hand, apparently meaning the same, speaks of it as "fons Job (cf. p. 54, note 3) in Idumæa" (*Etym.*, xiii. 13. 8, Migne, lxxxii. 483). This may possibly be the spring known as the Hummâm Ayyûb or "Bath of Job" at Sheikk Sa'ad (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, p. 193; and above, note to p. 51, l. 23).

Page 54, l. 2. "*Samaritanes*," etc.: chiefly from Bold. (p. 69), with additions from J. de Vitry (p. 1095). Bold., however, gives the Christians the "ȝalow clathe" and the Jews the "blewe."

Page 54, l. 17. "*Galilee*": cf. Bold. (p. 70), "Inde progrediens, montanis dimissis, veni in planitiem Galilææ; est autem Galilæa provincia terræ promissionis," etc. The notices, however, of Corozaim (e.g. "in qua nutrietur Antichristus"), Bethsaida and Cedar, especially as given in the Fr. text and C., closely follow Euges. (p. 994; cf. Theod., p. 101, J. Wirtzb., p. 187, Od., p. 147). The prophecy in l. 21 is from some source (not the Vulgate) unknown to me. The common belief was that Antichrist should be of the tribe of Dan, "the serpent by the way" (Gen., xlix. 17), and there may be a reference here to Pet. Comestor, "Antichristus de tribu Dan, ignobilis, in obscuro loco Babyloniæ nasciturus," etc. (Daniel 6, Migne, cxcviii. 1454). See also Rich. Rolle of Hampole (ob. 1349), *Pricke of Conscience* (ed. R. Morris, 1863, p. 113):—

"He sall be cald þe child þat es lorn,
And in Corozaym he sal be born

* * * * *

He sal be lered, als I understand,
And nurist and mast conversand
In þe cité of Bethsayda;
In Capharnaum he sal regne als wa

* * * * *

For þus in þe first he sal be born and bredde,
And in þe secunde be nuryst, and regne in þe thredde."

Page 55, l. 4. "*Cane of Galilee . . . iiiii myle fra Nazareth*": so Theod. (p. 106) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 112), who give also the distance from Sepphoris (Seffûrieh) as two miles towards the east. Euges. (p. 996) gives only the latter distance. Here therefore, as also above (p. 54, l. 38), either Mandeville's "lieues" are properly translated "miles," or, what is more probable, the miles of the Latin Itineraries are long miles, answering to the "lieue." The French Itinerary *Les Pèlerinages* (p. 101) speaks of three "lieues," equivalent to the six miles of Odoric (p. 146). For the arguments as to the rival sites, Keft Kenna, 3¼ miles N.E. of Nazareth, and Kâna, 8 miles N.N.W., see the *Survey*, i. p. 392, and Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 79.

Page 55, l. 6. "*In the marchez of Galilee*," etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 70), "Circa fines Galilææ a dextris sunt montes Gelboë . . . In prædictis montibus . . . arca Dei ducitur captivata. E contra est mons Hermon, circa quem dilabitur torrens Cison," etc. Hermon here is the so-called Little Hermon, which is identified with Neby Dûhy, about 5 miles south-west of Mount Tabor (*Survey*, ii. p. 77; Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, ii. p. 326). Euges. (p. 996) speaks of it as two miles (leagues?) east of Tabor, assigning the same distance to Naim, but without specifying the direction (Od., p. 147, "contra meridiem"); and so the *De Situ*, p. 423, Theod., p. 103 J. Wirtzb., p. 113. He then proceeds, "Supra Naim mons Endor, ad radicem cujus supra torrentem *Raduinum*, qui est Cison," etc. Naim is certainly Nein at the foot of Neby Dûhy, the present village of Hermon lying about 2 miles to the north-east. Either therefore Hermon and Mount Endor are identical (as in our Fr. text and C.), or the whole ridge may have been known as Hermon, and the peak at its south-west extremity as Mount Endor (as in our MS. E.). Burchard in fact describes Hermon as a range running east and west opposite Gelboæ and extending to the Jordan (p. 51). For

"Radium" (Fr. text, l. 29) see Euges. above, "Raduinum." The *De Situ* has "Kadumim," Theod. and J. Wirtzb. "Cadumim," and rightly, the word coming from the Vulgate, Judges v. 21, "Torrens *Cadumim*, torrens Cison," where our version reads "that ancient river, the river Kishon." The rest of the paragraph from this point ("Abymalech" for "Abinoem" excepted) may have been taken bodily from Euges. "Zaraym" is Zer'in, 5 miles south-west of Nein; as to the disputed site of "Mageddo," generally placed at Lejjûn, see the *Survey*, ii. p. 90. "A myle peine" (l. 15) is in Euges. "secundo milliario," so that "myle" must be again the French league. "Cytope" is for Scythopolis (as in Euges.), the later name for the ancient Bethshean, now Beisân.

Page 55, l. 17. "*Nazareth*."—This description is chiefly from Bold. (p. 71). Thus for the "kirk" (l. 22), "In hoc loco pulchra fuit ecclesia atque magna, sed, heu, quasi destructa est; parvulus tamen locus est in ea coopertus et a Sarracenis diligentius custoditur, ubi circa quamdam columnam marmoream asserunt veneranda Conceptionis mysteria esse perfecta." This was the church of the Annunciation destroyed by Bibars in 1263 (*Survey*, i. p. 279). So too "In Nazareth sunt pessimi Sarraceni," etc., an evil reputation which the inhabitants have preserved down to our own times (Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 74). The "well of Gabriell" (p. 56, l. 1) is not so designated by Bold., though he supplies the particulars of it. Odoric, however, gives the name (p. 146); and so also *Les Pelerinaiges* and some other French Itineraries (Michelant, pp. 100, 198, 234). It is more generally known as the Virgin's Well, but it is situated close to the church of St. Gabriel (*Survey*, i. p. 277). Odoric moreover says that Nazareth means "Flower" (an interpretation which is as old as St. Jerome, *Ep. S. Paulæ*), though Mandeville's words approach nearer to Euges., J. Wirtzb., etc., (cf. Bold. "In hoc loco florido", etc.). The sentence "And twa myle . . . Sephor" (l. 5) agrees with the *De Situ* (p. 423), Theod. (p. 106) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 111). Euges. (p. 995) has five miles (perhaps a misreading of v. for ii.), and Od. (p. 146) four; while *Les Peler.* (p. 100) has one league. The place is Seffûrieh and the distance $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. For "pe leep þat oure Lord leped" (l. 6), see Bold., "Prope ad unum miliare locus est qui Saltus Domini appellatur." So Euges., Theod., etc., describe it as being a mile to the south; and Ernoul, like Mandeville, as a "demie lieue" (*Itinéraires*, p. 61). *Les Peler.* on the contrary makes the distance a whole league (*ibid.*, p. 100). The traditional "Leap of our Lord" is the precipice of Jebel Kafsy, 950 feet high, two miles south of the city (*Survey*, i. p. 263; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 78). Other pilgrims do not state that our Lord's "steppes er jit sene" there. Pet. Comestor, however (Evang. 72), speaks of the impression made by the creases of his clothes as still visible; and Sanudo also (p. 253), who places the "Saltus" at four bowshots to the south, concludes "et videtur vestigium corporis ejus lapidi impressum." What follows is probably an original contribution by Mandeville to the folk-lore of charms. For the details as to the Virgin's age (l. 14), see J. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 119 (p. 504).

Page 56, l. 17. "*Mount Thabor*."—For the distance ("iiii" not "iii," as in Fr. text and C.), as well as the notice of Melchisedech, see Euges. (p. 996), etc. In *Les Peler.* (p. 101), as in our MSS. S. G. E., the distance is "iii lieues," and in Odoric (p. 146) six miles to the east, which is very nearly correct. The rest of the description ("mons formosus est et bene altus," etc.)

to l. 23 is from Bold. (p. 72). The latter's words, however, hardly imply the existence of a particular site as "þe scole of oure Lord":—Ibi (sc. on Tabor) Christus frequenter discipulos docuit, arcana secretorum coelestium revelavit, ut ex hoc non immerito singularis schola Domini nuncupetur," etc. The tradition that Tabor was the scene of the Transfiguration dates from the 4th cent., and three churches, corresponding with the three tabernacles, were erected there before the end of the 6th cent. (*Survey*, i. p. 388; Robinson, ii. p. 358). The quotation, "Hic est filius meus," etc. (Matt. xvii. 5), not in Bold. and missing from our Engl. text, is given by Euges.

Page 57, l. 3. "*Mount Hermon*": see above, note to p. 55, l. 6. The distance "a myle" = "vne lieue" = "secundo milliario," Euges., etc.; and so too for Naim. The "castell of Saffra" (l. 4) is, I suspect, really Safran or Shefa 'Amr, the reputed birthplace of SS. James and John (see above, note to p. 16, l. 14), which lies about 10 miles north-west of Nazareth. According to *Les Pelerinaiges* it was 3 leagues from Acre, 3 from "Saphorie" or Seffûrieh, and 4 from Nazareth (p. 100; cf. pp. 187, 198). Possibly Euges. (p. 995) means the same place, and not Seffûrieh, by "Sephoris," which he describes as five miles (leagues?) from Nazareth and in connexion with which he speaks of Zebedee and Alpheus. There is evidently, however, some confusion with Seffûrieh (cf. l. 7), just as there is below (p. 58) between Seffûrieh and Safed. With regard to "Mount Cain" (l. 5), Euges. (p. 1004) and J. Wirtzb. (p. 181) fix it at 8 miles from Nazareth over against Carmel (3 miles from Carmel, *De Situ*, p. 431); otherwise they are closely followed by Mand., with slight additions, perhaps taken from Pet. Comestor (Gen. 28, "ætistmans feram," etc.; cf. also Burch., p. 49). The hill, situated about 11 miles south-west of Nazareth, is that of Tell Keimûn, the name of which, assumed to be "Cain mons," probably originated the whole story (*Survey*, ii. p. 48; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 68). "Fra Saffra" (l. 7) refers more naturally to Seffûrieh, which lay between Safran and Tiberias. The notice of the "see of Galile," etc. (ll. 7-21) is partly from Bold. (p. 73), but it also recalls Odoric (p. 147), or rather J. de Vitry (p. 1075), with whom the latter agrees word for word, and *Les Pelerinaiges*. As for the dimensions, Bold. merely gives the circuit as about 30 miles, and the others are silent. Mand. agrees with Sanudo (p. 254), who quotes Beda; but the ultimate authority is Josephus (*B. J.*, iii. 10. 7; cf. Arculf, ii. 18). The reading "thurgh þe myddes of þe citee" (l. 10) is obviously inferior to that of our Fr. text and C., independently of Bold., "per cujus [maris] medium fluvius Jordanis currit; bonos habet pisces in magna copia . . . Civitas vero ipsa Tiberiadis parum valet . . . sunt tamen bona balnea naturalia apud ipsam." These baths, strongly impregnated with sulphur, are still frequented as a cure for rheumatism (*Survey*, i. p. 379). The notice of the "grete brigg" (l. 11) is interesting, as it does not appear in any of the authors named, though Bold. says that he crossed the Jordan "in eo loco, ubi ipse fluvius se a mari Galilææ separat." Ernoul, however, mentions it (*circ.* 1231), "Celle eue (sc. Jordan) . . . keurt parmi le mer del lonc de si à un pont c'on apiele le Pont de Tabarie" (*Itinéraires*, p. 57). One would expect it rather to have been called the Bridge of Taricheæ, the modern Kerak, at the southern extremity of the Lake, than of "Tabarie" or Tiberias, which is farther up the western shore. Its remains are still to be seen at Kerak (*Survey*, i. p. 403; L. Oliphant, *Haifa*, 1887, p. 125).

Page 57, l. 13. "*And fra theine . . . to Damasc,*" etc.: cf. Bold. (p. 75), "*Inde procedens in tribus diebus veni ad Damascum,*" etc. The "*tabil on whilk oure Lord ete*" (l. 21) was not, as Mand. implies, an actual table. It is described, in almost identical terms, by the *De Situ* (p. 423), Euges. (p. 995), Theod. (p. 98), J. Wirtzb. (p. 188), and Odoric (p. 148), as the spot where our Lord fed the five thousand, "*unde locus ille Mensa vocatur,*" the place where He ate with his disciples lying below it. These authorities, as well as Sæwulf, who is said to be the first to give the name "*Mensa Christi,*" fix the site at two miles from Capernaum; and Ernoul no doubt means the same in saying it was between Tiberias and Belinas (p. 58; cf. *Les Peler.*, p. 102). It has accordingly been identified with el-'Oreimeh, a "small artificial square plateau on the hill above 'Ain et Tin" (*Survey*, i. p. 369), about 2 miles south-west of Tell Hûm and 7 miles north of Tabariya along the shore. Mandeville, however, speaks of the "*tabil*" as being *in* Tiberias, and the hill of the Five Thousand as "*besyde this citee*"; and he appears to mean therefore the mountain to the west of Tiberias, which local tradition also associates with the miracle (*Survey*, i. pp. 370, 384). The legend of the "*brynnand firebrand*" at Tiberias (l. 24) is told by Odoric (p. 147) as an incident of our Lord's youth — "*sed fax infixâ terræ in arborem crevit maximam, quæ usque in hodiernum diem flores et fructus producit.*" It appears also earlier (*circ.* 1231) in *Les Pelerinages* (p. 102), "*A Thabarie est li tysons que li Juif getèrent après nostre Seigneur . . . et le tison tint à un mur et crut main-tenant en un grant arbre.*"

Page 58, l. 3. "*Sephor nere Capharnaum*": cf. Bold. (p. 73), "*In capite hujus maris versus aquilonem est forte castrum et altum, Saphet nomine, ac villa ejusdem nominis delectabilis atque magna . . . Verum intra terram promissionis huic castro aliud in fortitudine ac ædificiis non æquatur.*" This is undoubtedly the crusading castle of Safed, about 7 miles north-west of Tell-Hûm, or Capernaum (*Survey*, i. p. 249); but Mand. confounds it with Sepphoris or Seffûrieh, the birthplace of St. Anne (Euges., etc.; Od., p. 146), the ruins of whose church there yet remain (*Surv.*, p. 335). The "*hous of Centurio,*" on the contrary, (l. 5; cf. *Matth.*, viii. 5) was at neither place, but at Capernaum (Euges., p. 995, Theod., p. 102, J. Wirtzb., p. 187). The same writers give the next sentence, "*þat cuntree—Neptalim*"; but what follows, down to "*fourty myle*" (l. 10), is again from Bold., except that the latter gives the distance from Dan or Belinas (Baniás) to Beersheba as 140 (*al.* 160) miles. For "*þe mylez of Lumbardy,*" etc., see above, note to p. 11, l. 13.

Page 58, l. 13. "*And 3e schall understand . . . many other cuntreez*": mostly from Bold. (p. 75). "*Cicil*" is of course Cilicia; and for "*west see*" Bold. has the Mediterranean. His list of the "*rewmes*" is also somewhat different, including, instead of "*Sem*" and "*Cecil*," Syria Phœnicis, Mesopotamia, Syria Libani, and Syria Damascena (cf. J. de Vitry, p. 1191). Hayton (see above, note to p. 19, l. 1) divides Syria into four provinces, of which "*prima provincia, quæ est caput regni Syriæ, vocatur Sem, et in medio istius provinciæ est sita nobilis civitas Damascena,*" the others being Palestine, Antioch, and Cilicia, "*et ista Cilicia hodie Armenia nuncupatur*" (p. 427). "*Sem*" is in fact Arab. *Schâm*, the name by which Syria is still known, meaning the land "*on the left*" as one faces east, being so distinguished from Yemen, or South Arabia, the land "*on the right.*"

Page 58, l. 18. "*thai ordayne dowfes for to bere lettres.*"—This

use of carrier-pigeons is frequently referred to by the crusading historians, and Foucher devotes a chapter to it (iii. 47; cf. Alb. Aq., v. 9, R. de Aguilers, cap. 19, Baldric, iv. 6). These writers all represent the missive as fastened under the wings or tail; and so also J. de Vitry (p. 1105) and Sim. Symeonis (p. 19), who speak of them as employed in Egypt, the latter's account being the fullest and most accurate of all. The version in C. follows the Fr. text more correctly than our MS. E., which makes out that the pigeons fly both to and fro.

Page 58, l. 25. "*Thare er sum Cristen men that er called Iacobynes.*"—This account of the monophysite sect of the Jacobins or Jacobites owes something to J. de Vitry (p. 1091), or to Sanudo (p. 184) who copied him, particularly the statement as to their confessing to God alone (p. 59, l. 1), and their manner of doing so (l. 18)—"*ponentes thus juxta se in igne, tanquam cum fumo peccata sua ascendant coram Domino.*" But De Vitry rightly says that they had their name, not from St. James the apostle, but "*a quodam magistro suo dicto Iacobo, cujusdam (Theodosii) Alexandrini patriarchæ discipulo,*" meaning Jacob al-Baradai, or Baradæus, a monk of Constantinople in the 6th cent., by whose energy the sect was organised; and he is responsible for the statement that "*sayn Iohn þe evaungelist baptized þam*" only in so far as he incidentally mentions St. John the Baptist in speaking of the confession of sins. The theological argument as to confession is perhaps Mandeville's own; but the conclusion, with the analogy from the practice of medicine, is again from De Vitry.

Page 59, l. 26. "*Surrianes*": cf. J. de Vitry (p. 1089), who says that they used Arabic in ordinary talk and writing, but Greek in their liturgy (cf. Fr. text and C.; and Hayton, p. 427). He does not say, however, that they used the Jacobite form of confession. The term "*soure (therf, C.) bred*" is the reverse of the proper rendering of "*pain levé.*" From De Vitry also (p. 1095; San., p. 184) comes the account of the Georgians, almost word for word—*e.g.* "*clerici autem rotundas habent coronas, laici vero quadratas.*" For the other sects enumerated see Bold. (p. 56). "*Gregorienes*" should be Greeks (cf. Fr. text) and "*Arrianes*" probably Armenians. As for the "*Cristen men of gyrdils,*" Ducange, *s.v.* *Christiani de cintura*, refers also to Sanudo, Burchard, and others. They were known too as Centurini; and Belon du Mans, in his list of sects at Jerusalem, identifies them with the "*Coftes*" or Copts (*Singularitez*, etc., ii. 85, ed. 1553, f. 143).

Page 60, l. 12. "*Damasc*": from Bold. (p. 75), with a few additions, as the distance from Jerusalem "*fyue iournes*" (l. 13; cf. Michelant, *Itinéraires*, p. 127) and the "*dowble wall*" (l. 21; cf. J. de Vitry, p. 1126). The sentences "*þis citee . . . mount Seyr*" (ll. 15-18) are in Euges. (p. 993; cf. Theod., p. 107, J. Wirtzb., p. 184), but in the form "*Damascus construxit Eliezer servus Abrahæ, in agro illo in quo Cain fratrem suum Abel occidit. . . In Idumæa mons Seir, sub quo Damascus.*" The absurdity of making Eliezer of Damascus the eponym of the city is in J. de Vitry (p. 1073); but matters are made worse in our English text by a mistranslation of "*vadlet et despenser,*" properly rendered in C. (note 2). As to the murder of Abel (l. 18), others, as Burchard (p. 81) and Odoric (p. 154), transfer the scene to the "*ager Damascenus*" at Hebron. The idea that the Biblical Mount Seir was near Damascus naturally followed when Edom was supposed to lie in the same quarter (see above, note to p. 51, l. 14). Bold. mentions the "*medicos excellentes*"

of Damascus, but says nothing of St. Paul having practised the art there, though he alludes to his vision, etc.

Page 61, l. 4. "*a castell that es called Arkes*": evidently the Archas or Archis of the crusading historians, now 'Arka, vainly besieged by the Christians in 1099 (W. Tyre, vii. 14; J. de Vitry, p. 1072; Burch., p. 28). Mand., however, misplaces it, its real position being not far from the coast, a few miles north of Tripoli. Ernoul (Michelant, p. 55) fixes it rightly at the western extremity of Lebanon; but he says it got its name from Noah's Ark being built there! Mand. speaks of it as it was in the 12th cent., not in the 14th (see its history in Robinson, iii. p. 579).

Page 61, l. 5. "*Nostre Dame de Sardenake*," etc.: Saidenâya or Sédnaya, about 12 miles north of Damascus. The passage comes from Bold. (p. 76), with a few curious variations. For the distance "fyue myle on þis syde Damasc" see above, note to p. 15, l. 21; in Bold. it is "ad mediam diurnatam," and so *Les Peler.* (p. 103). The "vowte," or vault, under the church (l. 8) is the result of a misunderstanding of Bold., "In casali pulchro, quod sub monasterio est, Christiani scismatici commorantur, bono vino satis abundantes." The picture Bold. describes thus, "Retro majus altare in muro tabula quædam tota nigra et humida cernitur, in qua imago gloriosæ Virginis olim fuisse depicta asseritur; sed propter vetustatem nihil de lineamentis figuræ cernitur in eadem, nisi quod in aliqua parte color rubeus mihi videbatur aliquantulum apparere." He says nothing, however, of its turning into flesh. He is sceptical also ("rationabiliter dubito") as to the miraculous nature of the oil; nor does he mention its curative properties and the miraculous change in it after seven years. Except the last, these points are touched upon by J. de Vitry (p. 1126; cf. Cont. Will. Tyre, p. 173). Thietmar (p. 14) tells the story at more length—how an abbess of Saidenâya begged a passing pilgrim to bring her an icon from Jerusalem; how he forgot all about it, until warned by a voice from heaven, and then returned and bought one; how it protected him from robbers, so that he resolved to keep it for himself; how after sundry adventures he was divinely compelled to give it up; and how, when it at last reached Saidenâya, "cepit Dei genetricis ymago carnis mammillas paulatim emittere, carne vestiri," and so on. He also tells an anecdote of the oil having turned into flesh. L. Oliphant (*Land of Gilead*, 1880, p. 456) speaks of the monastery as being still "one of the most frequented resorts of pilgrims in Syria. This is due to the virtues of a miracle-working Madonna, whose picture is in the church and who possesses the special faculty of increasing the population in cases where a wife incurs the disgrace of having no offspring or only daughters. . . . The picture is supposed to have been painted by St. Luke, and it is popularly believed by those who reverence it to consist half of stone and half of flesh; but nobody cares to verify this statement, as to look upon her image-portrait is said to produce instantaneous death."

Page 61, l. 14. "*the vale of Bochar*," etc.: wholly from Bold. (p. 77), "Bochar" being the "Bacar" and "Baccar" of Will. of Tyre (xv. 8, xxi. 11; cf. Ernoul, p. 56). It is the fertile valley of el-Buká'a, which separates Lebanon from Antilibanus, Baalbec lying at its eastern end.

Page 61, l. 20. "*a riuer that es called Sabatory*": cf. J. de Vitry (p. 1098) and F. de Chartres (iii. 51), who quotes Josephus (*B. J.*, vii. 5. 1). Pliny, who speaks of it as being in Judæa, says that it *rested* on the Sabbath, flowing the other six days (xxxi. 2).

"Raphane" (Raphaneam, J. de V.) is Rafinéh or Rafaniyeh (Robinson, iii. p. 573). The "rivus Sabbaticus" has been identified with an intermittent spring at the convent of Mar Jirjis, near el-Husn, about 20 miles north-east of 'Arka, which is, however, not so regular in its alternations as popular belief would have it to be—"sometimes it flows two or three times a week, sometimes not for twenty or thirty days" (*ibid.*, p. 572). The notice of the other river "þat on nyghtes fresez hard," etc. (l. 21), also appears to be from J. de Vitry (p. 1098), but he locates it in Persia. What is meant by the "Hegh Hill" (l. 23) I cannot say, unless it is the highest summit of Lebanon, midway between Baalbec and Tripoli. The account of Tripoli is from Bold., as also in part that of Beyrout, Mand. adding "whare sayne George slew þe dragon." For its distance from Sidon (p. 62, l. 1), see above, note to p. 15, l. 21. After this no further extracts are taken from Boldensele (except those just below, from an earlier chapter), his Itinerary here coming to an end.

Page 62, ll. 12—19. "*A man that commes . . . xxxvi. myle*": mainly a repetition of what has been said before, pp. 14, 16, 29. The distance in miles from Jaffa to Jerusalem is an addition.

Page 62, l. 14. "*Porte Mirrok*," etc.: see above, note to p. 29, l. 9.

Page 62, l. 19. "*the citee of Rames*": Ramleh, 12 miles south-east of Jaffa (*Survey*, ii. p. 269), cf. Bold., "Prope Joppen intra terram est pulchra civitas, Rama nomine, quæ optime habitatur, locus delectabilis atque sanus" (p. 36). The "kirk of oure Lady" is not in Bold., nor have I found it noticed elsewhere.

Page 62, l. 22. "*Dispolis . . . Lidda*": now Lüdd, 2½ miles north-east of Ramleh (*Survey*, ii. pp. 252, 267), cf. Bold., "Diospolis, quæ similiter habitatur, et in Act. Apost. (ix. 32) Lydda dicitur, ubi beatus Georgius decapitatus," etc. The tomb of St. George is noticed by Theodosius (cap. 24), Anton. Mart. (cap. 25), and other early pilgrims, as well as by Euges. (p. 1003), Theod. (p. 89), J. Wirtzb. (p. 181), etc., in the 12th cent.; but the scene of his martyrdom is generally laid at Nicomedia. The church (eccl. *quondam* pulchra," Bold.) dates from about 1150, and is said to have been destroyed by Saladin. For Emmaus and Montjoy, see note to p. 47, l. 4; but Emmaus here seems to mean 'Amwās, about 9 miles south-east of Lüdd. The notices of "Ramatha and þe Mount Modyn" are as in Euges., etc., as above, Ramatha being apparently the same place already spoken of under the name of Rames, and Modin either Sôba or Latrôn (*Survey*, iii. pp. 15, 18). "Thecue" (p. 63, l. 1) or Tekoah is Tekúá, about 6 miles south of Bethlehem (*ibid.*, p. 314). Euges. fixes it at one mile from Ramatha and three from Bethlehem. Ramatha in this case therefore must be a different place, perhaps er-Râmeh (*ibid.*, p. 316; cf. Sanudo, p. 248, "est et alia Rama iuxta Thecuam, in via quæ ducit Ebron").

Page 63, l. 9. "*he sall passe the water that es called Brace Sayne George*," etc.—What Mandeville here says of the route across Asia Minor is derived, I believe, from Albert of Aix (see above, notes to p. 4, l. 2, *seqq.*). Thus, in 1097, the Crusaders, crossing the "Brachium S. Georgii," advanced to "Rufinel," which was close to Nicomedia (cf. W. Tyre, ii. 21), and thence to "Civiot" (see note to p. 11, l. 13) and "Nicæam, quam gentilis virtus Turcorum imperatori injuste ereptam subjugavit" (Alb., ii. 20). "Pulual," however, and "Synople" really lie in another direction. In 1101 Count Raymond and the Lombards entered Cappadocia (or, more properly, Bithynia) at Civiot and Rufinel, but they marched

thence, not south, but east, and after they had advanced some distance beyond "Ancras" or Angora and had been routed by the Turks, the survivors fled to "Pulveral" and "Synoplum" (Alb., viii. 4-18). These two places, now Sinope and Báfira, are in fact on the southern shore of the Black Sea, and the mention of them here, on the road to the Holy Land, must be either due to ignorance or be meant as a parenthesis. The description of Nicæa (Isnik) recalls Alb., ii. 24, the "grete riuier þe whilk es called Lay" being probably no more than the "grete lake" (Fr. *lay*) over again. So "Nair Mount" (Noirmont) and "Mailbrins" represent the "Nigri Montes" and "Malabrunias" with its "angustia faucium inter rupes" (Alb., iii. 1). "Ormanz" is not recognisable, unless it can be a corruption from "Orellis" (iii. 38); but "þe tounes þat er on Riclay and Scanton" (Stancon) are the "urbes Finiminis, Reclei et Stancona," viz. Philomelium (now Akschehr), Heraclea (Eregli) and Iconium (Konia). Mand. indeed omits the first place and makes rivers of the other two, but a clue to the reason may be found in the fact that one of the MSS. of Alb. of Aix for "Finiminis" reads "fluis." We read moreover of Antioch the Less (Yalovatch) as being "in latere Reclei," and of the crusading camp being pitched "juxta montana per amoena loca pratorum . . . aptam et voluptuosam regionem et venationibus fecundissimam" (iii. 3).

Page 63, l. 19. "*And he that will ga another way,*" etc.—This is really a continuation of the route above, Alb. of Aix being still the authority. "Romany" (Romania, Alb.) is Roûm in the common authority. "Asia Minor" or the Seljûk empire of Iconium; and "Florach" is "Foloraca arx, quæ est juxta mare et confinia regni Russiæ" (iv. 6). The places following are in Alb. "Tursolt" (Tarsus), "Longinath juxta Tursolt," "Azara" (Adana), "Mamistra" (Mopsuestia, now Missis), "Maresc" (Marasch) and "Arthesia" (Artah); but the "pons fluminis Fernæ quod dicitur Farfar" (the Orontes, now Nahr el-'Asi) is not spoken of as being actually at Arthesia. It is the translator of E., not Mand. himself, who makes the river flow *towards* Damascus. The notice of the Abbana is a digression. It is taken apparently from Euges., "Montes Libani et planitiem Archados transfuit Abana, mari magno se copulans finibus illis, quibus S. Eustachius, ab uxore sua privatus et filiis desolatus, recessit" (p. 994; cf. the *De Situ*, p. 421, J. Wirtzb., p. 185). What is meant is not the true Abana, but perhaps the Nahr el-Kebir, which enters the Mediterranean just north of 'Arka. Mand. actually makes the Abana fall into the Red Sea, mistaking the meaning of "mari magno." For the story of St. Eustace or Placidus (not Placidus) see the *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 161 (p. 712).

Page 64, l. 1. "*the cite of Phenice.*"—The reading "Phemynie" (Fr. text) is preferable, though it carries us back half-way across Asia Minor. Alb. of Aix in fact stops for a moment his narration of the march on Antioch to tell how an advancing reinforcement was cut to pieces "inter Finiminis (see above) et Fernam urbem Romanicæ," mentioning too in the same connexion both the woods and the hot-wells and baths. He does not, however, give the distances, "x. myle," (cf. Fr. text). This estimate is approximately correct both as between Akschehr and "Ferne" (Ilgûn), and as between Akschehr and Antioch the Less; but it is equally the distance from Artah to Antioch the Greater.

Page 64, l. 3. "*And it es a faire citee,*" etc.—For this account of Antioch the Greater cf. Alb. of Aix, iii. 38; but instead of "cccl. tours" he speaks only of four—"in circuitu arcis quatuor

insuperabiles turre" — together with two "in utraque pontis fronte." Can it be that Mand. misread "iiii." into "cccl."? The distance "x myle" to the port of St. Symeon, at the mouth of the Orontes, is given by the *De Situ* (p. 421), Euges. (p. 994), J. Wirtzb. (p. 185).

Page 64, l. 9. "*Fra Antioche men gase,*" etc.—Here "Sacuth," for "Lacuth" = Laodicæa, Licia (Ladhikîyé); "Gebel" = Gibel, Gibellum (Djiblé); "Tortouse" = Tortosa (Tartûs); "Channel" = Camela = Emessa ("Emissena civitas, quæ hodie Camela seu Chamele," J. de Vitry, p. 1073), now Homs; "Maubek" = Malbec (Baalbec); Tryple = Tripoli; Gibilet = Byblus, Gibileth (Djebel).

Page 64, l. 20. "*and so to Tartary.*"—This route from France to Jerusalem by way of Tartary seems a strange one, even if the term is restricted to what is now South Russia, and the author's disclaimer "bot I neuer went by þat way" is hardly needed. His account of Tartary, both here and below (p. 121), is mostly abridged from the *Historia Mongalorum* of the Franciscan Joannes de Plano Carpini, who was sent on an adventurous embassy into Tartary by Pope Innocent IV., 1245-47 (ed. D'Avezac, *Recueil de Voyages*, etc., Soc. de Géogr., iv., Paris, 1839, p. 603; cf. Yule, *Cathay*, p. cxxiii.). Copious extracts from this valuable work are given by Vincent de Beauvais (*ob.* 1264) in his *Speculum Historiale*, xxxi. capp. 2-52 (ed. Duaci, 1624, p. 1286), supplemented from a relation by the Dominican Simon de St. Quentin, who was sent about the same time on a mission to the Mongols in Persia (*Hist. Littéraire*, xviii. p. 400). Mandeville, however, may have used the original work. The "prince . . . called Baco" or Batho (p. 65, l. 3) is Batu (*ob.* 1255), grandson of Jenghiz and Khan of the Kipchaks or Golden Horde, whose "orda" on the Volga (Mongol *ordu*, a camp or court, whence Engl. "horde") Carpini visited on his way to the Great Khan Kuyuk; but Mand. seems to have taken the name as generic, expressing the prince's title. Down to this point he follows Carpini (pp. 607-611), though, as in the case just mentioned, not always intelligently. But the rest of the chapter is from some other source which I have not succeeded in tracing.

Page 65, l. 6. "*Nyfland,*" etc.: *i. e.* Livonia, Cracow, and Lithuania. "Graften" in E. is unintelligible; but "Daresten" (Fr. text) may be for Dorostena or Drestra, the old name of Silistria, which is fairly in a line, from north to south, with the other provinces named.

Page 66, ch. xv. "*Of the customes of Sarasines,*" etc.—The earlier portion of this chapter, down to p. 69, l. 3, is almost entirely from Will. of Tripoli, *De Statu Saracenorum*, etc. (see note to p. 18, l. 16). The agreement is in most cases extremely close, as, *e. g.*, ch. 25, "Postquam dictum est de egressu Macumeti et suorum, progressu eorum atque occasu, restat videre quid sentendum de eorum lege seu libro Alcoranum, Meshaf seu Harine" (cf. note to p. 36, l. 15); and so of Paradise, ch. 50, "Si quæsieris, Qualis est paradisus, quem speras? dicunt: Locus deliciarum est, in quo quisque habebit nonaginta novem virgines delicatas, quibus omnibus fruatur omni die, et semper inveniet eas illibatas et integras. Ad nutum etiam desiderii rami arborum fructum porrigent optatum ori comedentis; flumina lactis et mollis (mellis?) meri et liquidissimæ limphæ deorsum defluent; mœnia et mansiones pro meritis singulorum assignabuntur singulis, ex lapidibus preciosis ædificatæ et ex auro precioso Ofir," etc. (p. 596). "Takyna" (l. 22) represents "Taquiis" (ch. 32), but the story is otherwise almost

verbally reproduced. It is not in the Korán, but it obviously originated in a misconception of the passage, "And we sent our Spirit to her, and he appeared before her like a perfect man. She said, 'I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy, if thou fearest Him'" (transl. Rodwell, 1876, p. 112). Will. Trip. here renders Arab. *Takī* (God-fearing) by "Si tu es *Taquius*," adding, as a "glosa Saracenorum," the explanation that this imaginary being was an enchanter, etc. The Englishman Rob. Redinensis, who translated the Korán into Latin for Peter, Abbot of Cluny, in 1143, was better informed—"cujus visu illa pavefacta Deum obsecrat, ut se ab illo, si Deum timeat, tueatur" (*Machometis . . . ejusque successorum vitæ, doctrina ac ipse Alcoran*, ed. Theod. Bibliander, 1550, p. 98). The story of Christ's speech to his mother, "Ne tristeris; posuit sub te Deus secretum" (p. 67, l. 1; Will. Trip., ch. 33), immediately follows in the Korán the extract given above. The passage about the "gospell of *Missus est*" (p. 67, l. 11) is not in Will. Trip., but it appears both in J. de Vitry (p. 1137) and in Sanudo (p. 208). De Vitry moreover supplies the notice of the Ramadan fast (l. 12); but as to abstinence "fra þaire wyfes," he is more in accord with the Korán, which in this respect, as in others, restricts the fast to the day-time, or rather as long as a black thread can be distinguished from a white one. What Mand. says further on (p. 68, l. 25) as to the Saracens possessing the "Euaungelles," etc., with the quotation from 2 Corinth., iii. 6, may also have come from the same author. Other cognate accounts of Mahomet and his religion, all having much in common with Mandeville, are, however, to be found in Vinc. of Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, xxiii. 39), J. de Vorag. (*Leg. Aur.*, cap. 181, p. 827), Matt. Paris (*Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, iii. p. 344) and Higden (*Polychronicon*, ed. Lumby, vi. p. 14), the last accompanied by an interesting English version by Trevisa (*ob.* 1412).

Page 69, l. 4. "Now will I tell ȝow what the sowdan did tell me," etc.—Whether this colloquy is anything more than a device of the author to magnify himself and convey a homily of his own on the corruption of the age may well be doubted. The theme was a fertile one with 14th cent. satirists; and the *Pricke of Conscience* at any rate seems to have been known to the translator of our MS. E., whose words "now þai vse schort clathes, now syde, now strayte, now wyde" (l. 14) are an echo of Hampole (l. 1534, p. 43):—

"For now wers men short and now syde,
Now uses men narow and now wyde;
Som has þair clethyng hyngand als stoles,
Som gas tatird als tatird foles,
Som gas wrynychand to and fra,
And som gas hypand als a ka."

The Fr. text and C. on the other hand more nearly recall a curious passage on extravagance in dress in the *Brut Chronicle* under the year 1345:—"And in þis tyme Englyssh so moch haunted and cleued to þe wodenesse and foly of strangers, þat so from þe tyme comyng of þe Henaudes [Hainaulters] xvij. yere passed, þai ordeyned þaim and changed þaim euery yere dyuerse shappys and dysgyssynges and clothyng, now long, now large, now wyde; and euery day clothyng new, and dystytute and dyserte from alle oneste and olde araye and good vsage. And anoþer tyme to short clothys and strayte wasted, and alle iakged [*al. dagged*] and kut on euery syde, and al to shklatered and also botoned, withoute slevys, and tapettes of surcotes, and hodys ouer

long and ouer large, and ouer moche hautyng [*al. hanging*] þat, if I soth shall say, þai were more lyke tormytours and deuels in þaire clothyng, and alle so in shoyng and oþer aray, þat þai semed no men. . . . Whech dysgyssynges and pryde perauntere afterward broght forth and encaused many mysshappys and mysshevis in þe realme of Englonde" (Brit. Mus., Egerton MS. 650, f. 74). I forbear to quote the remarks on women's dress and dress-improvers, which are more graphic than polite. For a metrical version of the colloquy from a 16th cent. Bodleian MS. see Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, p. 113.

Page 70, l. 13. "*Machomete was borne in Araby*," etc.: mainly from Will. Trip., capp. 1-3 (pp. 576-578). The latter calls the hermit "Bahayra," making him identical with the hermit "ad leucam ultra Synay" whom Mand. mentions, apparently as another person, lower down (l. 29), and whose fate he recounts in precisely similar terms. He was in fact Bahîra, otherwise the Nestorian monk Sergius, who figures conspicuously in legend as the Prophet's instructor (Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 1858, i. p. 35). "He was a grete astronomer" ("magus perfectissimus," V. Beauv., xxiii. 39) is not in Will. Trip.; nor the sentences following, down to "citee of Sarraz" (l. 28). For these see especially J. de Vorag., cap. 181, V. Beauv., *loc. cit.*, J. de Vitry, p. 1053, and Sanudo, p. 124. "Corodan" ("Corozania," V. B., "Corazaym," San.) properly means Khorasan or Persia (as in the crusading historians); but here it seems to point rather to the Arab tribe of the Koraish. As for Mahomet's serving the prince of "Corodan," Mand. merely draws the inference from "Cadygan" being spoken of as "domina" of the province. In Trevisa's version of Higden we have: "þan he com to þe lady of þe province Corozonia, þe lady heet Cadygan, and somdel with spices þat he brouȝte, wiþ wiccheecraft and wiþ faire wordes, he made þe lady so mad and so nyce þat sche worschipped hym as þe grettest prophete of God Almyȝty," etc. (p. 23). For the date A.D. 620 (l. 25) see Higden, p. 14; for A.D. 610 (Fr. text), J. de Vorag., p. 827. The later date may refer to the Hijra (A.D. 622), as the earlier one is that of Mahomet's assumption of the prophetic office at Mecca. In giving the various names of the Saracens (l. 25) Mand. differs somewhat from the authors above named, adding "Moabitez" and "Ammonitez." J. de Vitry moreover denies their right to be called Saracens after Sara, the free woman (*cf.* Isidore, *Etym.*, ix. 2.6, 57). If "Sarraz" (Fr. text) also means Sara, Mand. takes an opposite view; but "citee of Sarraz" (for which see p. 127) may possibly be correct.

Page 71, l. 11. "*Bot thai hafe ane other maner of drinke*," etc.—For sugarcanes, "calamelli, calami pleni melle," and "canamellæ, de quibus zucchara ex compressione eliquatur," see J. de Vitry (pp. 1075, 1099). They are noticed also by the crusading historians, *e. g.* Alb. of Aix (v. 37), "calamellos mellitos . . . quos vocant zucra, suxit populus," and Will. of Tyre (xiii. 3). But though the canes and the sugar are mentioned, the drink is not. For the medicinal properties of sugar ("it is gode for the brest," C.), see Alb. Magnus, *De Veget.*, vi. 37, "Lenit etiam pectus," etc. (ed. Jessen, p. 470).

Page 71, l. 14. "*sum Cristen men becommen Sarzenes*," etc.: *cf.* Will. Trip. (p. 579), "hæc forma verborum est apud illos qua efficiuntur Saraceni, *La hit alla Mahomad zurulla*, hoc est 'non est deus nisi Deus, et Macometus est nuncius ejus.'" Mand., no doubt using a better MS., comes nearer than this to the proper formula, *Lâ ilâh illâ illâh, Muhammad rasûl allâh*. The "hec" at the end probably crept in from the Latin.

Page 71, l. 18. "Now will I tell ȝow of thaire letters."—This alphabet is found in the *Cosmographia* of Æthicus (said to be translated from the Greek by St. Jerome), and is there stated to have been of his own invention—"suos characteres litterarum, quos adinvenit" (H. Wuttke, *Die Kosmographie des Istrier Aithikos*, etc., Leipzig, 1854, p. 85). From the *Cosmographia* it was copied by Rabanus Maurus, *De Inventione Linguarum* (Migne, cxii. 1579). The alphabet is certainly not, as Mand. would have it, that of "ȝe Sarzenes" or Arabic; but it has strong affinities with the Sclavonic alphabet known as the Glagolitic (Pertz, *De Cosmographia Ethici libri tres*, Berlin, 1853, pp. 150-184, and plate, p. 199). Mandeville's names for the letters (derived in E., as it seems, from more than one source) are of course much corrupted, and the characters more so. How they appear in the oldest MS. of Æthicus, of the 8th cent., at Leipzig, may be seen in Wuttke's facsimile. The remarks (not confined to the English texts) on the English ȝ and ȝ are of interest in the bearing on the author's own nationality.

Page 72, l. 8. "the foure fludes," etc.—For a more particular account of the rivers of Paradise see below, p. 150. There is some confusion here, as three only are actually named, and of these the Nile is spoken of as if it were the Ganges or Indus. For the eastern limit of the Mediterranean (the real length of which is about 2,100 miles) we should have expected Tangier or Ceuta rather than "ȝe citee of Marrok" (l. 12), or Morocco, which lies some distance inland. The "grete see" at the other end is the Euxine, the term being commonly so applied in the Middle Ages (cf. Yule, *Cathay*, p. 44).

Page 72, l. 15. "the land of Amazoun."—When Mand. comes to speak more fully of the Amazons further on (p. 77), he describes their land as being "besyde Caldee," apparently quite oblivious of the fact that he here places it north of the Caucasus, between the Caspian and the "Thanay" (Tanais) or Don. The "rewme of Albany" (l. 16) appears to have been in the same quarter, but on both sides of the Caucasus. According to Pliny the Albanians were so called, not from the whiteness of their skin, but of their hair ("canos a pueritia," vii. 12); and so Æthicus (p. 42), from whom, through the medium of Isidore (*Etym.*, xiv. 3), Mand. perhaps gained his knowledge both of the country and its great dogs. For these dogs see Trevisa's Higden (i. p. 145), "ȝe houndes of ȝat lande beȝ so greete, so grym and stronge ȝat ȝey ȝroweȝ down boles and sleeȝ lyouns. Oon of ȝilke houndes was sent to Kyng Alexandre and fauȝte wiȝynne lystes wiȝ a lyoun and an olyfaunt and wiȝ a wylde bore and had ȝe maystre." This story, with somewhat different details, is in Pliny, viii. 149. The breed was no doubt much the same as that of the huge mastiffs figured in lion-hunting scenes on Assyrian bas-reliefs. Of the three countries, Hyrcania, Bactria, and Iberia (l. 18; cf. Fr. text), the last seems out of place. It was really the most westerly, lying immediately south of the Caucasus, Hyrcania being south-east of the Caspian, and Bactria extending eastward to the other so-called Caucasus or Hindú Kúsh.

Page 72, l. 21. "In Liby the see semex mykill hegher than the land," etc.—Further on (p. 98) Mand. says just the same of the island of Ceylon. The phenomenon is, of course, a common one, and he might have witnessed it equally well in England. He perhaps read of it in Brunetto Latini (*ob.* 1294), "La mer i. (sc. in Libya) est assez plus haute que la terre, et se retient dedanz ses marges en tele maniere que ele ne chiet ne ne decourt sor la terre" (*Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. P. Chabaille, Paris, 1863, p. 169).

Neckam again, among others, alludes to it, *De Nat. Rerum*, cap. 49 (ed. Wright, 1863, p. 159) and *De Laud. Div. Sap.* (*ibid.*, p. 398), with the same explanation which Mand. gives (p. 98):—

En tellure, prout censent, est altius æquor.

Cur terræ facies non operitur aquis?

Limite præfixo cursum moderatur aquarum,

Qui res, quas voluit condere, servat, alit.

The "hill ȝe whilk men may see on ferrum," etc. (l. 22) refers either to the fabled Mountains of the Moon, or, more probably, to Atlas (cf. Brun. Lat., p. 170).

Page 73, l. 4. "Now he that will passe in to Tartari," etc.—It is with this paragraph that Mand. begins his extracts from Friar Odoric of Pordenone (see Introduction); and, as the original work has been exhaustively annotated by Col. Yule (*Cathay*, p. 43, *seqq.*), little more is necessary here than to point out digressions and variations as they occur. Odoric begins thus (transl. Yule), "First, then, going with the galleys from Venice, I crossed over the Greater Sea (*i.e.* the Euxine), and so passed to Trebizond, which was of old called Pontus. This city is situated passing well, and is a haven for the Persians, Medes, and all the people on the further side of the sea. . . . In this same city is deposited the body of Athanasius, over one of the gates of the city, [of him that is, that made the creed which beginneth *Quicumque vult*]." The words in brackets are only found in one MS., and they may be a gloss—like Mandeville's own highly fanciful continuation, "ȝis Athanase . . . to ȝe pape" (ll. 7-14). St. Athanasius the patriarch was really interred first at Alexandria, and afterwards at Constantinople; but another St. Athanasius is perhaps meant (10th cent.), who was a native of Trebizond and who was killed by the falling of an arch (*Acta SS.*, ed. 1721, 5 July, p. 246). The story (l. 14; not in Od.) how Alexius Comnenus set himself up as Emperor of Trebizond on the dismemberment of the Byzantine empire in 1204 is from Hayton, p. 426.

Page 73, l. 17. "Fra the citee of Trapazedy men gase to Lytill Hermony."—As the kingdom of Little Armenia was on the opposite, or southern, side of Asia Minor, in Cilicia, this statement is a strange one. It is not in Odoric, nor is the romantic tale which it serves to introduce; and Mand. seems to have mixed up Little Armenia and Armenia proper. The places he names are all on the Cilician coast. "Layays" (Fr. text), the Laias of Marco Polo, is Aias, Aiazzo or Laiazzo, the principal port of the country (see Yule, *Cathay*, p. 280; Langlois, *Essai Hist. . . . de l'Arménie*, 1860, p. 55); though it may possibly be Ayasch, which in Kiepert's map (1884) is shown farther west. "Persipee" (Pardzerpert, Langlois, p. 64) is no doubt Perschembé, which lies between this Ayasch and Guiaourkeui or Korgho; and in this last, the ancient Corycus and mediæval Curca, we have "Croke" or "Cruk." It was moreover the Gorhigos of which Hayton, author of the *Liber de Tartaris*, was at one time Christian prince, and which, after its recapture by Pierre de Lusignan in 1360, remained in Christian hands until 1448 (*Prise d'Alexandrie*, ed. Mas Latrie, 1877, p. 283).

The tale of the Chateau d'Espervier is connected with that of Melusine, the serpent-fairy who married Raymondin de Lusignan; for the Lady of the Sparrowhawk was the second of the three sisters, Melusine, Melior, and Palestine, who were condemned to penance by their fairy-mother Pressine for avenging her too harshly on their father King Elinas. In the form in which we have it the romance of Melusine dates only from 1387-93 (later therefore than Mandeville's work), when it was compiled out of various

"croniques" by Jean d'Arras, secretary to John, Duke of Berri (H. Ward, *Cat. of Romances in Brit. Mus.*, i. p. 687). The episode of the King of Armenia's interview with Melior comes at the end (ed. C. Brunet, 1854, p. 413), and is told much in the same way as it is here, except that the lady reveals to him that she is of his own kin, being the aunt of his ancestor Guy de Lusignan, first king of Cyprus. It appears also in the *Romans of Parthenay or of Lusignan* (ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1866), translated, *circ.* 1500-20, from a French metrical version by one Coudrecte, *circ.* 1401, of the above work of Jean d'Arras. In none of these versions, however, is anything said of the other two successful watchers, the "symple mannes sonne" and the Templar. Where Mand. found the story I am unable to say. Gerv. of Tilbury (ed. Liebrecht, p. 26) speaks of a "castrum de Esperver" near Arles, in France, connecting with it a version of the Melusine-legend which his contemporary Giraldus Cambrensis tells of the demon-ancestress of the Plantagenets (*De Instr. Principum*, ed. Brewer, 1846, p. 154) and Walter Map of the wife of Henno "cum dentibus" (*De Nugis Curial.*, p. 168).

Page 74, l. 17. "Artiron," *i.e.* Erzurum, the passage closely following Odoric (p. 46). The sentence "And þis riuier . . . Allazar" is, however, an addition. With the substitution of "Allazar" for "Alloche," it looks like a repetition of what was said of the Nile (p. 23, l. 8). Of the two branches of the upper Euphrates the western, or Frát, rises a short distance north-east of Erzurum and has upon it, not far from the source, the town of *Aschkala*; while the eastern, or Murád, rises north-west of Lake Van in the district of *Alaschguerd*. "Allazar" therefore may possibly represent one or the other of these names. "Sabissacolle" is the "Sarbisacalo" (*al.* Sobissacelo, Sovisacalo, etc.) of Od., which Col. Yule suggests was a corruption of Hassan-kala, about 24 miles east of Erzurum.

Page 74, l. 23. "Ararath."—Od. does not give the name—"In hac contrata est mons ille in quo est archa Noe"—and merely adds that he wished to make the ascent, but was told it was impossible. Hayton, who calls the mountain "Arath," says that, although no one could climb it because of the snow, something black was visible on the top, which was said to be the Ark (p. 424). The story of the monk who secured the "plaunke" appears in the Itinerary of Will. de Rubruk (1253), but in a slightly different form, the angel bringing him the plank, "dicens ei ne amplius laboraret" (*Recueil de Voyages*, etc., Soc. de Geogr., iv., 1839, p. 387). Prof. Parrot, the first person known to have reached the summit, gives the legend as from the Armenian Chronicles, the monk being none other than St. James, archbishop of Nisibis; and he speaks of the relic as still preserved in the Cathedral of Êtchmiadzîn, about 30 miles north of Ararat (*Reise zum Ararat*, Berlin, 1834, i. p. 134). The monastery of St. James at the foot of the mountain was entirely destroyed in the earthquake of 1840. I know of no source from which Mand. could have derived the name "Thano," the "seuen myle" (lieues) of height (it is 17,112 feet), and "þe hole where þe fende 3ode out." "Chano," however, the reading in MS. R. certainly suggests *Kuh-i-Nuh*, or Noah's Mountain, which is the Persian name for Ararat.

Page 75, l. 9. "citee of Dayne . . . cite of Anye."—The ruins of Ani, once the capital of Armenia, are about 60 miles north-west of Ararat, near Kars. Its thousand churches are mentioned by Rubruk in 1253 as then existing (p. 389); but the whole city was destroyed by earthquake in 1319 (St. Martin, *Mém. sur*

l'Arménie, 1818, i. pp. 111-114). "Dayne" is, I suspect, really the same place, *sc.* "d'Ayne." The sentence is not in Od.; and from the uncertainty shown in the MSS. as to its proper position, it may have been interpolated into the text of Mand. from a marginal gloss.

Page 75, l. 10. "Fra the forsaid hill," etc.—From this point down to "xxv. myle" (p. 76, l. 1) almost entirely from Odoric (p. 47), whose route took him through Tauris (Tabriz), formerly, as he says, called Susis (Faxis, Mand.), Soldania (Sultānieh), Cassan (Kashan), and Iese or Gest (Yezd), the last being in Mand. "Beth" or "Geth." The unwarranted statement as to there being "many grete riuers," etc., at Sultānieh (l. 19) is not due to Od., who merely says "in se habens bonas aquas" (Yule, App. p. iii.). As to Yezd, Od. styles it only the *third* best city in Persia; and the sentence "and sum callez it Cardabago and sum Vapa" is wholly Mandeville's. This is no doubt the correct reading, and not that in our Fr. text and C., which is probably due to a scribe acquainted with Lat. *vappa*, flat wine. Wherever Mand. got the names, "Chardabago" at least appears to represent a genuine Persian word, *Chār bāgh* (literally "four gardens") meaning, according to F. Johnson's *Persian Dictionary*, a palace, and being specially applied also to the royal gardens at Isfahān. This suggests the possibility that Odoric's "Iese" or "Gest" is not Yezd after all, but Isfahān itself, immediately to the north of which modern maps indeed show the name *Gez*. The term *Sa-atabago*, *i. e.* territory of the *atabek*, applied to a district of Upper Georgia (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii. p. 251), points to another possible derivation, with Pers. *Shar*, a city. The dynasty of the atabegs of Yezd had, however, been overthrown at the end of the 13th cent. (M. Polo, i. p. 90, note). For "Vapa" I can suggest nothing, unless it possibly represents Pers. *Bāb*, a gate, a term which might, from its position, have been applied to Yezd. "Carnaa" or "Cornaa" (l. 27) is in Od. Comerum; but the latter is only one of the many various readings of the Latin MSS. (Comum, Conium, Karum, etc.). Col. Yule identifies it with the Camara of Barbaro and the Kinara of modern maps, marking the site of the great city of Persepolis. Od. gives the circuit as 50 (Italian) miles, rightly rendered by Mand. as "xxv. lieues," but halved by his Engl. translator. Here therefore, and below in all distances derived from Od., it must be remembered in reading the Engl. text, that the number of miles must be doubled to bring it into accord with the original.

Odoric's (and consequently Mandeville's) route is certainly a puzzling one; for, after reaching Yezd on his way to India, he seems to have turned first south-west and then north-west, and have actually travelled as far back as Babylon (Baghdad), and thence descended the river to the head of the Persian Gulf. Such a circuitous course, without a word of explanation, is almost incredible. Is it possible that what he supposed to be Babylon was really Behbahān (near which are the ruins of Arjān), south-west of Isfahān, and that his "India infra terram" (identified by Col. Yule with the district at the mouth of the Euphrates, see below, note to p. 79, l. 1) was the country between this and the Persian Gulf traversed by the river Hindiyan?

Page 76, l. 1. "whatkyn letters thai vse," etc.—This alphabet is not in Od., nor can I identify the language. It is, however, the same alphabet as one given by J. G. Eccard, *De origine Germanorum Libri duo*, 1750, pl. iv. p. 192, from an unspecified MS. at Ratisbon, said to be of the 11th cent. It there professes to be Chaldaic.

This MS. also contains six other alphabets; and it is significant that among them, in addition to the Hebrew (see above, p. 55), is included the so-called Egyptian alphabet, which Mand. gives above, p. 27, l. 17.

Page 76, l. 7. "the land of Job": cf. Od. (App. p. iv.), "Ex hac recedens . . . perrexi ad terram Job," some MSS. adding "nomine Hus." As Col. Yule remarks, Job's name was probably an interpolation, consequent upon the mention of Huz and ultimately supplanting it. By Huz he supposes Od. meant "the Hazah of Eastern writers, frequently coupled with Mosul, and identified by Assemani with Adiabene" (p. 53). Mand., however, who perhaps used a MS. in which Huz did not appear, seems to have imagined that "terra Job" was the "Sueta" which he found so described in the 12th cent. Itineraries of the Holy Land (*De Situ*, p. 422, Euges., p. 994, etc.), though this was nowhere near Odoric's route, lying far away to the west, below Damascus (see above, note to p. 51, l. 23). At the same time there may be some connexion between "Sweze" and "Susiana." For the account of Job (l. 9), identified with "Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah" (Gen. xxxvi. 33), see Isidore, *De ortu et obitu Patrum*, cap. 24 (Migne, lxxxiii. 136). What is said of the fertility of the country (l. 16) and its abounding with manna, is again from Odoric, the manna meant being the produce of a spiny, leguminous plant (*Alhagi camelorum*), not that of the better known manna-ash (Heyd, ii. p. 633).

Page 77, l. 1. "the land of Caldee": cf. Od. (App., p. iv.), "Exinde exiens ivi in Caldeam, quæ est regnum magnum, ad quam, dum sic irem, ivi per juxta turrim Babel, quæ per quatuor dietas forte distat ab ea. In hac Caldea est sua lingua propria; in qua sunt pulchri homines, mulieres vero turpes," etc. But in Od. the display of gold and pearls by the men is limited to a fillet worn round the head, and the women's hair is not said to be black; nor is his language generally quite so ungallant. The sentences "In þe rewme of Caldee . . . Sodom and Gomorre" (ll. 8-14) are additions from Genesis, xi. 27-xii. 6, etc. For "þe folk of Caldee has a propre langage" (l. 14) see Od. above; but what Mand. says on the same subject higher up (l. 1) is peculiar to himself.

Page 77, l. 16. "the land of Amazoun."—In this account of the Amazons Mand. again parts company from Odoric, who makes no allusion to them whatever. In mediæval, as in classical, times the Amazon myth was a favourite one; and the various authorities are enumerated by Dr. Bovenschen in a long and valuable note to which I may here refer (*Die Quellen für die Reisebeschreibung des Joh. von Mandeville*, Berlin, 1888, p. 77). The conclusion at which he arrives, as the result of comparison, is that Mand. derived his information from several different sources, not all of which can be identified with certainty.

Page 78, l. 1. "a cuntree that es called Termegutte . . . Celsite."—There can be little doubt that this comes from Brun. Latini (i. 4. 123., p. 158), "En qui près d'ileuc (sc. Direu, east of the Caspian) est la terre de Termegire (ai Termegite), qui est si très douce et delitable que Alixandres i fist la premiere Alixandre, qui ores est apelée Sileuce (al. Celaite, etc.)." Brunetto's authority moreover was obviously Solinus (48, § 1, p. 198), who locates the city in the "regio Margine," and says that, after its destruction by the barbarians, Antiochus, son of Seleucus, restored it, "et de nuncupatione domus suæ dixit Seleuciam" (cf. Pliny, vi. 46). "Termegire" may therefore be a corruption of "Terre Margine." The town meant is no doubt Alexandria Margiana, now Merv,

the foundation of which is attributed also to Seleucus (Raoul Rochette, *Colonies Grecques*, 1815, p. 170). The Mongol historian Ssanang Ssetzen mentions indeed a city of Temegetu, perhaps identical with Turmegei, capital of Tangut (ed. Schmidt, 1829, pp. 243, 416); but this is too far east.

Page 78, l. 15. "On the tother syde of Caldee, toward the southe, es the land of Ethiopy."—It is evident that Mand. had the vaguest idea of Ethiopia. He here seems to identify it with Arabia, though he speaks of it more correctly above (p. 72, l. 20). What particular authority he used, or misused, is doubtful. Others, with Pliny (v. 43) at their head, divide Ethiopia into east and west, not south and east (cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, xiv. 5. 16; Vinc. Beauv., i. 77); and Mauretania, which Mand. places in the south, was in the extreme north-west of Africa. The marvellous fountain (l. 17), situated according to Pliny (v. 36) and Solinus (cap. 29) at Debris in the land of the Ethiopian Garamantes, is frequently noticed by later writers, e.g. by Isidore (*Etym.*, xiii. 13. 10), J. de Vitry (p. 1098), Vinc. Beauv. (i. 77), Brun. Latini (i. 4. 125, p. 171) and our English Higden (vol. i. p. 156). Trevisa's version of Higden comes close to Mand., "Also among þe opere peple Garamantes is a welle alday so calde þat no man may þerof drynke; and al nyȝt so hote þat no man may it touche" (*ibid.*, p. 157). For Ethiopia, east of the Persian Gulf, see below, note to p. 79, l. 1.

Page 78, l. 22. "folk of diuerse schappes"—More of these strange races will be met with further on (p. 100). The so-called Sciopodes are noticed by Ctesias and even earlier (see Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Tératologiques*, 1836, p. 90, and Bovenschen, p. 81). They are said to have been the same as the Monoculi, Pliny placing them near the Ethiopian Troglodytes (vii. 23) and Solinus in India (52, § 29). St. Augustine includes them in the list of monstrous races, whose existence and descent from Adam he discusses (*De Civit. Dei*, xvi. 8), but he assigns then no particular locality. Isidore, however, places them in Ethiopia (*Etym.*, xi. 3. 23); and so too Vinc. Beauv. (i. 92). See also J. de Vitry, (p. 1111) and Higden (vol. ii. p. 202). John of Marignolli, Papal legate to Tartary in 1338, who has some sensible remarks (following St. Augustine) on monsters in general, accounts for the legend of the Sciopodes by the use in hot climates of the umbrella—"and this it is which the poets have converted into a foot" (Yule, *Cathay*, p. 381).

Page 78, l. 24. "In Ethiopy er zung childer white hared," etc.: cf. Pliny (vii. 28), Solinus (52, § 28), Vinc. Beauv. (i. 93), J. de Vitry (p. 1111), Brun. Lat. (i. 4. 123, p. 159) and Higden (vol. i. p. 82; "Oper horeth in zoupe, and wexep blak in elde," tr. Trevisa), all of whom support the reading of our text as against that of C. They make the statement, however, of India, not of Ethiopia.

Page 78, l. 26. "the citee of Saba."—This Ethiopian Saba was in the kingdom, or so-called island, of Meroe (Josephus, *Antiqq.* ii. 10. 2). Pet. Comestor makes it the royal city of the Queen of Sheba (3 Reg. 26); but no doubt she came from the Saba in Yemen, on the other side of the Red Sea. The notion that one of the Magi was from Ethiopia was grounded on Psalms lxxviii. 31, lxxii. 10; and it accounts for the constant presence of a negro in mediæval representations of them. According to Marco Polo, it was of Saba, or Sāvah, in Persia, about 50 miles south-west of Teheran, that one of them was king; and there he saw the tombs of all three (ed. Yule, i. p. 79; and *Cathay*, p. 51). See also above, p. 177.

Page 79, l. 1. "*Inde es diuised in three partys,*" etc.—The three-fold partition of India appears to have been generally accepted, though there was no agreement as to the manner of dividing it, and India was an elastic term altogether. Thus with Jordanus, Lesser India meant Sindh and the west coast exclusive of Malabar, Greater India extended from Malabar eastward, and India Tertia was on the east coast of Africa or Zanzibar (ed. Yule, p. 11); while on Sanudo's map "India parua, quæ Æthiopia" is marked immediately east of the Persian Gulf, "India Magna," i.e. India proper, to the east of it, and "India Inferior, Joh. Presbyteri," in extreme east Asia. In Gervase of Tilbury the three are "Superior," where St. Bartholomew preached, "Inferior," where St. Thomas preached, "et hæc ducit ad Medos, in qua Edessa," and "Meridionalis," where St. Matthew preached, "quæ tangit Ethiopiam" (ii. 3, p. 911; cf. Bovenschen, p. 82). Other modes of division are noticed by Col. Yule (M. Polo, ii. p. 419), but none of them quite agrees with Mand. His "*Inde þe mare*" seems to be India proper, and "*þe thridd parte*" the country beyond the Himalayas. "*Inde þe lesse,*" a temperate land *in the south*, would be a puzzle without the French text, which shows that the translator merely read "Midi" for "Mede." MS. C. rightly has "*þat strechethe to the lond of Mede.*" The "Euilac" of the Fr. text (l. 25) is the Havilah (εὐλάτ, Septuag.) of Genesis ii. 11; cf. Pet. Comestor, Gen. 14, "Hevilath, id est Indiam." From Col. Yule's note in *Cathay*, p. 55, it appears that Havilah was identified with Obillah, on the lower Euphrates, and that the districts at the mouth of the river, from being the nearest points to India and the resort of vessels coming from thence, themselves got the name of Hind.

Page 79, l. 5. "*gude dyamaundes.*"—Most of this account of the diamond is common to many writers, as Pliny (xxxvii. 55-58), Solinus (52, § 53), Isidore (*Etym.*, xvi. 13. 2), the widely popular metrical *Liber de Gemmis* of Marbodius (Migne, lxxi. 1739), Vinc. de Beauvais (*Spec. Naturale*, viii. 39, ed. Duaci, 1624, col. 514), and Alb. Magnus (*De mineralibus*, ii. 2, capp. 1, 11, ed. Coloniae, 1569, pp. 117, 157). The extraordinary statement as to diamonds growing "*sammen, male and female*" (l. 13), etc., does not appear in these authors. A 13th cent. French Lapidary speaks of the two sexes, but as of different colour and quality and produced in different countries:—

"Inde Arrabe est mere et mamele
Dou dyamaunt, masle et femele.
D'Ynde li brun d'uel coulor
Sont li droit masle et li millor;
D'Arabe sont li blanc femeles,
Bones sont, ne sont pas si beles."

(Pannier, *Les Lapidaires Français*, 1882, p. 283). According to Brun. Latini (i. 5. 124, p. 186), pearls also are "*nurisch* with dew of heuen," coming to the surface morning and evening for the purpose! Isidore, to whom reference is made in E. (l. 20), says nothing as to the virtues of the stone; but Barth. de Glanville (like Marbodius, V. Beauv., and Alb. M.) is more explicit on this point. Thus, to quote Trevisa's version, made in 1397 (xvi. 9, ed. 1535, f. 226), "Adamas is a lyttell stoone of Inde, and is couloured as hit were yron, and shyneth as christall; but it passeth neuer the quantitee of a walnut. . . . Also, as Dioscorides sayth, the vertue of suche a stone borne in the left shulder, or in the left arme pytte helpeth ayenst enemies, ayenst woodnes chydng and stryfe, and ayenst fendes that noyen men that dreame in their slepe, ayenst fantasy, ayenst sueuens and venim." That it actually

"begynnez to swete" (p. 80, l. 5) at the presence of poison is stated by V. Beauvais. The rest of the passage probably contains more original matter. The reference to the mariner's compass (l. 19) is of interest, but it is by no means the earliest. It comes perhaps from J. de Vitry (p. 1107), "*Acus ferrea postquam adamantem contigerit, ad stellam septentrionalem . . . semper convertitur, unde valde necessarius est navigantibus in mari.*" There is an earlier notice still in Alex. Neckam, *De Natura Rerum*, cap. 98 (p. 183; cf. pref., p. xxxiv.). The name for the diamond, Hamese (Fr. text, l. 29), is probably for Arab. *almās*.

Page 81, l. 5. "*and it es called Inde,*" etc.: cf. Isidore (*Etym.*, xiv. 3. 5), etc.; and for the eels "*xxx fote lang,*" Pliny (ix. 4), Solinus (52, § 41), Isidore (*Etym.*, xii. 6. 41), and J. de Vitry (p. 1106). These writers, however, speak of them as found, not in the Indus, but in the Ganges. According to the Romance of Alexander (Weber, *Metrical Romances*, 1810, i. p. 202):—

"There ben inne fysshes of strengthe
Thre hundreth feet hy ben of lengthe."

The "vert color" of the people near the Indus is remarked by Brun. Latini (i. 4. 123, p. 159). The same writer just before has "*Et en Inde avoit v^m viles* (not "isles") *biën poplées et habitées de gent; et ce n'est pas merveille à ce que li Yndien ne furent onques remué de lor terre*"; and so too in V. Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, iv. 47), who refers to Martianus Capella. According to other writers the number of *islands* was greatly in excess of 5000. Thus, Odoric talks of 24,000 (p. 103), Jordanus of 10,000, not counting those uninhabited (p. 28), and M. Polo of 12,700, inhabited and not (ii. p. 417, and note, p. 419).

For the contrast between the length of the sidereal revolutions of Saturn and the Moon see Brun. Lat., i. 3. 111 (p. 128), and Barth. de Glanv., viii. 29, 30 (ff. 129, 131). Neither, however, applies the fact in the same way as Mand., though the latter adds, "For, as Ptholomeus saythe, the moone maketh a man unstable, chaungeable and remeuynge aboute fro place to place." But the roving propensities for which in the Middle Ages the English were already noted are connected by other authors with the moon, as by Gower (*Conf. Amantis*, ed. Pauli, 1857, iii. p. 109):—

"But what man under his [the moon's] powere
Is bore, he shall his placé chaunge
And sechē many landes straunge.
And as of this condicion
The mones disposicion
Upon the londe of Alemaigne
Is set, and eke upon Britaigne,
Which now is cleped Engelande,
For they travaile in every londe."

This is quoted by Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, 1889, p. 388, who refers also to Wyclif and Higden.

Page 81, l. 17. "*Chermes,*" i.e. Hormuz or Ormus, a once famous mart at the outlet of the Persian Gulf. The passage is from Odoric (App. p. v.), "*Ex hac India recedens et transiens per multas contratas ad mare oceanum ego veni; prima autem terra quam inveni vocatur Ormes, quæ est terra multum et bene murata, terra multorum ac magnorum mercimoniorum.*" The Friar then proceeds to make the statement as to the curious effect of the great heat, which Mand. copies (l. 19), Col. Yule (p. 57) being mistaken in saying that he omits it. The statements that (New) Hormuz (not Old Hormuz, which stood on the opposite shore) was an island, and that Venetian and German merchants

resorted thither, are additions by Mand. The former, however, appears in one MS. of Odoric. He adds also the story (l. 21) of the people lying or standing in the water to escape the heat. This is mentioned by M. Polo (i. p. 111), and, as Col. Yule remarks (*Encl. Brit.*, xv. p. 474), Mand. might be thought to have borrowed it from him, if the fact that it stands alone were not proof enough that he had no direct access to a work of which he would certainly have made more use.

Page 82, l. 2. "*schippes made withouten nayles*," etc.: so Od. (p. 57), who says that such a vessel was called Jase, *i.e.* Pers. *Jaház*, a ship. These vessels "stitched together with twine made from the husk of the Indian nut" (M. Polo, i. p. 111, and note, p. 119) are still employed. They are mentioned also by Jordanus (p. 53) and John of Montecorvino (*Cathay*, p. 217). None of these writers gives the same reason as Mand. for iron not being used; Polo indeed is prosaic enough to say the people had none. The Loadstone Mountain is best known from the part it plays in the "Story of the third Royal Mendicant" in the *Arabian Nights* (ed. E. W. Lane, 1883, i. p. 161; cf. Sindbad's Sixth Voyage, iii. p. 61), where the editor (p. 217) quotes El-Kazweenee to the effect that it was on the shore of the Indian ocean. This agrees with V. Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, viii. 21, "in ripa maris Indiæ"), who refers to Galen's *Liber de Lapidibus*. So also Alb. Magnus, "Magnes . . . in mari Indico invenitur et in tantum abundare dicitur quod periculosum est in eo navigare navibus quæ ferreos clavos habent" (*De Miner.*, ii. 2.11, p. 157); and B. de Glanv., "And there ben mountaines of suche stones, and therefore they drawe to them and breke shippes that ben neyled with yren" (xv. 63, Trevisa's vers., ed. 1535, f. 234). See also M. Polo, ii. p. 411.

The myth early made its way into western romance. It is found in the 12th cent. German *Herzog Ernst* (ed. K. Bartsch, 1869, p. cxlviii.), a Latin version of which, by one Odo, is printed by Martene (*Thes. Anecd.*, iii. p. 352):—

"Igitur de gurgite Phoebo

Mane recens orto, Magnetem nomine montem

Multaque ceu silvæ præcisæ fragmina circum

Prospiciunt," etc.

A wreck upon the same mountain also forms an episode in *Huon de Bourdeaux*, the earliest MS. including it being of the 14th cent. In the version of this romance by Lord Berners (printed in 1534) the description runs thus: "For, if enye shyppe come nere it and have any iron nayles within it, and a shyppe come within the syght therof, the adamant wyll drawe the shyppe to hym. And therefore in those partyes the shyppes that sayleth by that see ar made and pynned with wooden nayles and without any maner of iron" (reprint, E. E. T. S., ed. S. L. Lee, 1882-4, p. 370, and note, p. 799).

Page 82, l. 7. "*ile of Cana*," etc.: cf. Odoric (App. p. v.), "usque ad Tanam. In ea magna copia panis et vini et arborum reperitur. Hæc terra antiquitus fuit valde magna. Nam ipsa fuit terra regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium maximum commisit. Hujus terræ populus ydolatræ. Nam adorant ignem, serpentem et arbores," etc. Tana is mentioned by M. Polo as "a great kingdom lying towards the west" of India (ii. p. 385). The name is still preserved in Thána, a district extending for a hundred miles along the Bombay coast, the town of Thána standing on the island of Salsette, 20 miles north-east of Bombay. Odoric, it may be noted, does not speak of it as an island. In what Mand. says (l. 10) of the various objects of worship, he perhaps had Hayton in mind (cap. i., p. 419), as well as Odoric; but neither draws the same

contrast between "simulacres" and "ydoles." Isidore (*Etym.*, viii. 11. 4-14) has something to say on the subject, but ends by defining an idol as a "simulacrum" in human form. As to the ox, and the "half man and half ox," see Odoric, p. 78, and below, p. 85. The practice of worshipping "þe first thing þat þai mete at morne" (ll. 10, 25) is not noticed by Od. or Hayton; but it is related by M. Polo (ii. p. 265) of the people of Ferlec, *i.e.* Parlák, in Sumatra, and by others of a variety of other nations (*ibid.*, p. 270, note). The passage "Il y a bien auxi . . . en nostre seigneur" (p. 83, l. 24), not given in E., is as follows in C: "And þere ben also sum Cristene men þat seyn þat summe bestes han gode meetynge, þat is to seye for to meete with hem first at morwe, and summe bestes wykked meetynge, and þat thei han preved ofte tyme þat the hare hath fulle euylle meetynge, and swyn, and many othere bestes. And the sparhawk or oþer foules of raveyne, whan þei fleen after here praye and take it before men of armes, it is a gode signe; and jif he fayle of takynge his praye, it is an euylle signe. And also to suche folke it is an euylle meetynge of ravenes. In þeise thinges, and in suche oþere, þer ben many folk þat beleeven, because it happeneth so often tyme to falle after here fantasies. And also þere ben men ynowe þat han no beleve in hem. And sith þat Cristene men han such beleve, þat ben enformed and taught alle day be holy doctryne where inne þei scholde beleve, it is no meruaylle þanne þat þe paynemes, þat han no gode doctryne but only of here nature, beleeven more largely for here symplesse. And treuly I haue sene of paynemes and Sarazines, þat men clepen Augurynes, that, whan wee ryden in armes in dyuerse contrees upon oure enemyes, be the flyenge of foules þei wolde telle vs the pronostications of thinges þat felle after; and so þei diden fulle often tymes, and profreden here hedes to wedde, but 3it it wolde fallen as þei seyden. But natheles therfore scholde noght a man putten his beleve in suche thinges, but always han fulle trust and beleve in God oure Souereyn Lord." "Augurynes" in this passage mean, I suppose, simply "augurs"; but there may be some confusion also with "Agarenes," one of the many names applied to the Saracens (see above, p. 70, l. 27).

Page 83, l. 3. "*many wylde bestez*."—Odoric (p. 58), besides the monster rats, mentions only black lions, monkeys, and bats (noctuæ) as big as pigeons. The lions here appear to be tigers, as in M. Polo (ii. pp. 364, 371). Mand. perhaps supposed "noctuæ" to be owls, when their size would not be remarkable; otherwise he would hardly have omitted them. The great Indian bat or flying fox is meant; while the "ratoun" is the bandicoot, a name, according to Tennent (*Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, 1861, p. 44), derived from Teloogoo *Pandi-koku*, "Pig-rat" (Jordanus, pp. 19, 29, notes).

Page 83, l. 5. "*thai graue tham noyt*," etc.—There is a slight disagreement here with Od. (p. 59), who says (but in one MS. only) that the people of Hormuz cast the dead to the beasts and birds to be devoured.

Page 83, l. 7. "*Sarchie*."—Unless this represents (as it probably does) "Panche," 14 days' journey from Tana, in the single MS. above referred to, it is not in Odoric. For "Panche" Col. Yule suggests "Paroche," which answers to the Parocco of Jordanus, 10 days from Tana, and is identified with Baroch or Broach, on the Nerbudda, north of Surat (*Cathay*, p. 226). As for the "gude Cristen men" and "freres" dwelling at "Sarchie," it is perhaps merely a confused inference from what Odoric, immediately after mentioning "Panche," says of Tana, viz. that it was the scene of the martyrdom of four Friars Minor, which he recounts at length.

Page 83, l. 9. "the land of Lombe," etc.: the Polumbum of Od. (p. 71), Columbum of Jordanus (p. 22) and Marignolli (*Cathay*, p. 342), and Coilum of M. Polo (ii. p. 363), identified by their editor with Kaulam, the modern Quilon, on the coast of Malabar. The passage generally, down to l. 17, is from Od. (p. 74). The name "Combar" is an exception; but the context shows this to be merely a corruption of his "Mimbar," though the latter is given as the name of the country, *sc.* Malabar, not of the forest. Instead of "xxiiii. iournez" (l. 10), Od. has "xviii." as in our Fr. text. "Flandrine" (Fr. text) and "Zinglanz" are in Od. Flandrina and Cyngilin, as to which see Col. Yule's note. The former city (Ibn Batuta's Fandaraina), about twenty miles north of Calicut, has disappeared, but the latter exists still under the name of Cranganor.

Page 83, l. 17. "driez it at the sonne."—Thus far only, the account of pepper is from Od. (p. 77). For the "three maners of peper," etc., *cf.* Pliny (xii. 26-29), Solinus (52, § 50), Isidore (*Etym.*, xvii. 8.8), Alb. Magnus (*De Veget.*, vi. 195, p. 436) and J. de Vitry (p. 1099). Isidore in particular (who is closely followed by B. de Glanville, xvii. 131, f. 281) mentions the forests being guarded by serpents and their being burnt to get at the pepper, as well as the mode, as here described, of its adulteration. This last passage, however, in Mand. (E.) appears to be an interpolation, probably from Isidore. Both Jordanus (p. 27) and Marignolli (*Cathay*, p. 343), it may be noted, scout the idea that black pepper is subjected at all to the action of fire. Mand. differs slightly from all the writers named, but he is not more accurate. Long pepper is in fact the dried flower-spike or catkin, black pepper the fruit gathered before it is quite ripe and dried in the sun, and white pepper the ripe fruit divested of its outer pericarp (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, pp. 519-526). At the same time, long pepper is not generally obtained from the same plant (*piper nigrum*) as the others, but from the kindred *piper officinarum*. The statement controverted in l. 10, "sum men saise," etc., is made, as noticed above, by Isidore and B. de Glanv. It is also in one MS. of Odoric; but the particular authority which Mand. probably had in mind (see next note) was the famous "Epistola Presbyteri Johannis" (F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 86). What Mand. himself says of lemon-juice (not "snails," as in C.) as a defence against serpents, I do not find elsewhere, except in Schiltberger (p. 62), who no doubt copied it from him; but both Od. (p. 99) and Mand. after him (p. 98) speak of its efficacy against leeches in Ceylon. Of the names assigned by Mand. (p. 83, l. 20) to the three kinds of pepper, one is the common Arab. *fulful*, and is given by Serapion and by western medical writers, such as Matth. Silvaticus; none of the forms in which the other names appear have as yet been identified.

Page 84, l. 18. "the citee of Polombe": *cf.* Od. (App. p. xiii.), "A capite nemoris istius versus meridiem civitas . . . Polumbum" (Quilon). What follows is from Prester John's Letter, which (without mentioning Quilon), after the story of burning the forest (see above), proceeds "Quod nemus situm est ad radicem montis *Olimpi*, unde fons perspicuus oritur, omnium in se specierum saporem retinens. Variatur autem sapor per singulas horas diei et noctis, et progreditur itinere dierum trium non longe a Paradyso unde Adam fuit expulsus. Si quis de fonte illo ter jejunos gustaverit, nullam ex illa die infirmitatem patietur semperque erit quasi in aetate triginta duorum annorum quamdiu vixerit" (F. Zarncke, *Der Pr. Joh.*, p. 86). According to some MSS. of

the Letter there was another Fount of Youth in Prester John's own palace, but the passage is no doubt interpolated (*ibid.*, pp. 66, 94). Like that of the Loadstone Mountain above (note to p. 82, l. 2) this myth of the Fount of Youth finds a place in the romance of *Huon de Bourdeaux*. Thus, to quote the version of Lord Berners, "This fountayne was callyd the fountayne of youth, the whiche was of suche vertue that what soeuer sykenes a man or woman had, yf they baynyd them in the streme of that fountayne, they shulde be hole of all infyrmytyes," etc. (repr. E. E. T. S., p. 434). It was, however, the fruit growing beside it which possessed the power of making an old man of eighty or a hundred become as a youth of thirty (p. 436). This was the effect of the bath itself in the 12th cent. Chanson *Alexandriade* (edd. Le Court and Talbot, 1861, p. 355):—

"Ensemble en i bagnerent plus de lvi.

Quant il iscent de l'iaue, par foi le vous plevis,

Que bien sambloient tout haut chevalier de pris;

En l'age de xxx. ans ont tot mue lor vis."

The story also appears in the old German *Heldenbuch* and elsewhere: see Dunlop's *Hist. of Fiction*, ed. 1888, i. p. 306. After this Mand. again has recourse to Odoric (p. 77) for his notice of ginger (l. 28).

Page 85, l. 1. "And in this cuntree," etc.—The whole of this paragraph, slightly varied and embellished, is from Od. (p. 78). The words "and efter þat men may ete him" (l. 3) seem to be a faulty rendering of "positus est in communi," which alludes to "the custom of setting free bulls to roam at large, as offerings, I (Col. Yule) believe, to Siva." "They would not eat beef for anything in the world," says M. Polo (ii. p. 325). Od. says nothing of the "prelate," whose title (*cf.* *πρωτοπαπᾱς*, in the Greek church) is no doubt supplied from the "archiprotopapaten" (accus.) of Pr. John's Letter (ed. Zarncke, p. 94); nor of the disgrace said to attach to the woman who prefers her children to Suttee (l. 19). The strange sentence "And wymmen schafez þer beerdes," etc. (l. 22), is justified by some MSS. of Od.; others more plausibly represent the women as having "their foreheads shaven, whilst the men shave not the beard" (p. 80).

Page 86, ch. xix. "Fra this land men gase," etc.—This chapter also is almost entirely from Od. (pp. 80-84). "Mabar," the Mobar of Od. and Maabar of M. Polo, is Ma'bar, the Mahometan name at the time for the east, or Coromandel, coast of southern India (M. Polo, ii. p. 315). Of St. Thomas Od. merely says that his body lay in Mobar and that his church was full of idols (*cf.* l. 16). The actual site of this church appears to be the "Little Mount" at Mailapūr, about five miles south of Fort St. George (M. Polo, ii. p. 342). For his burial "en une cité de Inde qui avoit non Calamia" see Brun. Lat., i. 2.75 (p. 74), a passage seemingly taken from Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum* (Migne, lxxxiii. 152); and for his translation to Edessa see Greg. of Tours, *Lib. Mirac.*, cap. 32 (Migne, lxxi. 733), J. de Vorag., *Leg. Aur.*, cap. 5 (p. 39), and V. Beauv., *Spec. Hist.*, ix. 66 (p. 345). Calamia or Calamina has been identified with Mailapūr (Zedler, *Universal Lexicon*, xv. col. 500). Gutschmid, however, argues that it is really the Calama in Gedrosia, west of the Indus (*Rheinisches Museum*, etc., xix., 1864, p. 166). The statement of the re-translation back to India is merely an attempt to reconcile conflicting legends. As for "the domes made by seynt Thomas hond," the story occurs nowhere else, within my knowledge, in precisely the same form. There is something like it, however, in a letter of

Odo, abbot of St. Rémy at Reims, written from Rome in 1135 (Mabillon, *Analecta Bened.*, 1675, i. p. 334) or, according to Zarncke (*Der Pr. Joh.*, p. 19), in 1122. The writer states that an archbishop of India was then at Rome, who swore on the Gospels that on the Feast of St. Thomas the saint's body was seated on the episcopal throne; that all the people, one after the other, headed by the archbishop himself, made him an offering, and that he raised his arm, opened his hand, and took it; when, however, a disbeliever approached, he closed his hand and refused the proffered gift. The story takes another shape in Gerv. of Tilbury, *Otia Imper.*, iii. 26 (p. 969), where the saint, set on a chair near the High Altar, is said to hold out to his devotees the Eucharist, but to withdraw it if the intending communicant is unworthy. This miracle is performed on Easter Sunday, and apparently at Edessa, not in India. In the rest of the chapter there is no important variation from, or addition to, Odoric. For St. Peter's at Rome, however, Mand. substitutes "Sayne Iames" (l. 20), *i. e.* St. James of Compostella, a favourite pilgrimage with Englishmen (Jusserand, *Engl. Wayfaring Life*, 1889, p. 364). Odoric, again, gives the number of self-immolated victims, not as "cc. or three upon a day" (p. 87, l. 23; *cf.* Fr. text), but as more than five hundred a year.

Page 89, ch. xx. "*Fra this cuntree men gase,*" etc.—As far as the bottom of this page from Od. (p. 84), who, however, reached "Lamori" in fifty days. This is the "Lambri" of M. Polo (ii. p. 281); and "its position can be assigned generally to the north part of the west coast [of Sumatra], commencing from the neighbourhood of Achin Head" (*ibid.*, p. 283, note). The description of the land as "a large and a mykill" (l. 5) is due to Mand.; it was not warranted by the facts, unless it is meant to apply to the whole island of Sumatra, to which indeed the term appears to have been sometimes extended. He adds also the gastronomic detail "And those pat er fatte pai ete," etc. (l. 20).

Page 90, l. 1. "*And 3e schall vnderstand,*" etc.—From here to the end of the chapter is a digression, plainly suggested by Odoric's remark, "in which [Lamori] I began to lose sight of the north star, as the earth intercepted it." As regards the two poles, the roundness of the earth, etc., there is little that the author may not have learnt from such sources as Joh. de Sacro Bosco, *De Sphæra*, Brun. Latini, or Glanville, the *Tresor*, for instance, saying much the same (p. 114) about the possibility of circumnavigation. The mention here of the astrolabe—an instrument for taking altitudes, now perhaps best remembered as the subject of a treatise by Chaucer—is the earliest use of the term in English quoted in Dr. Murray's *Dictionary*; but the instrument itself and its name are as old as Ptolemy the geographer. The observations Mandeville records are of interest as his own account of the limits of his travels; but, granting that they were actually made, we have no means of knowing what star he took to be the "Pole Antartic." That he really sailed as far as 33° 16' south lat. is incredible.

Page 91, l. 14. "*Ierusalem es in myddes of the erthe.*"—This common mediæval notion has been referred to before (pp. 1, l. 11, 40, l. 6, and note to latter). The "spere" in this passage answers to the column mentioned by Arculf. If the fact were as Mand. states, it would show that Jerusalem was on the tropic. For the interesting tale that follows (l. 21) I can find no analogue.

Page 92, l. 14. "*For the erthe is riȝt grete,*" etc.—The first of these measurements of the earth is very nearly the same as in Brun. Latini, who makes it to be 20,427 miles (i. 3.111, p. 126).

What Mand. then proceeds to give as his own computation is none other than that of Eratosthenes (*ob.* 196 B.C.); and he may have found it in Vinc. of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, vi. 13, col. 377; *cf.* Pliny, ii. 247). Our English version makes a mess of it altogether; but, with a few obvious numerical corrections, the French text is clear enough. According to the Greek astronomer a degree equalled 700 ("dcc." not "dc.") stadia or (taking the stadium, as was generally done, to be the eighth part of a mile) 87 miles 4 furlongs. Thus, 700 × 360 ("ccclx." not "cccxl") = 252,000 furlongs = 31,500 miles.

Page 93, ch. xxi. "*Somober.*"—In Od. (p. 86) the name is "Sumoltra," *i. e.* Sumatra, the passage (tr. Yule) running, "In this same island towards the south is another kingdom by name Sumoltra, in which is a singular generation of people; for they brand themselves on the face with a little hot iron in some twelve places; and this is done by men and women both. And these folk are always at war with the others who go naked. In this country there is great abundance of produce . . . And near this country is another realm called Resengo (*al.* Betonigo, Boteingo, Botemgo, etc.) towards the south. Many things are there produced whereof I do not write." This language is explicit enough, the three kingdoms, Lamori, Sumoltra, and Resengo, being portions of one and the same island, in order from north to south; and the last is accordingly identified by Col. Yule with the Rejang territory, at the southern end of Sumatra. Mand., on the contrary, talks of three distinct islands; and, if it were not for Odoric, we might be tempted to suppose his "Lamory" to be the whole of Sumatra (see note to p. 89, ch. xx.), "Somober" (Sinnobor, Fr. text) to be either Simalur off the west coast or Singapore on the other side, and "Boteniga," or perhaps "Boteinga" (Betemga, Fr. text), to be Batang, just south of Singapore. All these islands, however, are very small compared with Sumatra.

Page 94, l. 1. "*a grete ile, that es called Iaua,*" etc.: *cf.* Od. (p. 87), who gives the circuit of Java as 3,000 miles (*cf.* Fr. text), and styles it the "second best of all islands that exist." M. Polo makes the size the same, but speaks of the island as the greatest in the world (ii. p. 254). In reality, however, it is only about half as large as they say; and, of the islands of the Indian archipelago, it yields in extent, not only to New Guinea and Borneo, but to Sumatra and even to Celebes. The "vii. iles whilke er aboute pat ile" (l. 2) are not noticed by Od., Mand. merely inferring their existence from that of the seven subject-kings. Od. moreover limits his list of products to camphor, cubebs, "melegetæ" (cardamoms?), and nutmegs; Polo adds spikenard, galingale, and cloves. Neither nutmegs, however, nor cloves, as it appears, are actually produced in Java (M. P., l. c., note). "Canell" is cinnamon, or more properly the inferior and cheaper kind obtained from cassia bark (*Pharmacographia*, p. 474). Together with the "zedewalle" of C., etc., it is mentioned by Chaucer (*Rom. of Rose*, l. 1367, *sqq.*):—

"Ther was eke wexyng many a spice,
As clowe-gelofre, and lycorice,
Gyngevre, and greyn de Parys [*sc.* Paradise],
Canelle, and setewale of prys."

"Zedewalle" (*Curcuma Zedoaria*) is in fact the "Zedoaria, quæ vulgariter citouart appellatur," of J. de Vitry (p. 1099); and under the name of "citoual" and kindred forms it is common enough in mediæval French (see quotations in Godefroy, *Dict. de l'anc. Langue Franç.*, 1883). Littré, *s. v.* Zedoaire, derives the name from Arab. *Zedwâr*. What Mand. correctly says of mace (not in Od.) he may

have learnt from J. de Vitry (p. 1100), or from Vinc. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xiv. 53), the latter quoting Platearius and others, and making the same comparison with the hazel-nut. The description of the king's palace, etc., is almost precisely as in Od.; where the palace was remains uncertain. For Kublai Kaan's abortive attempt to subjugate Java in 1293, see M. Polo, ii. p. 255.

Page 94, l. 14. "*Thalamass, and sum callez it Pathen*": the Thalamasyn and Panten (*al. Paten*) of Od. (p. 90), but what place is meant must be left to conjecture. Col. Yule supposes it to be upon the coast of Borneo, and suggests Banjarmasin. The "treesse pat beres mele" (l. 15) are the sago-palms (for which see also M. Polo, ii. p. 282), and the most famous of those "pat barez venym," the upas tree, the peculiarly deadly properties of which are, however, an exploded fiction (Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*). The antidote for the poison, according to Od., is not as in our English version, but as in the Fr. text (H.), "accipiat de stercore hominis et ipsum distemperet aqua," etc.; so that "propres fiens" is no doubt the correct reading. Col. Yule in his note adduces evidence of the use of the same remedy in Abyssinia for snake-bites. It was also employed on the Isthmus of Darien for poisoned arrows, and in Lower California for the poison of the rattlesnake (see a curious pamphlet by Capt. J. G. Bourke, *Notes and Memoranda*, etc., Washington, 1888, p. 44). The sentence "With þis venym had þe Iews," etc. (l. 19), is added by Mand. It possibly points to an accusation against the Jews of having caused the terrible plague, or Black Death, which devastated Europe, *circ.* 1350. For the manner of obtaining palm-wine (p. 95, l. 2) see M. Polo (ii. p. 274), "When they want wine, they cut a branch of this [tree] and attach a great pot to the stem of the tree at the place where the branch was cut; in a day and a night they will find the pot filled."

Page 95, l. 3. "*In that ile also es a deed see*," etc.—In Od. (p. 92) this is not a "lowgh" within the country.—"By the coast of this country towards the south is the sea called the Dead Sea, the water whereof runneth ever towards the south, and if any one falleth into that water he is never found more." What is meant is the Southern Ocean, the strong currents of which, running between the several lands, were supposed to sweep away all who got drawn into them (*Cathay*, p. cclxiii.).

Page 95, l. 4. "*Beside that logh*": cf. Od. (p. 93), "In this country also there be canes or reeds like great trees, and full sixty paces in length." This account of the bamboo, height and all, is just as in V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xii. 67), J. de Vitry (p. 1100), and Alb. Magnus (*De Veget.*, vi. 323, p. 505); but neither they nor Od. give it the name "Thaby." This occurs in Brun. Latini (i. 4.123, p. 158), close to the passage about "Tarmegite" (see above, note to p. 78, l. 1)—"les grandismes jons qui sont sor la mer, que li barbarin apelent Tabi (*al. Thabi*)."
But comparison with Solinus, 50, § 2, shows that it was not the reeds, but the sea itself, whatever it was, which was called "Tabi." It is curious that Mand. omits the term "Cassan" (*al. Cassati*), which Od. applies to the "oþer redes" (l. 8) or rattans. The latter's description of these, in which he declares they run a good mile, is more closely followed in the Fr. text. Crawford, who, by the way, says that by far the best rattans are from Banjarmasin (see above), gives the limit of length as 1200 feet (*Dict. of Indian Islands*, etc., p. 365). The rest of the paragraph is as in Od., except what Mand. says he saw with his own eyes (l. 7), and of this, the statement "of þe whilk . . . fra þe erthe" (l. 8) is probably adapted from the *Epist.*

Alexandri de Situ Indiæ (ed. 1706, p. 55). The "precious stanes" (l. 9) are no doubt the siliceous concretions formed in the joints of the bamboo (not the rattan) and known as *Tabáshir*. This word (which rather suggests some affinity with "Thaby") is Persian, but derived from Sanskrit *tvakkshira* (Yule, *Glossary*, p. 677). Od. states that the amulet was inserted under the skin of the arm (*cf.* Col. Yule's note and M. Polo, ii. p. 241).

Page 95, l. 14. "*Calanok*": from the description evidently the same country (not island) which Od. calls Zampa (p. 95), the Chamba of M. Polo (ii. p. 248) and Champa of Jordanus (p. 37), a title given to the southern part of Cochin China. "Calanok" or "Calonak" is a puzzle, for it is hardly to be accounted for by any amount of corruption from Champa. Lelewel, who probably was not aware of the close connexion of Mand. with Odoric, suggests that he means Kalah (*Géogr. du Moyen Age*, 1850, Portul. Gén., p. 25). This, which appears to be Sindbad's island of Kêlá, is identified with Kedah or Queddah on the western mainland of the Malay Peninsula (Major, *India in the 15th cent.*, p. xxxiii.; Yule, *Cathay*, p. cxc.). What is said of the King's harem is less elaborated in Odoric. When he was there (*circ.* 1323), the king had "a good two hundred children; for he hath many wives and other women whom he keepeth." Polo says that no woman was allowed to marry until the king had seen her, and at the date of his visit (1285) the royal sons and daughters numbered 326 (ii. p. 250). Od. notices the king's 14,000 tame elephants, "which he made to be kept and tended by his boors," etc.; but the rest is added by Mand. It probably comes from Isidore (*Etym.*, xii. 2. 14), who is copied by V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xix. 38) and J. de Vitry (p. 1101). See also Brun. Lat., i. 5. 189 (p. 243), and Barth. Glanv., xviii. 42 (f. 329). If the reading "Warkes" (l. 23; Karkes, S.G.) is right, it may be merely a corruption of the "Barrus" of Isidore—"apud Indos autem [elephas] a voce Barrus vocatur." Another reading, however, is "vaches" (*cf. Encl. Brit.*, xv. p. 475), which suggests the Latin term for the elephant "Luca bos," also noticed by Isidore.

Page 95, l. 24. "*all maner of fischez*," etc.—This story, as far as "reuerence of paire kyng" (p. 96, l. 4), is from Od. (p. 95). To the illustrative passage from Duhalde quoted by Col. Yule, the following may be added from a modern traveller, who witnessed something very similar on the Avatcha river, running into Avatcha Bay in S. Kamschatka:—"Standing upon its banks we began for the first time dimly to realise the vast numbers of fish which must annually visit the country, and which may be said literally to choke its rivers. Hundreds were in sight, absolutely touching one another, and as we crossed the river our horses nearly stepped upon them. Their back fins were visible as far as we could see the stream, and aground and gasping in the shallows and lying dead or dying upon the banks were hundreds more. . . . To a new comer the sight is an astounding one. The millions of fish that are caught, and form the food throughout the year of almost every living creature in the country, are, however, as nothing compared with the countless myriads that perish naturally. . . . I soon learnt that there was nothing unusual in it, and that it was an annual phenomenon of as constant occurrence as the breaking up of the ice" (Guillemard, *Cruise of the Marchesa*, 1886, i. p. 98). Tennent refers also to the vast shoals of a sardine (*Sardinella Niohowii*) frequenting the coasts of Ceylon as illustrating the same passage of Odoric (*Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, 1861, p. 324).

Page 96, l. 11. "*grete snyles*."—The hint only for this passage

is supplied by Od. (p. 96), who declares that he saw a tortoise bigger than the dome of St. Anthony's church, Padua—at which his editor might well exclaim, as he does, "O friar!" Possibly he saw some enormous sculptured turtle, like that at Chettok, in Java, 14 × 11 ft. (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 33,411, f. 19), and took it to be life-size. That the shell of the turtle of the Indian seas (the largest of which is not more than about seven feet long) was used to form the roofs of houses is stated, among others, by Pliny (vi. 91, 110; ix. 35) and Vinc. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xvii. 131). Mandeville, however (assuming that by snails he really means turtles, is not romancing on his own account), comes nearest to J. de Vitry (p. 1106), "Indicum etiam mare gignit testudines, de quarum testis capacia hospitia sibi faciunt homines." In the Fr. version of Odoric by Jehan Le Long of Ypres the word is also "lymace" (L. de Backer, *L'Extrême Orient au Moyen Age*, 1877, p. 109). The sentences which follow are more accurately rendered in C. (see n. 2) than in E. The "gret white wormes" are those of which V. de Beauv. speaks in identical terms as found in Pontus and Phrygia (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 86). But the worms here (l. 12), as thick as a man's thigh, as well as the edible snails, are evidently derived from the *Ep. Alex.* (p. 56). Nicolò Conti speaks of serpents in Siam, as thick as a man, being roasted by the natives and held in high esteem (Major, *India in the 15th cent.*, ii. p. 13); and Odoric himself further on (p. 107) says that serpents were a fashionable dish in China. The final sentence, "In that land," etc. (l. 15), is precisely as in Od. (p. 97), except that the latter represents the widow as *burned*, not buried, with her dead husband.

Page 96, l. 17. "*Fra this land men passez*," etc.—This and the two short paragraphs following are not in Od. For the matter, not the names given to the islands, see V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 87), "Massagetæ et Derbices miserrimos putant qui ægrotationem moriuntur, et parentes, cognatos, propinquos, cum ad senectam venerint, jugulatos devorabant, rectius esse dicentes ut a se potius quam a vermibus absumantur. Tibareni senes quos dilexerunt suspendunt in patibulo. Hircani volucris et canibus semivivos projiciunt, Caspii iisdem bestiis mortuos. Scythæ eos qui a defunctis amati sunt vivos infodiunt cum ossibus mortuorum. Bactri canibus ad hoc ipsum nutritis subjiciunt senes." These sentences Vincent quotes from St. Jerome, *Contra Jovinianum*, ii. 7 (Migne, xxiii. 296); what follows (cap. 88) is from Solinus (15, § 15), "Scytharum interius habitantium asperior ritus est . . . Amant prælia; interemptorum cruorem e vulneribus ipsis bibunt; numero cædium honor crescit, quarum expertem esse apud eos probrum est; haustu mutui sanguinis fœdus sanciant." For further references as to such unnatural customs see Liebrecht, *Gerv. von Tilbury*, p. 84, and M. Polo, ii. p. 280. But, although Mand. may have merely utilised the above or similar passages, it remains to account for the names "Caffilos" and "Melk," which he is not likely to have actually invented. The latter ("Melke," S.) certainly suggests Malacca, the more correct form of which is Málaka (Crawfurd, *Dict.*); or, if "Mellee" (G.) be the right reading, it may even be for Malay. What "Caffilos" or "Caffoles" can mean I cannot imagine, unless, taking the form "Gasfoles" (S.), it possibly represents M. Polo's "Gauenispola" (ii. p. 283), a small island between Sumatra and the Nicobars, as to which Col. Yule (p. 290) quotes a Turkish author, "If you wish to reach Malacca, guard against seeing *Jámisfulah*." De Barros calls it Gomispola. Lelewel makes "Caffalos" to be Falec, *i.e.* Parlák, in Sumatra (*Géogr. du Moyen Age*, 1850, Port. Gén., p. 25).

Page 97, l. 6. "*Tracota, whare the folke er as bestez*," etc.: not in Od.; but again see V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 88), who quotes Solinus (31, § 3; cf. Pliny, v. 45, xxxvii. 167). The "folke" are in fact none other than the Ethiopian Troglodytes (Trogodytæ, Sol.), the particulars being precisely the same, except that the "precious stane" is called "hexacontalithos." Mand. perhaps confounded it with the "draconitis," a stone taken from a dragon's brain (Pliny, xxxvii. 158; Sol., 30, § 16). "Tracota" or "Tragoda" Lelewel (*loc. cit.*) supposes to be for Dragoian, M. Polo's Dagroian (ii. p. 275), in Sumatra. Other places that suggest themselves are Trinkat, one of the Nicobar islands (see next note), and Tringano, on the side of the Malay peninsula opposite to Malacca. Any similarity of name is enough to account for Mand. crediting the inhabitants with what he had read of the Troglodytes. But in the case of "Caffilos" and "Melk," even this excuse seems to have been wanting.

Page 97, l. 13. "*Natumeran*."—The whole of this paragraph, with a few slight additions, is from Od. (p. 97), "Nicoveran" being the Nicobar islands. But, as Col. Yule points out (note, and p. 25), the chapter in Od. is altogether an anomalous jumble, and, together with the accounts of Ceylon and Dondin, is out of its natural sequence in his travels. He makes the circuit of the island to be 2,000 miles (= mil *lieues*, Mand.); but he omits the name Cynocephali and the following sentence, "Þis folk . . . sutill of witte" (l. 15). The dog-headed race were generally placed in the Andaman Islands (M. Polo, ii. p. 292, and note). Of the natives of the Nicobars Polo merely says that they go naked, are idolaters, and "have no king nor chief, but live like beasts" (ii. p. 289). He mentions the custom of wearing a miniature ox on the forehead, but only in connection with the Jogi ascetics of India (ii. p. 352, and note). As to Nicobar cannibalism, Od. limits the victims to prisoners who cannot procure a ransom. The king and his famous ruby (l. 24) properly belong, not to the Nicobars, but to Ceylon (M. Polo, ii. p. 295, and note). The detail that the gem is given to him at his coronation, and that he rides round the city with it, is not in Od.; but Mand. obviously gets it from Hayton (ch. vi. p. 422), though he does not correct from the latter, as he might have done, Odoric's error in locality (if it is an error and not merely an accidental transposition).

Page 98, l. 4. "*Silha*": the Sillan, *i.e.* Ceylon, of Od. (p. 98), from whom the account of it, as far as the "geese with twa heuedes" (l. 22), is mainly derived. The circuit of the island Od. makes to be 2,000 miles, and M. Polo 2,400 (ii. p. 295). As it is really something under 700 miles, the 800 of Mand. is more correct than either; but it is so only because the English translator, as usual, has rendered "lieues" by "myle." Od. mentions an "infinite description of serpents," but not crocodiles in particular. The description of these (which swarm in Ceylon) may be from V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xvii. 106), who quotes numerous authorities from Aristotle downwards. He says nothing, however, of the furrow which the tail makes in the sand. This is mentioned prominently by M. Polo (ii. p. 62), who, like Aristotle, assigns the crocodile two legs only, calling it moreover a serpent. The "grete mountayne" (l. 9) is the famous Adam's Peak, as to which, and the Buddhist, Mahometan, and other legends attached to it, see especially M. Polo, ii. p. 302, *sqq.* For the "grete lowgh" (l. 10) cf. Od., "In the midst of this mountain is a certain beautiful level place in which there is a lake of no great size, but having a great depth of water. This they say was derived from the tears

shed by Adam and Eve; but I do not believe that to be the truth, seeing that the water naturally springs from the soil." It is mentioned also, as well as the "level place," by Marignolli (*Cathay*, pp. 353, 358). In Od. the "hors iles" (l. 14) are leeches, as in our Fr. text and C. The most formidable, however, of the leeches of Ceylon are the land-leeches, for the bites of which the natives still use lemon juice, not only to stop the flow of blood, but to expedite the healing of the wound (Tennent, *Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, 1861, p. 481). Mand. alone is responsible for the assertion of its efficacy against crocodiles! He may have had in mind Pliny's statement (xxiii. 67) of vinegar-lees being a cure for the crocodile's bite, which was regarded as venomous. The two-headed geese (l. 22) are in Od. birds with two heads, as big as geese. What is meant, as Col. Yule well shows, is the hornbill, to which the singular excrescence over the bill gives the appearance of having two bills. The white lions (Fr. text and C.) are not mentioned by Od. They are probably an importation from the *Ep. Alex. de Situ Indiæ* (ed. 1706, p. 33), "Sed adfuere albi leones taurorum magnis comparandi corporibus," etc. For the sea appearing higher than l. 4, see above, note to p. 72, l. 21.

Page 99, l. 4. "*Dundeya*": the Dondin of Od. (p. 100), the identification of which has not been made out. M. Polo (ii. p. 275) tells exactly the same story of the people of Dagroian in Sumatra; and his editor (p. 280) refers to similar charges made against numerous other races, including the *Irish*. Mand. follows Od. closely, down to the end of l. 20, almost the only difference being that with the latter it is not the relative absenting himself who is disgraced, but the relative uninvited who is aggrieved. Mand. characteristically adds the details "pai say also . . . in pis world" (l. 21). The sentence following, "pe kyng of pat land," etc., appears to be a misrepresentation of Od., who, speaking (p. 103), not of Dondin, but of India, says that "it includeth in its limits a good twenty-four thousand islands, in which there are sixty-four crowned kings."

Page 100, l. 3. "*And in thase iles er many maners of folk*," etc.—Mand. here supplies in his own way the deficiencies of Od., who merely writes, "And there be many other strange things in those parts which I write not, for, unless a man should see them, he never could believe them" (p. 103). Mand. is less scrupulous, and has recourse to the lists of the fabulous monsters of antiquity. He probably went no further back than V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 92, 93) or Isidore (*Etym.*, xi. 3.15-26), perhaps also using J. de Vitry (p. 1111). See Bovenschen, p. 91, where numerous other references are given. The sentences not in the Fr. text or C. (see note 4) were no doubt omitted as occurring elsewhere in the work (pp. 78, 147).

Page 101, l. 1. "*For to ga fra thise iles*," etc.: from here to the end of the chapter almost entirely from Od. (pp. 103-125). "Maney" for "Mancy" (Fr. text) is "the noble province Manzi, which we call Upper India," the name being applied to China south of the Hwang-ho. The statement "In pis land dwelles many Cristen men" (l. 3) is not warranted by Od., who merely says that he inquired of Christians as well as Saracens as to the extent of Manzi. Mand. also adds the foolish remark as to the land being called "Albany" (l. 10).

Page 101, l. 11. "*Latoryn*": the *Censkalan*, etc., of Od. (p. 105); but how such a corruption (if it is merely a corruption) could have been effected is a mystery. The place "is the *Cynkalan* of Marignolli, the *Sinkalan* of Ibn Batuta . . . and represents, I (Col.

Yule) believe, without doubt the modern Canton." Od. describes it, not as being bigger than Paris, but "as big as three Venices." It is only the goose which he states to be "as big as two of ours," not the birds generally (*cf.* Fr. text), the "reed spotte" being "a bone on the top of its head about the size of an egg, which is of a blood colour." This appears to be the Guinea-goose (*Anser Cygnoides*).

Page 101, l. 20. "*Thare er many other faire citees*," etc.—This paragraph is abridged from Odoric's chapters on Zayton (T'swan-chow) and Fuzo (Fu-chow), in the province of Fokien. The "whyte hennies withouten fethers" (l. 24) are the Silk-fowl (*Gallus lanatus*). M. Polo also mentions them in Fokien as having "no feathers, but hair only, like a [Persian] cat's fur" (ii. p. 208); but he calls them black, which appears to be an error. The sentence "Wymmen of pat cuntree," etc. (l. 25), is in Od. (p. 110), "All the inmarried women there wear on their heads a great barrel (barile) of horn (*cf.* Fr. text) that they may be known to be married." The reading of C. "*unmariyed*" is curious; for the Latin text of Od. has "*innuptæ*" at first, though it has "*ut cognoscantur quia nuptæ sunt*." As to the custom, see Col. Yule's note; he supposes the "grotesque coiffure of the Meautse women" to be meant. The account of fishing with "a beste pat es called Loyres" (p. 102, l. 1; *cf.* Fr. text) is a singular variation from Od., who gives instead a good description of the Chinese practice of fishing with tame cormorants (p. 112). A "loyre" is no doubt an otter: see Littré, s. v. *loutre*, Prov. *luria*, *loiria*, and Godefroy, s. v. *loutrier*, who quotes the forms *leure*, *lorre*. The use of a tame otter (*lutra*) for catching fish is mentioned by V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xix. 89); but it is hard to see why Mand. made the change, unless it was simply that he misunderstood the meaning of Odoric's "*mergus*."

Page 102, l. 3. "*Cassay*": the Cansay of Od. (p. 113) and Kinsay of M. Polo (ii. p. 169), *i. e.* Kingszé, or "Capital," now called Hang-chow. Polo, as well as Od., explains the name as "City of Heaven" (see Col. Yule's note, p. 167) and gives the circuit as 100 miles (= 1. *lieues*, Mand.) and the bridges as 12,000. The defence "agayne" the Great Kaan (l. 8) is in Od., and that properly, "on behalf of." The "many Cristen men" (l. 9) are to be accounted for in the same way as above, note to p. 101, l. 1, and the "house of Cristen freres" (l. 12) by Odoric's mention of "four of our friars that were in that city" (p. 118). The wine—made from rice—"whilke pai call Bygon" (l. 11) is in Od. "bigni" or "bigini," probably, as Col. Yule suggests, the Pers. *bagni*, malt-liquor or beer. The "abbay of mounkes" (l. 13) was probably on the fine lake to the west of the city (see the map in M. Polo, ii. p. 177). The account of the curious collection of beasts there closely follows Od. (p. 118), almost the only difference being that Mand. calls the bell or gong silver, and the dish silver-gilt; but he adds the sentence "I asked pe mounk," etc. (l. 24). Odoric's story is corroborated by Marignolli (*Cathay*, p. 384).

Page 103, l. 7. "*another grete citee . . . Chibense*": in the Fr. text "Chilenfo," just as in Od. (p. 120), identified with Kian-ning-foo, which is better known as Nanking. The circuit of 40 miles (= xx. *lieues*, Mand.) is from Od.; but the latter speaks of 360, not merely 60, stone bridges.

Page 103, l. 11. "*a grete riuer . . . Dalay*": the Talay of Od. (p. 121), *i. e.*, as his editor shows, *Dalai* or *Talai*, "the sea," a term applied by the Mongols to the Yang-tsze-Keang. Od. makes its narrowest width to be full seven miles (*cf.* Fr. text). The next sentence, "And pan men entres," etc., is perhaps a misunderstanding of Od. (App. p. xxviii.), "*Hoc flumen per mediam*

terram pigmeorum transit, *quorum civitas vocatur Chathan*" (Khoten?). Odoric's account of the pygmies is confused in the various MSS., but Col. Yule gives it thus: "These pygmies are three spans in height, and they do greater work in cotton, as it is called (gotton id est bombicis), than any people in the world. And the full-sized men who dwell there beget sons who are more than half of them like those pygmies who are so small. The women are wedded in their fifth year, and so there are born and begotten of these little people a countless number. These pygmies, both male and female, are famous for their small size. But they have rational souls like ourselves." The last sentence is in two MSS. only, one of which also supports Mand. in what he says about their being "rijt faire" (*formosi sunt . . . per magnitudinem suam*). Mand. no doubt drew from other sources than Odoric; but his statement that the pygmies married when six months of age beats the record. St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, xvi. 8) says that they bear children at five years and die at eight, J. de Vitry (p. 1112) and Gerv. of Tilbury (ii. 3) that they bear children at three and grow old at eight, while according to B. de Glanville (xv. 121) they "gender in the fourthe yere and deye in the seuenth" (tr. Trevisa, f. 216b). Their fighting with cranes is frequently noticed, from Homer (*Il.* iii. 6) downwards. In our Fr. text it is the cranes who eat the pygmies, but in the Engl. text it is the other way, as it is also in a rubric on the Catalan Map of 1375, where a battle between them is represented north-west of Cathay near the Himalayas. The same rubric also advances the time of bearing children to twelve years, and the limit of age to forty. With regard to the existence of pygmies in the locality assigned them by Odoric, there is, it appears, some reason to believe that the diminutive Negrito race which peoples the Andamans was at one time more widely distributed, not only in Formosa and other neighbouring islands, but on the main land of eastern Asia (see Prof. Flower's interesting lecture on "The Pygmy races of Mankind," *Nature*, xxxviii., 1888, pp. 44, 66). From Polo (ii. p. 266) we learn that travellers were wont to "bring home pygmies, which they allege to come from India"; but, as he goes on to explain, they were manufactured from the stuffed skins of "a kind of monkey, which is very small and has a face just like a man's," found in Sumatra.

Page 103, l. 28. "*a citee that es called Jamcaly*": in the Fr. text "Iamchay," which is the Jamzai of Od. (p. 123), and M. Polo's "very great and noble city of Yanju" (ii. p. 137), identified with Yang-chow, a short distance north of the Yang-tsze-Keang and still one of the finest of Chinese cities. As to the revenue, Od. has, with other matter, "And the lord of this city hath *from salt alone* a revenue of five hundred [50,000, *al.* 50, MSS.] *tumans* of *balis*." A *balis* he explains to be worth a florin and a half; and a *tuman* ("comant," Mand.) is a common Mongol term for ten thousand. But the translator of our Engl. text miscalculates, for 50,000 *tumans* of florins amounts to 500 millions, not thousands. The sentence "*pe kyng of pat land . . . grete princes*" (but cf. Fr. text) appears to be interpolated here from a passage in Od. further on (p. 136): "This empire [of Cathay] hath been divided by the Lord thereof into twelve parts. And of those twelve parts that of Manzi forms one," etc. The rest of the paragraph, however, is in its proper place and follows Od. very closely.

Page 104, l. 12. "*another citee . . . Menke*": the Menzu of Od. (p. 124), ten miles (=v *lieues*, Mand.) from Jamzai. The expression "toward pe heued" correctly renders "in capite"; what

is meant, however, is not the *head*, as we understand it, but the *mouth* of the river. As to the place, "Mingchu (or Menzu in Odoric's spelling) is the old name of Ningpo, and there can be little doubt that there is some mistake in the text as to the position assigned to it." Ningpo in fact is not at the mouth of the Yang-tsze, but further down the coast, on the south side of the Bay of Hang-chow. The whiteness of the Chinese junks, which Mand. makes to be the natural colour of the wood, is according to Odoric produced by whitewash.

Page 104, l. 16. "*another citee . . . Lanteryn*": the Lenzin of Od. (p. 125), "which standeth on a river called Caramoran." This is the Hwang-ho or Yellow River, still called by the Mongols *Karamuren* or the Black River (cf. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888, i. p. 185); and Lenzin Col. Yule considers to be Linching, although this town is not on the Hwang-ho itself, but on the Grand Canal between its old and present courses. The "viii. day journey" in Od. is probably to be reckoned, not from Menzu, which he does not say that he visited, but from Yang-chow, along the canal. What is said of the harm done by the river overflowing was illustrated but the other day by the destructive floods of 1888.

Page 105, ch. xxiii. "*The land of Catay*," etc.—The opening sentences here, with the length of time occupied in the journey from Venice, etc., (cf. p. 133, l. 20) are not in Od. He furnishes, however, the passage (Fr. text, and note 1) omitted in E., "Sugarmago" representing "Sunzumatu, which hath a greater plenty of silk than perhaps any other place on earth" (p. 126). This is the Sinjumatu of M. Polo (ii. p. 121), identified with T'sining-chow on the canal, *Matu* being an affix, for *Ma-t'eu*, a jetty, or place of river trade.

Page 105, l. 8. "*And toward the este*," etc.: cf. Od. (p. 127), "And departing thence, I passed on through many a city and many a town towards the east, until I came to that noble city Cambalech, an old city of that famous province of Cathay. The Tartars took the city, and then built another at the distance of half a mile, which they called Taydo." Cambalech, the Cambaluc of M. Polo (i. p. 354, *sqq.*), is Peking, the Mongol term *Kaan-baligh* meaning "city of the Kaan" (*ibid.* p. 363, note). "It was captured by Chinghiz in 1215, and in 1264 Kublai made it his chief residence. In 1267 he built a new city, three *li* to the north-east of the old one, to which was given the name of *Ta-tu* or 'Great Court,' called by the Mongols *Daïdu*, the Taydo of Odoric, and Taidu of Polo, who gives a description of its dimensions, the number of its gates, etc., similar to that in the text" (Od., note). There is some confusion about the dimensions in both texts of Mand., but the Fr. text is nearest the original. What Od. wrote was that Taydo had twelve gates, with two miles between each, and that (*si que*, Fr. text) the compass of the two cities together was forty miles (=xx. *lieues*). His description of the Great Kaan's palace, etc., is closely followed, such slight variations as there are not being on the side of greater accuracy. The hill or "Green Mount" (Od.), or one answering to the description, is still to be seen; and a view of it is given in M. Polo, i. p. 360. The "depe dykes and brade," etc., are in Od. merely "a lake, and a most beautiful bridge built across it."

Page 106, l. 1. "*reed skynnes*": so Od. (p. 130), "skins of red leather, said to be the finest in the world," but he has nothing about the panther. The ancient notion was that the sweet odour of the panther drew all beasts towards it, and that it made use of the fact to capture its prey (Aristot., *Hist. Animal.*, ix. 6; Pliny,

viii. 62; Solinus, 17, § 8). This was repeated, with the usual embellishments and fanciful moralizations, by a host of mediæval writers, as, e.g., V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xix. 99), Neckham (*De Nat. Rer.*, cap. 133), J. de Vitry (p. 1101), Brun. Lat. (i. 5. 196), B. de Glanv. (xviii. 82), Physiologus (Cahier, *Mélanges*, iii. p. 235), and the Bestiaries generally; but, so far as I know, Mand. is the only one who describes the skin as blood-red (which, if the panther is the leopard, it certainly is not) and speaks of it as he otherwise does. Possibly he was thinking also of the stone Pantheros, of which Neckham writes "hinc rubor igneus ardet" (*De Laud. Div. Sap.*, p. 171), and which, as we are told by Marbodius (*De Gemmis*, cap. 51) and Alb. Magnus (*De Mineral.*, ii. 14), ensures its possessor victory over all his enemies during the day, if he looks upon it at sunrise.

Page 106, l. 6. "*ane ascensory*": in Od. (p. 130) "a certain great jar (pigna)." It was made of *merdacas*, or jade, hooped with gold and fringed with a network of pearls, and had a dragon at each corner. Drink was conveyed into it by conduits, and beside it stood golden goblets for the use of all. Mandeville's "mountour" or "ascensory" is not without justification, *pigna* being a form of *pinna*, a pinnacle, and also (Ducange, s.v.) a mount. Col. Yule, no doubt correctly, takes it to represent here Ital. *pignatta*, Fr. *peignate*. Godefroy (*Dict. de l'anc. Franç.*) says that *pinate* is still used in Poitou, etc., for a common vase with two handles, shaped like an ancient amphora.

Page 106, l. 11. "*This hall*," etc.—What follows is mainly from Od. (p. 131), but the colours are heightened. For the jewels and other glowing details Mand. probably drew upon the description of Prester John's palace contained in his famous Letter; and he no doubt also used Carpini's account of his reception at the "orda" of Kuyuk Khan (p. 760). The whole passage should be compared with M. Polo, bk. ii. ch. 13 (i. p. 368). Od. begins thus: "But when the Lord Khan is seated on his imperial throne, the Queen is placed at his left hand; and a step lower are two others of his women; whilst at the bottom of the steps stand all the other ladies of his family." Then follows the married women's head-dress (l. 21). This is described also by Rubruk (p. 232) and Carpini (p. 615), as a square-topped erection, a cubit and more high, covered with silk and surmounted by feathers, etc.; but they have nothing to say of Odoric's "man's foot." As to this, however, his editor quotes a curious story from Ricold of Montecroce (ed. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, p. 116), that, in memory of a victory due to the valour of their women, the Tartars allowed them to wear these lofty crowns, but added the man's foot to remind them they were still subject to their husbands. The same head-dress (unknown now, it is said, in Mongolia) is described in the Travels of the Chinese sage Ch'ang Ch'un across Central Asia in 1221-24:—"The married women put on their heads a thing made of the bark of trees, two feet high, which they sometimes cover with woollen cloth, or, as the rich used to do, with red silk stuff. This cap is provided with a long tail, which they call *gu-gu*, and which resembles a goose or duck" (Bretschneider, i. p. 52). This *gu-gu* no doubt represents the "man's foot."

Page 107, l. 6. "*pacokes of gold*."—These mechanical peacocks figure in Od. (p. 131); but the remarks suggested by them are borrowed from Hayton (ch. i. p. 419). "The men of those parts," says the latter, "are most sagacious and endowed with every kind of cleverness; and accordingly in every art and science they depreciate all other nations. And they say that they are the only

people who see with two eyes, while the Latins see with only one; as to all other nations, they assert that they are blind."

Page 107, l. 16. "*a grete vyne of fyne gold*," etc.—This appears to be the vine which Alexander saw in the palace of King Porus (*Ep. Alex. de Situ Indiæ*, ed. 1706, p. 22):—"vineamque solidam auro sarmentoque aureo inter columnas pendentem miratus sum, in qua folia aurea racemique crystallini et lychnites erant interpositi, distinguuntibus smaragdis." But for the jewels of which its grapes are composed Mand. has also gone to the Lapidaries, as he has in the next paragraph.

Page 107, l. 22. "*And before the emperoure table*," etc.: again from Od. (p. 132), except the description of the cups and other vessels, the hint for which was supplied perhaps by the *Ep. Alex. de Situ Indiæ* (as above), p. 23. That silver plate *was* used appears from M. Polo (i. p. 369) and Rubruk (p. 268). In saying (p. 108, l. 3) that certain lords stood at the door "to kepe þat nane entre in," Mand. misrepresents his original, the real object being, as Od. has it, "to see that no one touch the threshold." This was a grievous offence against Mongol etiquette; for, according to M. Polo, it was supposed to bring bad luck. It certainly did to the offenders, who were stripped or beaten (i. p. 370); Carpini, indeed, says that the penalty was death (pp. 625, 741).

Page 108, l. 5. "*And 3e schall understand*," etc.—This seems to be in imitation of Od., who at this point (p. 132) says that he was full three years in Cambalech, etc. Manzi ceased to be an independent kingdom in the fall of the Sung dynasty in 1278; but it is possible that in the troubled times which followed the murder of Gegen Kaan (Ying-tsung) in 1323, one or more of the insurgent leaders may have assumed, or been credited with, the title of "Kyng (or Wang) of Mancy." At the same time Mandeville's statement as to his serving the Great Kaan against him is worth very little in face of his failure to supplement Odoric in any particular evincing personal knowledge. Even what he says (l. 13) of the manner of eating in Cathay appears to be from Carpini's account of the Mongols (p. 639).

Page 109, ch. xxiv. "*Wherfore he is clept the grete Chane*," etc.—The opening sentences here are grounded on Genesis ix, x, and Pet. Comestor, Gen. 37. As, however, the argument that the Khan was so-called from Noah's son Cham required a connexion between the latter and Asia, Cham is made to change places with his brother Shem (Fr. text). For "Nemproth þe geant," etc., see also Isidore, *Etym.*, xv. i. 4. There is some confusion in the text, but the author apparently means that he held the Cham theory until he heard (or read) the story which follows. *Khán* means "Lord," but, as Col. Yule points out (M. Polo, i. p. 9), a distinction was drawn between *Khán* and *Kaán*, the latter being the peculiar title of the supreme sovereign. It was apparently a form of *Khákán*, and this probably meant "Khán of Kháns."

Page 110, l. 3. "*It es noȝt ȝit gane viii^{xx} ȝere*," etc.: from this point down to the words "vnto þis tyme" (p. 113, l. 15), from Hayton, ch. 16 (p. 433, *sqq.*). The date as here given is an exception, Hayton expressing his inability to fix any (p. 435). Temudjin, the future Jenghiz—the facts of whose career do not quite square with Hayton's mythical account—was born in 1162 and died in 1227; and he adopted the title of Jenghiz, or "very mighty," Khan in 1206 (Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, pt. i. p. 64). The name is also explained as Chinese, *Ching-sze*, or "perfect warrior" (R. K. Douglas, in *Encl. Brit.*, xiii. p. 620). Vinc. de Beauv. dates the emancipation in 1202 (*Spec. Hist.*, xxix. 69),

and Mand. probably followed him. M. Polo on the contrary places the election of Jenghiz in 1187 (i. p. 233). The names of the seven "nationes" (l. 4) are in Hayton's printed text Tatar, Tangot, Cunat, Ialair, Sonich, Monghi, and Tebeth. In the account of the Kaan's acclamation (l. 17) the "feutre noir" of the Fr. text (*filtrum nigerrimum*, Hayt.) is omitted in E., and in C. is rendered by "fertre" (*sc. feretrum*). It was the symbolical carpet of black felt, for which see below, note to p. 124, l. 25. For the "lawes whilk þai call Ysachan" (l. 20), *cf.* Hayton (p. 437), "Iasack Changii Can, id est constitutiones Changii Can." This was the Code known as the *Yasa* (ordinances) or *Ulang-Yassa* (*Cathay*, p. 507; Howorth, i. p. 112), portions of which are given by Pétis de la Croix (*Hist. du Grand Genghizcan*, 1710, p. 99) and others.

Page 111, l. 4. "Afterwardes it befell on a day," etc.—This story is from Hayton (p. 435), but to what event, if any, in the life of Jenghiz it really refers I cannot say. Possibly it is a mythical version of his defeat by the Kieliei, when he was wounded and unhorsed (Howorth, i. p. 54). There is a well known parallel story in the life of Mahomet, how, when he was concealed in the cave of Thaur, his pursuers were diverted from entering by seeing a spider's web across the mouth of the cave; to which another tradition adds that two wild pigeons perched at the entrance (Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, ii. p. 257).

Ricold of Montecroce (ed. Laurent, p. 119) accounts for the honour paid to the owl in a different way, connecting it with the theory that the Tartars were identical with Gog and Magog (*cf.* p. 131 and note). When they were shut up by Alexander within the mountains, they could only escape by a single narrow outlet, which was guarded by a mighty fortress. This was in fact unoccupied, but whenever they approached it, they were driven back in terror by a tumultuous noise, as it were of men, of horses, and of trumpets, really, however, caused by the wind. But one day it befell that a Tartar was coursing a hare; and when the quarry to escape the dogs ran straight into the fortress, in the excitement of the chase the hunter followed. When he was close to the gate, an owl perched above it and began to hoot (*cantare*!). So, saying to himself "There is no dwelling of men where the hare shelters and the owl hoots," he boldly entered, and found the place empty. Returning therefore to his people, he offered to show them an exit, if they would make him their king (*cf.* Hayton's account of Jenghiz, above, p. 110 and note). They accepted the terms, and thus they escaped; and ever after they honoured both the hare and the owl. But, as Ricold remarks, they requited the bird ill; for, in their anxiety to get its feathers to put in their hats, they ended by exterminating it in their own country and had to import its skin from abroad—a moral for modern ladies who slaughter the innocents to deck themselves in borrowed plumes! A somewhat similar story is quoted by Weber (*Metrical Romances*, 1810, iii. p. 325) from an Italian romance. There, however, when Alexander had so disposed his terrifying trumpets in the pass that they might be sounded by the wind like a modern fog-horn, the birds stopped them up and silenced them by building their nests within the mouths.

Page 111, l. 21. "mount Belyan": the "mons Belgian" of Hayton (p. 436), who elsewhere also (p. 420) speaks of the desert of Belgian as forming the northern boundary of Cathay. This is no doubt the desert Baldjuna, to the east of Lake Baikal (Howorth, i. p. 59). The name Belgian is said to be a synonym

for the mountains of Altai (Zedler, *Univ. Lexicon*, i. col. 1534); and from the southern side of this range flows the Bulgun river (Bretschneider, i. pp. 64, 99, and map). The expedition to which Hayton refers is evidently the momentous march of Jenghiz towards the west in 1219 (*cf.* "et versus occidentem dirigas gressus tuos"), but his precise route across the Altai is not determined (*ibid.*, p. 14). The "see þat before bette apone the mount" ("ad locum, ubi mare jungitur cum eodem") must of course—if in so legendary a story it is necessary to explain it—have been some inland lake. As Jenghiz passed the summer of 1219 on the Irtysh, we may identify it either with Lake Kizilbash or Lake Yaisan. For the mystical importance attached by the Tartars to the number nine and its multiples, see M. Polo, i. p. 377, and note.

Page 112, l. 9. "him most nedez dye," etc.—Though Mand. derives this widely spread apologue of the Bundle of Sticks or Arrows from Hayton (p. 436), he gives it a more dramatic form by changing it from the third into the first person. The dying Kaan is said elsewhere to have added another fable with the same moral, viz. that of the two snakes, one with many heads and one tail, and the other with one head and many tails (Howorth, i. p. 104).

Page 112, l. 25. "Cichota his eldest sonne": the Hoccota of Hayton (p. 437), *i.e.* Ogotai, third son of Jenghiz and his appointed successor as paramount Kaan. He was followed in 1241 by his eldest son (not brother) Kuyuk ("quidam ejus filius . . . Gino," Hayt.), who, however, was not formally installed until 1246. The proceedings on the occasion were witnessed by Carpini, who gives a curious description of them (p. 757; *cf.* Howorth, i. p. 162). On Kuyuk's death in 1248 Mangu, son of Tului, fourth son of Jenghiz, was elected. That his Christianity (like that of his successor) was but skin-deep, is evident from Rubruk's account of him in 1253 (p. 318). According to Hayton (p. 442) he was baptized by a bishop who accompanied his kinsman Hayton, king of Little Armenia, to Mangu's court in 1254-5; and Mand. no doubt alludes to the treaty then made in what he says of the "lettres of perpetuele pees" (l. 30). Nothing is said of the baptism in the account of King Hayton's journey written by Kirakos, one of his suite (Bretschneider, i. p. 164).

Page 112, l. 30. "Halaon": the Haolonus of Hayton (p. 443), *i.e.* Hulagu or Khulagu, who took Baghdad by storm in 1258, when the number of the massacred is said to have reached the appalling total of 800,000. Another version of the Caliph Mostassim's fate states that he was sewed up in a sack and trampled to death by horses, the Mongols being averse to shedding the blood of a sovereign! (Howorth, i. p. 201). But Hayton's graphic narrative is confirmed by the Persian historians Nikby and Mirkhond. The same story is in Ricold (p. 120); and Joinville also got hold of it, but he is obviously wrong in saying that it was brought by merchants to the French crusading camp in 1253! (*Hist. de St. Louis*, ch. 114, ed. De Wailly, 1867, p. 393). The statement here (p. 113, l. 10) that Hulagu "wan all þe Haly Land," etc., misrepresents Hayton, who says that, after taking Aleppo and Damascus, he was about to advance on Jerusalem, when he was recalled by Mangu's death, in 1259 (p. 445).

Page 113, l. 12. "Chebysa": in Fr. text "Cobila," as in Hayton (p. 438)—"et iste Cobila Can xlii. annis tenuit imperium Tartarorum. Christianus fuit, et fundavit civitatem quæ vocatur Ions in regno Cathay, quæ major est Roma, ut dicitur." This

was the famous Kublai Kaan, the splendours of whose court are so vividly depicted in the pages of M. Polo. He reigned from 1259 to 1294, only thirty-five years therefore, not forty-two. The city of "Ions" or "Iong" must be Yen or Yen-king, now Peking. As stated above (note to p. 105, l. 8), Kublai adopted this as his capital in 1264, and Hayton alludes no doubt to his building the new city of Ta-tu close beside it. Kublai was succeeded by his grandson Timur, whom Hayton mentions as still reigning (p. 463). He died, however, in 1307, the very year in which Hayton's work was written. The latter does not state that he "renayed þe Cristen lawe" and became a "Sarzene." This last indeed is a faulty relation of "paien." None of the Great Kaans adopted the religion of Islam, and Kublai and his successors were professed Buddhists.

Page 113, l. 16. "*And wit 3e wele. . . grettest astate*": so much is from Hayton (p. 463), but the inscriptions on the Great Kaan's seals are from Carpini (p. 715). The latter indeed gives *Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperator*, as the style of his letters, saying nothing of a second seal. What Mand. substitutes for this, *Caan, filius dei*, etc., he derived from some other source. The exordium of Kuyuk's letter to the Pope printed by D'Avezac in his introduction to Carpini (p. 594) follows the latter's formula.

Page 114, ch. xxv. "*Of the governance of the Grete Chanes court*," etc.—Nearly the whole of this chapter is from Od. (p. 132, sqq.), with changes in order and other differences, evidently due to carelessness, misunderstanding, or ignorant attempts at explanation. Of the four "grete festez" Od. only specifies two, "festum Circumcisionis ejusque Nativitatis diem" (App. p. xxxiv.). By the former he no doubt means (though Col. Yule translates otherwise) the Feast of Circumcision, i.e. 1 Jan. These two Feasts, on the Great Kaan's birthday and at the New Year, are in fact particularly described by M. Polo (i. pp. 373, 376), but he rightly places the latter in February, in which month the Chinese year begins. It is the 1 Feb. also in the Italian text of Od. (App. p. lx.). Mand. alone talks of the temple or "Moseak" (i.e. Mosque!) and says that the "oper twa festez er of paire mawmet," etc. (l. 7). The sentences "At ilkane of þir festez," etc. (l. 10), combine two passages in Od. (pp. 132, 141), the notice of the tents (l. 17) being derived, I suspect, from Carpini (p. 757). But Odoric's 14,000 barons are reduced to 4,000, and his three colours, green, crimson and yellow, are augmented by blue. According to M. Polo (i. p. 374) a particular colour was assigned to each festival, and all the barons, full 12,000 in number, wore the same colour as the Great Kaan himself.

Page 115, l. 8. "*many philosophers and grete clerkez*."—Mand. here supplements Od. (p. 142) by enumerating the various sciences and instruments of divination, adding also the explanation "what þise thinges myght bemene" (l. 21). Kublai appears to have maintained no less than 5,000 astrologers and soothsayers (M. Polo, i. p. 432).

Page 116, l. 10. "*many whyte hors*": cf. Od. (p. 142), "And after this all those of the famous princely families parade with white horses. And a voice is heard calling, 'Such an one of such a family to present so many hundreds of white horses to the lord'; and then some of them come forward, saying that they bring two hundred horses (say) to offer to the lord, which are ready before the palace. And 'tis something incredible the number of white horses which are presented to the lord on such an occasion. And then come barons to offer presents of different kinds on behalf of the

other barons of the empire; and all the superiors of the monasteries likewise come with presents to the Khan, and are in duty bound to give him their benison." M. Polo says that the number of white horses presented on New Year's day exceeded 12,000 (i. p. 377). The "nyne" in our English text is due to the translator (cf. note to p. 111, l. 21); where he got his "aschez" (l. 15) I cannot imagine.

Page 116, l. 18. "*lyouns, lebardes*," etc.: in Od. lions only; and so M. Polo (i. p. 381), "On the Feast Day a great Lion is led to the Emperor's presence, and as soon as it sees him it lies down before him with every sign of the greatest veneration, as if it acknowledged him for its lord."

Page 116, l. 20. "*And than commez iugillours*," etc.: in Od. merely, "And jugglers cause cups of gold, full of good wine, to fly through the air and offer themselves to the lips of all who list to drink of it." This is to be found also in M. Polo (i. p. 292), with a long and interesting note by the editor on the extraordinary skill of the conjurors of Thibet and eastern Asia. Mand. here goes beyond his authority, though not quite so far as the English text makes out, for his singing-damsels are probably meant to be real, "ceo semble as gentz" referring merely to their beauty. But the factitious sun and moon, and the jousting in the air, are additions for which I cannot account.

Page 117, l. 5. "*mynstralles to the nowmer of xiii. comacies*," etc.: cf. Od. (p. 133), who states that, during his three years at Peking, he was told by all of whom he enquired, "that the king's players alone amount to xiii. tumans; that of those others who keep the dogs and wild beasts and fowls there be xv. tumans; of leeches to take charge of the royal person there be four hundred idolaters, eight Christians, and one Saracen." Mandeville's explanation of the enormous number of minstrels (histriones, Od.) probably represents only his own ideas on the subject, and the same may be said of his list of the Kaan's menagerie. M. Polo says that Kublai's elephants numbered fully 5,000 (i. p. 377), and that he took with him hunting 10,000 falcons and some 500 gerfalcons, besides peregrines, sakers, goshawks, etc. (p. 388). As to the physicians (see Fr. text), it looks as if Mand. had deliberately falsified Odoric's statement in order to do honour to his own religion.

Page 117, l. 15. "*he makez na monee*," etc.—The Chinese paper money is very well known. It is noticed by Od. (p. 144), and M. Polo also gives an account of it, saying that the paper was made of the bark of the mulberry tree (i. p. 409). Col. Yule's note on the passage, as need hardly be said, is a mine of information on a curious subject (see also his *Cathay*, p. 294). But Mand. seems to have used Hayton (p. 419), as well as Odoric:—"Moneta vero quæ in illis partibus expenditur fit de papyro in forma quadrata, et est regali signo signata, et secundum illud signum illa moneta est majoris precii vel minoris. Et si forte illa moneta propter vetustatem incipiat devastari, ille vero qui illam habuerit ad regalem curiam deportabit, tunc pro illa dabitur sibi nova. De auro vero et aliis metallis faciunt vasa et alia ornamenta." This account is very much the same as that given in the "Book of the Estate of the Great Caan," by the archbishop of Sultanieh [John de Cora], circ. 1330 (*Cathay*, p. 245). Neither bark, however, nor leather is mentioned by these writers or by Odoric. As the former is not in the Fr. text or C., it is perhaps an interpolation in E., taken directly or indirectly from Polo. Mandeville's mention of leather money is not so easily accounted for. This kind of currency was not unknown in Europe in the Middle Ages, as

may be seen from Ducange, s.v. *Moneta coriacea*. It is said to have been in use in France at the very time Mand. wrote, during the captivity of King John in England (P. de Comines, *Mémoires*, v. 18, "et mit le royaume en si grande pauvreté qu'il y courut long-temps monnoye comme de cuir, qui avoit un petit clou d'argent"); and his contemporary Jehan Le Long (*ob.* 1383) mentions a similar issue of "frusta de corio, cum infixio clavo aureo vel argenteo," in the reign of St. Louis (*Chron. S. Bertini*, Martène, *Thes. Anecd.*, iii. col. 727). The emperor Frederic II. also is said to have resorted to the same device when in want of money at the siege of Faenza in 1241 (Kington, *Hist. of Fred. II.*, ii. p. 194). But I find no corroboration whatever of Mandeville's statement with regard to China, even with the kind assistance of such eminent numismatists as Mr. R. S. Poole and M. Sauvaire. The only trace of anything there even approaching the nature of a leather coinage is as far back as 119 B.C., in the reign of Wu-ti, of the Han dynasty. This emperor claimed the monopoly of keeping white deer, and issued pieces of their skins, a foot square, to his subject kings, princes, and grandees, at the rate of 400,000 copper coins a-piece. These were regarded as badges of honour, and, as access to court and audience could not be obtained without them, he no doubt did a brisk trade (Chaudoir, *Rec. de Monnaies de la Chine*, etc., 1842, p. 55; Vissering, *On Chinese Currency*, Leiden, 1877, p. 38; Terrien de la Couperie, in *Numismatic Chron.*, 3rd Ser., vol. ii., 1882, p. 340). What Mand. asserts is probably therefore a mere groundless surmise; but it may possibly have originated in a confusion between *cuir* and *cuivre*, especially as the latter might in a contracted form be written *cuiv*°.

Page 118, l. 1. "*a citee . . . Saduz*": the Sandu of Od. (p. 134) and Chandu of Polo, *i.e.* "Shangtu or 'Upper Court,' the Chinese title of Kublai's summer residence at Kaipingfu" (i. pp. 289, 294). This was the paradise, as Col. Yule reminds us, of which Coleridge dreamed and sang:—

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan

A stately pleasure dome decree," etc.

"But in the winter season," says Od., "he abideth in Cambalech" (Dec.—Feb., Polo, i. p. 383); to which Mand. adds what he does about "Gaydoun," forgetting that Kaan-baligh and Ta-tu (above, note to p. 105, l. 8) were practically the same.

Page 118, l. 4. "*And, when this Grete Caan schall ryde*," etc.—This account differs little from Od. (p. 134), but he represents the Kaan's carriage as *two*-wheeled and without the "lytill caban" on the top (not in Fr. text), and says that he was attended by four barons and carried with him a dozen falcons. The passage may be compared with Polo (i. p. 390), "The Emperor himself is carried upon four elephants in a fine chamber made of timber, lined inside with plates of beaten gold and outside with lions' skins. He always keeps beside him a dozen of his choicest gerfalcons and is attended by several of his barons, who ride on horseback alongside. . . . One of the latter shall exclaim, 'Sire, look out for cranes.' Then the Emperor instantly has the top of his chamber thrown open, and, having marked the cranes, he casts one of his gerfalcons, whichever he pleases; and often the quarry is struck within his view," etc.

Page 119, l. 4. "*xii. prouincez*": so Od. (p. 137) correctly, but he was too well-informed to talk of a "kyng reall" in each, and it is to Manzi only that he assigns 2,000 cities (*cf.* Fr. text). Moreover, the time he allots, "if one wish to visit each of these provinces," is six months, instead of "vii. 3ere."

Page 119, l. 8. "*comoun ostriez*."—These hostelries or post-houses are described by M. Polo (i. p. 420) as well as by Od. (p. 137), both applying to them the Mongol term *yam*. See also "The Book of the Estate of the Great Caan" in *Cathay*, p. 240. Mand. follows Od. closely, as also in the account of the foot-runners. These, says Polo (i. p. 421), dwelt at stations fixed at intervals of three miles between the post-houses. "Every one of these runners wears a great wide belt, set all over with bells, so that as they run the three miles from post to post their bells are heard jingling a long way off." Odoric's term *Chidebo* is found elsewhere as *kidifū*, but the language and etymology are doubtful (see Col. Yule's note). I venture, however, to suggest its connexion with Mongol *ghichkiku*, to travel on foot (Kowalewski, *Dict. Mongol*, iii. p. 2526). In the *Yüan Shi*, or Chinese History of the Mongol dynasty, compiled in 1369-70, ch. 101 deals both with *Djan-ch'i*, postal communication, and with *Ki-ti-p'u-ping*, foot-runners (Bretschneider, i. p. 187). Here, as the editor explains, *djan* is the Mongol *djam* (or *yam*), properly meaning "way," and still used for "post-station"; and, as I am informed by Prof. R. K. Douglas, *ch'i-ti-pu-ping* may mean in Chinese "a fast-running foot-soldier."

Page 119, l. 27. "*Also, when this emperour rydez*," etc.: in some MSS. only of Od. (App. p. xl.); but what Mand. depicts as a general custom with "Cristen men of religioun" Od. merely says was done on a particular occasion by himself and his fellow-friars and their bishop when the Kaan came to Peking. Otherwise the agreement is tolerably exact. As to the strange word "Galahoth" (Fr. text, l. 32, and C.), Od. has "galerium," and it looks as if Mand. had somehow corrupted this word, meaning "a hat," perhaps by confounding it with "galiota," a galley. There is certainly no reason to believe that the term is either Chinese or Mongol.

Page 120, l. 26. "*als many wyfes as him list*," etc.: almost word for word from Carpini (p. 612). The "xl." of E. and "lx." of the Fr. text is 25 there, one MS., however, having 40. Polo's account (i. p. 245) is much the same. Like Carpini he says the wife was bought from her parents:—"The husband gives a marriage payment to his wife's mother, and the wife brings nothing to her husband." And so Rubruk (p. 235), who adds that a man not only had to buy his wife, but to find her where she was hid and to carry her off, as it were by force—a good instance of the widely spread custom of so-called "marriage by capture."

Page 121, ch. xxvi. "*Of the lawe and the customs of the Tartarienes*," etc.: this chapter also from Carpini (p. 614, *sqq.*) almost exclusively, the extracts, however, being taken here and there in no regular sequence. As usual, they are not rigidly exact, but the general sense is preserved, and only a few points call for remark. "Withouten peloure" represents "pellibus non utuntur," but the statement seems inconsistent with the "garmentz of pelour" (pellicia) just below. So Polo has (i. p. 249), "The clothes of the wealthy Tartars are for the most part of gold and silk stuffs, lined with costly furs." For "Tartarene" and "chamelet" see above, note to p. 20, l. 21. Polo (p. 244) gives the same account of the huts or tents:—"Their houses are circular, and are made of wands covered with felts. These are carried along with them whithersoever they go." Our text here is better than C., the translator of which was, as usual, puzzled by the word "feutre" (filtrum) and renders it as "wood." Elsewhere he translates it by "ferre" (n. to p. 110, l. 3) and "stede" (n. to p. 124, l. 25).

Page 121, l. 14. "*Thai trowe all in a (i.e. one) Godd*": so Carpini (p. 618); but he speaks of idols of felt and silk-rags only, not of gold and silver. These were rudely fashioned into the semblance of a human head and trunk, with nipple-like protuberances, and were placed on either side of the door of the hut as guardians of the flocks. For a plate representing them see M. Polo, i. p. 251. "Yroga" is Carpini's Ytoga (p. 626) and, I suppose, Polo's Natigay (p. 249), which Col. Yule thinks may represent some form of *Ongotui*, a term applied to the potent spirits of Mongol Shamanism.

Page 121, l. 17. "*That tyme that I was thare*," etc.—This passage by itself is enough to convict Mand. of disingenuousness, for he seems to have coolly transferred to his own time a selection from Carpini's list in 1246 (p. 665) of the sons and grandsons of Jenghiz. Thus, among the sons the earlier writer gives Tossucan (Tchoutchy, or Juji) and Chyaaday (Jagatai), and among the grandsons Cuyuc and Cocten, sons of Occoday (see above, note to p. 112, l. 25), Ordu, Syban and Thaut, sons of Tossuc, Burin and Cadan, sons of Chyaaday, and Mengü, son of Tului; while among other "duces" he includes Hubilay (Babilan, M.) and Karachay (Carygan, M.). Allowing for corruption, all these names reappear in our text, leaving only "Nachaly," or "Nocaby," and "Balac" unaccounted for, and even these possibly represent Occoday and Bichac. Again, "Seriöth (or Serioch) Caan" (p. 122, l. 2) is Seroctan (i.e. Siurkukteni), mother of Mengü and, according to Carpini, more powerful than any Tartar except the mother of the Great Kaan Kuyuk and Batu, Khan of the Kipchaks. "Borach" and "Charauk" do not occur as female names in Carpini; but Mand. may have been misled by the apparently feminine terminations of Bora, Berca and Karancha (p. 668, note 12). I find, however, that Burakchin and Turakina (easily corrupted into Carukin) were the names of the first and second wives of Ogotai (Howorth, i. p. 725). For the Great Kaan's three wives, see above, p. 106; and for his matrimonial alliance with Prester John, p. 134. As to the name Mand. assigns to the reigning Great Kaan, neither "Thyak" nor "Thiant" appears in the imperial genealogy. The former indeed might stand for Kuyuk, but he was Carpini's Kaan (1241-48) and more probably figures in Mand. as "Cunuc" (Fr. text). "Thiant" or "Thiaut" therefore is the preferable reading, though why Mand. should have picked out this particular name from Carpini's list (Thaut, i.e. Tangut) for the distinction of the supreme Khanate does not appear.

Page 122, l. 3. "*begynnez all that thai do in the newe mone*": Carp. says (p. 627) either at new moon or full moon, adding that the Tartars adore the moon and call the sun its mother (see also p. 622). The customs which follow are from p. 624, *sqq.* The statement (Fr. text and C.) of its being counted a sin to "take and sle lytil children" is unhappily not borne out by the annals of Mongol conquest; and according to Carpini the sin was to take and kill, not children, but *young birds*. Again, purification was effected, not by passing "thurgh a fyre" (l. 12), but between two fires, a far less formidable ordeal. For the penalties for adultery and theft, see p. 641. Polo (i. p. 244), as well as Carpini (p. 635), praises the Tartars for conjugal fidelity. The passage about the division of labour between the sexes is from p. 643. Rubruk (p. 234) is rather more explicit as to the duties of the men, saying they make bows and arrows, stirrups, bridles and saddles, do the carpentry of the huts and carts, look after the horses and camels, milk the mares (the women milk the cows), and churn the *kumiz*.

For the "breke" or breeches (l. 20), etc., cf. "Femoralibus omnes mulieres utuntur, et *aliquæ*, sicut viri, sagittant" (p. 643); but the sentences "All þe folk . . . grete astate" (ll. 20-23) go back to p. 633.

Page 122, l. 23. "*Thai ete hundes*," etc.: in Carp. (p. 638) dogs, wolves, foxes and horses, and he adds that he had also seen them eat mice. As to the last, Rubruk (p. 229) says the Tartars eschew all mice with long tails, but eat dormice and all short-tailed kinds, as well as marmots. According to Polo, "they eat all kinds of flesh, including that of horses and dogs, and Pharaoh's rats" (i. p. 244). These last Col. Yule supposes to be Jerboas, or rather the kindred *Alactaga* of Central Asia, the same which a Chinese traveller calls "desert-rats, as big as hedgehogs" (Bretschneider, ii. p. 192). Col. Yule quotes also from Pallas that the Tartars, besides horses and camels, eat "marmots and *ziesel mice* (dormice), beavers, badgers, otters and lynxes, leaving none untouched except the dog and weasel kind, and also (unless *very* hard pressed) the flesh of the fox and the wolf." Mand. introduces on his own account (probably from some confusion with Moslem prejudices) the swine and the Old Testament, after which he again follows Carp. closely in his remarks on the absence of bread, of pulse, and of green stuff, and on the dirty habits of the Tartars in eating.

Page 123, l. 5. "*mylk of meeres*": so Carp. (p. 640), meaning the well-known *kumiz*, "prepared (says Polo) in such a way that you would take it for white wine; and a right good drink it is, called by them *kemiz*" (i. p. 249). Rubruk describes the mode of making it more fully, calling the liquor *cosmos* (p. 227). He praises it highly, saying that it makes a man's inside feel very jolly (multum jucunda), but intoxicates weak heads. Col. Yule (Polo, l. c.) has an interesting note on it. "It is thus made (he says). Fresh mare's milk is put in a well-seasoned bottle-necked vessel of horse-skin; a little *kurût* (i.e. sour butter-milk, boiled and curdled, and then dried in the sun) or some sour cow's milk is added; and when acetous fermentation is commencing it is violently churned with a peculiar staff which constantly stands in the vessel. This interrupts fermentation and introduces a quantity of air into the liquid. It is customary for visitors who may drop in to give a turn or two at the churn-stick. After three or four days the drink is ready." The "drinke made of water and *hony*" (l. 7) is a mistake. In Carp. (p. 641) it is *miliun*, not *mel*. They have, he says, no wine, beer, or *mead*, but, besides mare's milk, they boil down millet and water, making the decoction so thin that they can drink it. Rubruk, however, does speak of a drink made from honey (p. 224).

Page 123, l. 11. "*When thai ga to were*," etc.—For the Tartar arms, cf. Carp. (p. 684), "It behoves them all to have two bows or three, or one good one at least, and three great quivers full of arrows, and an axe, and ropes for drawing engines. The rich men have sharp-pointed swords, cutting on one side only, and somewhat curved," etc. So Polo (i. p. 252), "Their arms are bows and arrows, sword and mace; but above all the bow . . . On their backs they wear armour of cuirbouly, prepared from buffalo and other hides, which is very strong." Elsewhere (ii. p. 458) he says they take into battle a bow and sixty arrows, thirty light, with small sharp points, for long shots, and the others heavy, with large broad heads, for close quarters. Carpini gives a particular description of the leather armour for man and steed. It is not easy to follow; but the plates appear to have been formed of strips of hide, of a hand's width, glued and bound together, and attached to one

another by strings, so as to overlap. He says nothing of the leather being first softened by boiling, the process from which of course the term *cuirbouilli* is derived. "And he þat fleez," etc. (l. 14), is from Carp., p. 684; but the next sentence carries us on to p. 696. But, although Carp. says the Tartars slay all their captives, he does not tell the story of the pickled ears. This, however, is interpolated by Vinc. de Beauvais in his extracts from him (*Spec. Hist.*, xxix. 84, p. 1214), a fact which is of interest as evidence that Mand. did not use the original work. Vincent's story (most probably derived from Simon de St. Quentin) is that, when the Tartars took Driabaldis in Persia, in order to strike terror, they decapitated all the inhabitants and sent to the Great Kaan two pack-loads of ears in vinegar. Another instance is said to have occurred in the invasion of Russia in 1237-8, when on the capture of Mocoss (Moscow?) the right ears of the slain were cut off, amounting to 270,000! (Bretschneider, i. p. 314).

Page 123, l. 18. "*And it es thaire entent*," etc.: for this and the prophecy following, cf. Carp. (p. 663; see also p. 622). Thus, "After this, as they say, they are to be conquered by some other nation, but what nation they know not; for so it has been foretold to them. And those who escape will have to observe the law of their conquerors." The next sentence "þis folk . . . enoured with of kynde" I do not find elsewhere, and it seems out of place.

Page 123, l. 24. "*It es grete peril to pursue the Tartarenes*," etc.: so Carp. (p. 694), but Mand. has plainly had recourse also to Hayton (p. 467). Polo (i. p. 254) dwells on these Parthian tactics at more length, but to the same effect. To Hayton also (p. 419), speaking particularly of Cathay, is due the passage about olive oil (p. 124, l. 4):—"Et illud fere quod in illis partibus carius emittitur et habetur, est oleum olivarum, et reges et magnates illud quasi medicamen præcipuum cum magna diligentia faciunt custodiri." The absence of olive oil is also specially noticed by the archbishop of Sultānieh (*Cathay*, p. 243). The description of Tartar physiognomy (l. 5) may be either from Hayton (p. 419) or Carpini (p. 611); and so too of their propensity for lying (H. p. 467, C. p. 637). Rubruk (p. 233) remarks that the women are wonderfully fat, and that she who has the least nose is counted the greatest beauty.

Page 124, l. 9. "*Qwen any of tham schall dye*," etc.—These funeral customs are from Carp. (p. 628). To show how Mand. treats the passage, I give a literal translation:—"When any one of them is sick unto death, a spear is set up at his tent, and round it is wrapped a black felt; and henceforth no stranger dare enter the bounds of his dwelling. And when his death-agony begins, nearly all (but "quasi" only in two MSS.) retire from him, for none of those present at his death can enter the court of any prince or of the emperor until the next new moon. When he is dead, if he belongs to their great ones ("When þe emperour es dead," Mand.), he is buried secretly in the plain, wheresoever they list. And he is buried with his tent, seated in the midst of it, and they place a table before him and a trencher full of meat and a goblet of mare's milk; and there are buried with him a mare and her foal, and a horse bridled and saddled. And another horse they eat, and they stuff his hide with straw and set him up erect on two or four stakes. And all this they do so that in another world the dead man may have a tent wherein to dwell, and a mare to give him milk and to breed from, and horses whereon to ride. And the bones of the horse which they eat

they burn for the good of his soul. Gold and silver they bury with him in like manner. The car in which he rode is broken up, and his tent is destroyed; and no one dare mention his name to the third generation. There is another manner also of burying some of their great ones. They go secretly to some spot in the plain, and there remove the turf with the roots, and dig a great pit, and in the side of this pit they excavate below the soil. And they place the dead man's favourite slave underneath him, and there he lies until he is as it were on the point of death, and then they take him out so that he may breathe. This they do three times; and, if he survive, thenceforth he is free, and does what he will, and is great in the camp, and is counted among the dead man's kin. The corpse, however, they place in the excavation made in the side of the pit, with the properties as described above; and the pit itself they fill up, and over it they lay the turf as it was before, to the end that the spot shall not be found. All things else they do as above; but his tent they leave standing on the plain." Carpini, however, mentions two special cemeteries, one for the Great Kaans, princes and nobles, and the other for those who were slain in Hungary. For the burial-place of Jenghiz and his descendants, at the mountain Khanooila, near Urga, see Col. Yule's note to M. Polo, i. p. 243, and Howorth, i. p. 107. Rubruk's account (p. 236) differs slightly from Carpini's, e.g. he says that anyone present at the death of an adult could not enter the Great Kaan's dwelling for a whole year, instead of being debarred only till the new moon, as in the case of a child's death. See also the Travels of Ibn Batuta, as quoted in *Cathay*, p. 507.

Page 124, l. 25. "*And when this emperoure es deed*," etc.—This passage is from V. de Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, xxxi. 32), the colloquy being closely reproduced. Vincent quotes it from Simon de St. Quentin, the particular election described being that of Kuyuk at Karakorum in 1246 (note to p. 112, l. 25). St. Quentin was not present, being accredited at the time, as I have already said (p. 192), to the Mongols in Persia; but he gives more precise details than Carpini, who was at Kuyuk's "Orda." The latter, however, seems not to have witnessed the actual ceremony, as it took place within the great "Golden Tent," which he did not enter till afterwards (pp. 757, 759). For his "seuen kynredens" Mand. seems to have had recourse to Hayton's account of the election of Jenghiz (above, note to p. 110, l. 3), in which also the "blak filtre" plays a prominent part. The symbolical use of this carpet of black felt (here rendered in C. "a blak stede") is explained by St. Quentin. When the Kaan elect was seated upon it, the surrounding princes, he says, thus addressed him:—"Look up and acknowledge God, and look down at the felt whereon you sit. If you govern well and are bountiful, if you love to observe justice and to honour your princes each in his rank, you will reign in magnificence and the whole world will be subject to your sway, and whatever your heart shall desire, God will give it you; but, if you act contrariwise, you will be wretched and castaway, and so poor withal that not even the felt whereon you now sit will be left to you." The account of the "presandes" (p. 125, l. 4) made to the new Kaan again recalls Carpini (p. 759). For "cammaca and tartarene" see above, note to p. 20, l. 21.

Page 125, ch. xxvii. "*Of the roialme of Tharse*," etc.—This enumeration of the kingdoms of Asia is from Hayton, ch. 2 (p. 420), sqq.; but the distinction between "Asia profunda" and "Asia Major" (cf. Fr. text) is from ch. 47 (p. 463). Hayton makes the former extend right across central Asia, from Cathay inclusive

to the Khanate of Kipchak; while the latter includes the Khanate of Persia and presumably India, etc. The "kyngdom of Tarse" (Tarsa) is, as he expressly says (p. 420), the land of the "Iogours" or Uighurs, which adjoins Tangut to the west. Such is its position also in the Catalan Map of 1375, with the name Tarssia and the note (following Hayton) that it was the country of the Three Kings. This was an absurd inference from Psalm lxxii. 10, "The kings of *Tarshish* and of the isles shall bring presents". The term Tarse appears to be Pers. *tarsā*, properly meaning "timid," but used also for obvious reasons of contempt to denote a Christian or a fireworshipper. (Johnson, *Pers. Dict.*). Its application to the Uighurs supports the belief that Nestorian Christianity of a sort extensively prevailed among them, and that it was through the Nestorians that they obtained their written characters derived from the old Syriac and imparted by them to the Mongols generally (*Cathay*, p. 205; Howorth, i. p. 21; Bretschneider, i. p. 67).

Page 125, l. 14. "*the land of Turquesten*": cf. Hayton, ch. 3 (p. 420). "Eccozar," or better "Octorar" as in C., is the Ocerra of Hayton. Col. Yule, however, seems to have used an edition of the latter reading "Octorar," and the French version has "Hottocar" (L. de Backer, *L'extrême Orient au Moyen Age*, 1877, p. 128). But there is no doubt that Hayton means Otrar, a name which first appears in the 13th cent., the city having previously been called Farab. It stood south-east of the sea of Aral a little to the north of the junction of the Arys and the Syr-daria or Jaxartes, where its ruins are still to be seen. The Mongols began their conquest of Western Asia by its capture in 1219; and it was there that Timur died in 1405 (*Cathay*, p. 288; Bretschneider, ii. p. 56). The "drink made of water and hony" (l. 18) is not mentioned by Hayton, who, among Turkestan beverages, only specifies "cursia" (cervoise, Fr. vers., p. 128), though he speaks of "miliun" (not "mel") directly after.

Page 125, l. 19. "*the land of Corasme*": cf. Hayton, ch. 4 (p. 421), "Corasme" being Khwarezm (old Persian *Kharizm*, "lowland") between the Lake of Aral and the Caspian, and nearly corresponding with the modern khanate of Khiva. The city of Corasme is Urghendj, on the old course of the Oxus, north-west of Khiva. It was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221, but it seems to have recovered its importance to some extent within the next hundred years (*Cathay*, p. 294; Bretschneider, ii. p. 91).

Page 126, l. 1. "*the land of Comany*": the "regnum Cumania" of Hayton, ch. 5 (p. 421), extending along the steppes north of the Caspian and Black Seas. For the Comans or Kumans see above, note to p. 4, l. 2. Carpini (p. 742) speaks of their country as one great plain, including the four rivers Dnieper, Don, Volga, and Jaik or Ural; and Rubruk (p. 246) identifies them with the Kipchak (Bretschneider, ii. p. 70).

Page 126, l. 6. "*the riuer of Ethill*": in Hayton "*flumen magnum, quod reperitur in urbe quæ vocatur Etil*," otherwise the Volga. "By the name of *Idil* or *Atel*, meaning 'river' in Turkish, the Turks, and after them all Mohammedan geographers, have designated the Volga, which latter name, used by the Slavic nations, seems to be derived from the ancient city of *Bolghar*, situated on the Voiga" (Bretschneider, i. p. 306). So Carpini, or rather the supplement by his companion Benedict the Pole, "*super magnum flumen Ethil, quem (sic) Rusci vocant Volga*" (p. 775). In Rubruk (p. 252, etc.) the name is Etilia, and in the Catalan Map, Edil. Ibn Khurdadbih (*ob.* 912), like Hayton, speaks of a city *Atel*, which

is supposed to be the modern Astrakhan (Bretschn., l. c.). But in the French version of Hayton it is the river itself only which is called Etil (p. 129). Hayton speaks of the Volga being frozen over so as to be traversed by man and beast, but he does not mention the "*grete batailes*" upon the ice. In a later chapter, however, he describes (p. 445) a battle fought (1263) on a frozen river (the Terek) between Hulagu and Barka or Bereke Khan (cf. M. Polo, ii. p. 496; Howorth, ii. p. 116), and Mand. I suspect has utilised the passage here.

Page 126, l. 8. "*the grete see Ocean, that thai call Maure*": i.e. the Black Sea, or "mare maurum" (Byzant. Gr. *μαῦρος* = niger). Hayton, like Odoric (above, note to p. 73, l. 4), calls it "mare majus," but the other term is equally common. The passage is somewhat confused; and what Mand. perhaps meant to say (cf. Fr. text) was that all the kingdoms he had spoken of lay between the Volga and the ocean bounding Cathay on the east.

Page 126, l. 10. "*the mount Caspye*": more correctly rendered in C. "the mount [Chotaz, that is the hiest mount of the world, and it is betwene the see Maure and the see] Caspy." So Hayton, "montem Cocas (i.e. Caucasus), qui mirabiliter est magnus et altus," etc.; but he speaks also of "mons Caspius" immediately after.

Page 126, l. 10. "*a strayte way and straitte passage*": cf. Hayton, ch. 47, (p. 464), "*Tres viæ sunt solummodo per quas itur de profunda Asia ad Asiam majorem: una videlicet via per quam itur de regno Turquestan ad regnum Persarum; alia via est quæ dicitur Ledorbent, quæ via est prope mare, ubi Alexander construxit civitatem vocatam Portam Ferri . . . ; alia via est per mare majus, quæ transit per regnum Abcas.*" Derbend is on the western shore of the Caspian, and, like other places of the same name, was so called from Pers. *dar-band*, a barrier, a narrow and difficult pass. "Alexander," says Polo (i. p. 52), "caused a very strong tower to be built there, to prevent the people beyond from passing to attack him, and this got the name of the *Iron Gate*." The earliest western traveller who speaks of this mythical Iron Gate of Alexander appears to be Benj. of Tudela (i. p. 99; cf. Rubruk, pp. 252, 263). The Turks still call it by the same name, *Demir-Kapi*, "Iron Gate"; but to the Arab geographers it was known as *Bab-ul-abwâb*, "Gate of Gates" (see Col. Yule's notes to M. Polo, l.c., and ii. p. 537; with a good view of Derbend, i. p. 57). According to Mas'udi (ii. 2.3) Derbend was built by the Persian Khosru (531-579), with a wall projecting into the sea for about a mile and extending on the land side for forty parasangs over the steepest summits and deepest gorges of the Caucasus and having an iron gate every three miles, its object being to stop the inroads of the Alans, Turks, etc. (Bretschneider, ii. p. 115). The pass of Derbend was in fact the only practicable route in ancient times from Persia across the Caucasus range. The so-called "*Porta Caucasica*," however, is said to have been the defile of Dariel in the valley of the upper Terek, through which now runs the great Georgian military road. Two views of this narrow gorge are given in Wardrop's *Kingdom of Georgia*, 1888, pp. 62, 64. The source of the curious reading of C. "gate of hell" ("d'enfer" for "de fer") is obvious. For the "kyngdom of Abcaz" (l. 17), see below.

Page 126, l. 13. "*Sarak or Sarachy*": cf. Hayton (p. 422), "*Major civitas regis Cumania vocatur Sara (Sarta, Fr. vers., p. 130), quæ fuit antiquitus nobilis et famosa, fuit tamen prostrata et quasi totaliter destructa per Tartaros.*" The sentence in Mand. is somewhat out of place, coming in the middle of the

interpolated passage about Derbend. The place meant is undoubtedly Sarai (from *serai*, a palace), the capital of the Golden Horde, identified with Tsarev, on the left bank of the Akhtuba branch of the Volga (Bretschneider, ii. p. 71; cf. M. Polo, i. p. 4). It is not mentioned by Carpini in 1246, but Rubruk, eight years later, speaks of it as "Sarai et palatium Baatu" (p. 380); and it was probably founded by Batu Khan in 1253. This, however, is not consistent with what Hayton says of its antiquity and its destruction by the Tartars. Possibly he confounded it with some other place of similar name, such as Saraichik on the Ural, or Sarakhs in Khorassan, which was taken by the Mongols in 1221 (Bretschneider, ii. p. 102).

Page 127, ch. xxviii. "*Of the emperour of Persye*," etc.: as far as the end of p. 129 abridged from Hayton, ch. 7 (p. 422), *sqq.* The boundaries of the "two kyngdommes," or two divisions, of Persia are rather vague; but Persia here seems to mean the empire of Khwarezm, and the "ryuer of Phison" must be the Oxus or Djihun. The first kingdom answers therefore to Transoxiana, or the country between the Djihun and the Sihun, east of which was Turkestan. Its two chief cities (in H. "Boctara" and "Seonorgant") are no doubt Bokhara and Samarkand. Polo, it may be noted, calls Bokhara the best city "in all Persia" (i. p. 10), though he does not include Transoxiana among the eight kingdoms into which, as he says, Persia was divided (i. p. 84). Two only of the "three principall citeez" in the second, or western, kingdom are in Hayton, viz. "Nesabor" and "Spachen" (Spahan, Fr. vers., p. 132). These are Nishapur, the capital of Khorassan, destroyed by the Mongols in 1221, and Ispahan. Where Mand. got the name "Sarmassane," and what place it represents, I cannot say.

Page 127, l. 17. "*the land of Ermony*," etc.: cf. Hayton, ch. 9 (p. 423), "In terra Armeniæ sunt quatuor regna," etc., but he adds that they were always under a single king. As to the "*Porte de Fer*" (l. 19) he has "*Latitudo terræ Armeniæ incipit a Mirali civitate, quæ dicitur Porta Ferri, quam rex Alexander firmavit*," but the position he assigns to this city, between the Caspian and the Caucasus, agrees with that of Derbend (see above). "Taurisius" is Tauriz or Tabriz, the capital of Azerbeidjan (see p. 75, l. 10).

Page 127, l. 21. "*the land of Medie*," etc.: cf. Hayton, ch. 8 (p. 423), who has, however, "*India Major*" instead of "*Inde peless*" and "*Armenia Major*" for "*Lytill Ermony*," in both cases more correctly. His Media in fact includes Kurdistan (the country of the "Cordynes"), Khuzistan, Fars, and Kirman; and the two chief cities, "Soracet" and "Queremon" ("Sarras" and "Quereme," Fr. vers., p. 132), are Shiraz and Kirman.

Page 128, l. 1. "*the kyngdom of Georgy*," etc.: cf. Hayton, ch. 10 (p. 424), "Regnum Georgiæ ex parte orientis incipit a quodam magno monte quæ vocatur Alboris (Albers, Fr. vers., p. 145, *i.e.* Mt. Elbruz); ibi multæ habitant gentium nationes, et ideo vocatur illa provincia Alania," etc. More correctly Alania ("Alamo" and "Halamo," Mand.) was on the northern skirts of the Caucasus towards the Caspian, Georgia being to the south of the range, with its capital at Tiflis. Hayton's "Abcas" is Abkhasia, a narrow district between the western Caucasus and the Black Sea. Georgia was subdued by the Mongols in 1221-2 (Bretschneider, i. p. 294; Howorth, i. p. 93).

Page 128, l. 6. "*In this land of Abcaz es a grete meruaille*," etc. This singular story agrees closely with Hayton, except that he lays the scene in Georgia, not in "Abcas," declaring moreover that he would not venture to tell it, and would never have believed

it, if he had not actually seen the marvel with his own eyes. By "Hamsem" ("Hamsen," Fr. vers., p. 146) is probably meant the district of Hemschin or Hamschen, between the Black Sea and the range of Balkhar Dag (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, 1818, i. p. 78); and the plain of "Mogon," in which, as Hayton says, the Christians in question dwelt, and from which they were making their way towards Greece when they were intercepted, is no doubt the steppe of Moghan, west of the Caspian, about the lower course of the River Kur, a favourite winter resort of the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia (Bretschneider, i. p. 294). Again, the "wikked tiraunt . . . Taures" ("Saures," MS. C.) figures in Hayton as "Sauoreus." Under this name may easily be recognised Sapor or Shápúr II. of Persia (310-379), the memory of whose prolonged persecution of the Christians in Armenia and the countries north of it had thus been preserved for a thousand years. Hayton's account professes to be drawn from Armenian and Georgian histories; and no doubt there was some natural phenomenon in the neighbourhood which favoured, if it did not originate, the legend.

Page 129, l. 12. "*the rewme of Turkey*," etc.: cf. Hayton, ch. 13 (p. 426). Under the name of Turkey is included nearly the whole of Asia Minor, but more particularly the Seljûk empire of Iconium or Rûm, which at this time had almost reached its end. Of the provinces enumerated, Lycaonia, Isauria and Cappadocia can be recognised at once; "Bryke" (Briquia, H.) is Phrygia, and "Pytan" is Bithynia, as it stands in Hayton. De Guignes, who quotes the passage from the latter, leaves "Quisitan" and "Genech" unidentified (*Hist. Gén. des Huns*, etc., Paris, 1756-8, ii. pt. ii. p. 3), and I have not been more successful. As to their position, however, there can be no doubt, since Hayton makes Ephesus the capital of the one, and Trebizond that of the other. Mand. by the way omits Paphlagonia. His "citee of Sakara" ("Satala," MS. G) is Satalia, on the mainland, opposite Cyprus, for which see note to p. 14, l. 6.

Page 129, l. 16. "*the land of Caldee*," etc.: cf. Hayton, ch. 11 (p. 425), where the hills forming the eastern boundary are those of Media. Marâga is in Azerbeidjan, south of Tabriz, and too far north to be the boundary of Chaldæa proper.

Page 129, l. 20. "*the land of Mesopotamy*" etc.: cf. Hayton, ch. 12 (p. 425). "Mosell" is Mosul, and "Rochays" (Rohais, Hayt.) the ancient Edessa and modern Orfa, the Arabic name of which is Rohâ (cf. Abulfeda, ed. Reinaud, ii. 2. p. 52). Besides Edessa and Rohais, the crusading historians called it Rages (W. Tyre, xvi. 14; R. de Aguilers, ch. 14). Of the "two hie mountaynez" the first, "Symar" (Siniar, Hayt.), is the range of Sindjar, running eastward from Mosul; but the name "Lyson" (Lisson, Hayt.) baffles me altogether.

Page 130, ch. xxix. "*And now will I tell you*," etc.—The Vegetable-Lamb story, but without the preamble as here (in which "Bacharie," Fr. text, is, I suppose, for Bactria), is told by Odoric (p. 144), immediately following the account of the Great Kaan's four yearly feasts. His words are (tr. Yule):—"Another passing marvellous thing may be related, which however I saw not myself, but heard from trustworthy persons. For 'tis said that in a certain great kingdom called Cadeli (*al.* Caoli) there be mountains called the Caspean Mountains, on which are said to grow certain very large melons (*melones*, *al.* *pepones*). And when these be ripe they burst, and a little beast is found inside like a small lamb, so that they have both melons and meat! And though some, peradventure, may find that hard to believe, yet it may be quite true;

just as it is true that there be in Ireland trees which produce birds." Taking the "Montes Caspei" to be the Caspian Mountains, *i.e.* the Caucasus, Col. Yule understands by "Cadel" the country on the Adil or Edil, *i.e.* the Volga, the *c*, as he says, being constantly used in place of an aspirate by Italian travellers. As, however, Odoric heard the story in China, it seems more likely that the reading "Caoli" is literally correct, standing for Kao-li (the Cauly of M. Polo, i. p. 335), *i.e.* Corea. In this case "Caspei" (*al.* Kapsei) might be a corruption of the native name of some range in that quarter. The Catalan Map of 1375 indeed actually places the Caspian Mountains in the extreme north-east of Asia, Gog and Magog (see below) being confined between them and the ocean. At the same time it is in the *west* that the Chinese accounts of the lamb-plant (which date back to the ninth cent.) place its habitat, but the exact locality probably did not much matter, so long as it was not too near at hand. Thus the *T'ang shu*, or History of the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618-907, speaks of it as growing in the country of Fu-lin, *i.e.* the Byzantine empire, being connected with the ground by the umbilical cord (Bretschneider, i. p. 154). The same learned writer also quotes the following from one Ch'ang Te, who journeyed as a courier from Karakorum westward in 1259. "The *lung chung yang* (literally 'sheep planted on hillocks') are also produced in the western countries. The people take the navel of a sheep, plant it in the ground and water it. When it hears thunder it grows, the navel retaining a connection with the ground. After the beast has become full grown they take a stick and frighten it. Then the navel breaks off, and the sheep begins to walk and eats grass. In autumn it can be eaten." The myth seems to have been first made known to Western Europe by Odoric, the popularity of Mandeville no doubt giving it a wider diffusion. But a form of it appeared long before in the Jerusalem Talmud, where, however, the creature is not a lamb, but, according to the commentator Rabbi Simeon of Sens (*ob. circ.* 1235), "a human being of the mountains . . . A kind of large stem issues from a root in the earth on which this *Jadua*, called *Jadua*, grows, just as gourds and melons. Only the *Jadua* has, in all respects, a human shape, in face, body, hands, and feet. By its navel it is joined to the stem that issues from the root. No creature can approach within the tether of the stem, for it seizes and kills them. Within the tether of the stem it devours the herbage all around. When they want to capture it, no man dares approach it, but they tear at the stem until it is ruptured, whereupon the animal dies" (H. Lee, *The Vegetable Lamb of Tartary*, 1887, p. 7). Belief in the fable actually survived well into the 17th cent. A precise description of the lamb-plant is given in the *Rerum Muscovitarum Commentarii* (1549) of Sigismund, Baron von Herberstein, Imperial envoy to Muscovy in 1517 and 1526 (H. Lee, as above, p. 11). Like Odoric, Herberstein did not indeed see it himself, but he heard of it from one Demetrius, whose father had seen it when on a mission from Muscovy to the Tartars of the Zavolha (Russ. *Za*=beyond) near the Caspian, between the Volga and the Jaik or Ural. The seed, he says, was like that of a melon, and the plant grew about 2½ feet high and was called "Borametz" or "the little lamb" (Russ. *baran*=sheep). It had the head, eyes, ears, etc., of a newly-born lamb, and an exceedingly soft wool; but, although it had blood, the flesh (the favourite food of wolves) was like that of a crab, and its hoofs were not horny but consisted of hairs made to cohere into the form of a divided hoof. The beast was rooted to the ground

by the navel, and it fed on the grass within its reach, and when that failed it died. This is the account apparently followed by Girolamo Cardano, and after him by Scaliger his critic. Since 1698, when Sir Hans Sloane exhibited a specimen to the Royal Society, it has been generally supposed that this so-called Tartar lamb (*agnus Scythicus*) was nothing more than the artificially shaped downy rhizome of a species of fern (hence called *Cibotium Borametz*), with some of the stems left for the legs, etc. But this theory is disposed of by Mr. H. Lee in the interesting monograph above quoted; and he argues, and, I think, conclusively, that the whole myth originated in a distorted account, with fabulous accretions, of the cotton-shrub. Given a plant that bore wool, popular imagination readily endowed the vegetable fleece with the body, limbs, and attributes of its animal congener. The statement, peculiar to Mandeville (l. 16), that the plant-animal was *without wool*, marks a further stage in the legend, the one element of truth in it being discarded. On the other hand, it is not Mandeville, but only the translator of C., who asserts, in his name, "Of þat frute I have eten."

Page 130, l. 18. "*briddez flyand, the whilk men callez Bernakes.*"—The myth of the Barnacle Goose as the developed growth of the common barnacle of the sea-shore is even more famous than that of the lamb-plant. Odoric's few words about it are quoted above; but Mand. probably knew it well, as it originated within the British isles. The *locus classicus* on the subject is Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, i. 15 (ed. Dimock, Rolls Series, 1867, p. 47):—"Sunt et aves hic multæ, quæ bernacæ vocantur, quas mirum in modum contra naturam natura producit; aucis quidem palustribus similes, sed minores. Ex lignis namque abietinis per æquora devolutis primo quasi gummi nascuntur. Dehinc tanquam ab alga ligno cohærente, conchilibus testis ad liberiores formationem inclusæ, per rostra dependent; et sic quousque processu temporis, firmam plumarum vestituram indutæ, vel in aquas decidunt, vel in aeris libertatem volatu se transferunt. . . . Vidi multoties oculis meis plusquam mille minuta hujusmodi avium corpuscula in litore maris ab uno ligno dependentia, testis inclusa et jam formata." Very similar accounts are given by Alex. Neckham (*De Nat. Rerum*, i. 48, ed. Wright, p. 99) and Vinc. de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, xvi. 40). According to Gerv. of Tilbury (iii. 123, ed. Liebrecht, p. 52) the "Barneta" goose was so produced on the Kentish coast, near Faversham Abbey, while J. de Vitry (p. 1112) speaks of the marvel occurring in the parts of Flanders. The latter, like Mand., represents the barnacles as growing on *trees*, not adhering to floating logs, etc.; and he adds also that only those which dropped into the water survived as birds. The same appears in the Bestiary known as "Physiologus," cap. 35, "L'arbre dont li oisel naissent fors et chient jus quant il sont meur" (Cahier, *Mélanges*, ii. p. 216), the editor quoting also the *Image du Monde* of Gautier de Metz:—

"Devers Irlande sor la mer
Voit on alguns oisiaus voler,
Qu' en arbre croissent par les bés (*sc.* béc);
Et quant de méurer (*sc.* mûrir) sont près,
Cil c'a terre chiet ne puet vivre," etc.

Generally, the above writers state that the Barnacle Goose was eaten in Lent, on the ground that it was not true fowl, but fish. This practice, which no doubt tended, not only to diffuse the myth, but to win it readier credence, was forbidden by Innocent III. in the Council of the Lateran. Other notices of this extraordinary delusion, down to Sir Robert Moray's "Relation concerning

Barnacles" in *Philosophical Transactions*, no. 137, 1677-8, are quoted by Prof. Max Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd Series, 1864, p. 533), who gives the history of the myth as "one of the most curious instances of the power of popular etymology and mythology." As he explains, the cirrhopode barnacle was so called from *bernacula* or *pernacula*, a diminutive of the Lat. *perna*, a ham (a term actually used by Pliny for a kind of shell), the name being of course suggested by the shape; while, on the other hand, the barnacle goose, hailing from Ireland, was styled *Hibernica* or *Hibernicula*, and finally (the first syllable, as was often the case, being dropped) *Bernicula*. The birds and the shells were therefore practically synonymous; and "as their names seemed one, so the creatures were supposed to be one," the fiction being supported by the feather-like appearance of the *cirrhoi* which the barnacle protrudes from its shell for the purpose of taking its food.

Page 131, l. 1. "*grete appels*" ("*longes pommes*"), etc.: the same as the "*lang appels*," i.e. plantains, of p. 25, l. 29 (see note, p. 171). The passage here, which is dragged in quite out of place, follows J. de Vitry (p. 1099); and so with regard to the "*gariofle*," or cloves, and nutmegs (cf. p. 94). By the "*grete nuttes of Inde*" the coco-nut (*nux Indica*) is meant, for which see V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xiv. 51); and cf. Jordanus, in his account of the coco-palm, "The fruit is that which we call nuts of India" (p. 16). The "*grete bobbes of grapes*" (l. 4) may also come from J. de Vitry (p. 1100); but if so, Mand. is less extravagant, for the other declares that *several men* could not carry a single bunch on a pole!

Page 131, l. 5. "*In this same land er the hillex of Caspy*," etc.—Mand. probably derived the widely spread legend of Gog and Magog from more than one source, adding something of his own. For the term "*Uber*" which he applies to the Caspian Mountains I can only refer to Æthicus, capp. 32, 39 (ed. Wuttke, pp. 18, 27), who speaks of the enclosing mountains as "*ubera aquilonis*," the same expression being used also in the *Revelationes* of Methodius (*Max. Bibl. Patrum*, 1677, iii. p. 729; cf. Bovenschen, p. 99). In making the Ten Tribes identical with Gog and Magog (for whom see Ezekiel, xxxviii., xxxix.) Mand. seemingly combines two branches of the legend. Thus, J. de Vitry (p. 1096), after telling how Alexander shut up the Ten Tribes within the Caspian Mountains, adds that he also confined there the cannibal nations of Gog and Magog, who were in numbers like the sands of the sea (cf. Apocalypse, xx. 8). On the other hand, V. de Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, iv. 43), who quotes from Pet. Comestor (Esther, cap. 5, col. 1498), speaks only of the Ten Tribes, his account being that they were already restricted to the Caucasus when Alexander arrived there, and that, instead of acceding to their prayer to be released, he tried to confine them more closely, and when human means failed he prayed to God and the mountains met. Gerv. of Tilbury again (ii. 3, ed. Liebrecht, p. 9) only names Gog and Magog, placing "*Mons Caspius*" in India. The legend is found also in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, iii. 26 (ed. C. Müller, 1846, p. 138), though not in all the MSS., and in the abridged Latin version of it known as the *Historia de Preliis* (ed. Strassburg, 1486, sig. f. 2), as well as in the later Alexandrine romances, the names of the twenty-two kings or nations, beginning with Gog and Magog, being generally enumerated. Thus in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* (ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1886, p. 270):—

"Pan aires furth Ser Alexander and with his arte closis
Of terands of þir Tartaryns twa and twenti kings," etc.

See also the French Chanson *Alexandriade*, ed. Le Court, etc., 1861, p. 310, and Kyng *Alisaunder* in Weber's *Metrical Romances*, 1810, i. p. 256. In the lines just quoted the imprisoned nations are identified with the Tartars. The same idea appears in Ricold of Montecroce (ed. Laurent, p. 118), who states that many believed the Tartars to represent the Ten Tribes (a theory disproved, as he says, by their lack of physical resemblance to the Jews and their ignorance of the Mosaic law), but that they themselves claimed descent from Gog and Magog, their name Mogoli (Mongols) being for Magogoli. The irruption of the Tartars into Europe was in fact widely connected by the terror-struck inhabitants with the old prophecy, to which nearly all accounts of the legend refer, that in the time of Antichrist the imprisoned nations would burst their barriers (cf. M. Polo, i. p. 56, note). What Mand. says on this subject comes nearest to Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* (ed. R. Morris, p. 121):—

"Pan sal he (sc. Antichrist) destroye cristen lawe,
And Gog and Magog til hym drawe,
þe whilk er halden, als men telles,
þe werst folk þat in þe werld duels.
Som says þat þai er closed haly
By-yhonde þe mountes of Caspy;
Bot þai er noght swa closed about
þat þai ne mught lightly com out,
Yif a qwene ne war þat halde þam in,
Thurgh strengthe, þat þai may noght out wyn,
þat es cald þe qwene of Amazons,
Under whas powere þat folk wons.
Bot at þe last þai sal breke out
And destroy many landes about.
For þe Iewes has swylyk a prophecy,
And says þus omang þam commonly,
þat þis folk ogyne þe worldes ende
Sal com out, and til Ierusalem wende
With þair Crist, þat wonders sal wirke,
And þan sal þai distroie haly kyrke," etc.

The passage about the "*narowe stie*" (l. 20) is undoubtedly copied from Brunetto Latini's account of the Caspian Gates (i. 4. 123, p. 157), where the length of the pass ("*bien viii^m pas*" = "*iiii grantz lieues*," M.) and its impracticability except in winter, the desert beyond, and the serpents, are all noticed in almost identical words. The name "*Clyrem*" appears to be Latini's "*Direu*" (*Diren?*), mentioned immediately after; but he applies this term not to the pass itself, but to a district "*en la terre de Caspe, vers orient*." He means probably Dilem, or Deilem, along the shore of the Caspian, in the Elbruz (cf. Bretschneider, ii. p. 108).

Page 132, l. 8. "*a foxe schal make his den*," etc.—Where Mand. found this prophecy I cannot say; but, if he was the first to graft it on the Antichrist legend, it does some credit to his ingenuity. The device of following a fox by grasping his tail was, it will be remembered, the way in which the Messenian hero Aristomenes escaped from the Keadas on Mount Taygetus, into which he had been cast by the Spartans (Pausanias, iv. 18); and Sindbad by similar means made his way out of the cavern in which he had been buried alive with his dead wife (*Arabian Nights*, ed. Lane, 1883, iii. p. 45).

Page 132, l. 16. "*the land of Bacharie*," etc.—This must be Bactria; and the whole paragraph appears to be drawn from the Alexandrine romances. The "*treese þat berez wolle*," i.e. cotton,

or perhaps silk (below, n. to p. 142, l. 17), are usually placed among the "Seres," as in the *Ep. Alex. de Situ Indiæ*, but in immediate proximity to the mention of Bactria (ed. 1706, p. 24; cf. Pliny, vi. 54, Solinus, 50, § 2, J. de Vitry, p. 1100, Brun. Lat., i. 4, 123, p. 158). The same apocryphal Letter of Alexander notices the hippopotamuses (p. 29), which devoured two hundred of his knights (and which Mand. goes out of his way to confound with the hippocentaurs), the waters more bitter than hellebore (p. 27; see Fr. text), and the gryphons (p. 55). The description of these last is, however, filled in from other sources, such as Isidore (*Etym.*, xii. 2.17), V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xvi. 90), Physiologus (ii. p. 226), and especially an extract from a romance of Alexander quoted by Berger de Xivrey (*Trad. Têrat.*, p. 484), where they are said to be able to carry off an armed man or a horse, and to have talons as big as the horns of an ox. So too the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* (p. 269):—

"And euir ilka best was so bigge · of body and of wyng,

pat he miȝt bere away a blonke (*sc.* a horse) · and a kniȝt armed." This appears also in B. de Glanville (xviii. 56), who refers to Hugutio and adds (Trevisa's vers.), "and the grype hath so gret clawes and so large that of them benne made cuppes that ben set upon bordes of Kynges." The gryphon M. Polo talks about (ii. p. 404), which could raise an elephant high into the air, was, instead of half-lion and half-eagle, "for all the world like an eagle, but one indeed of enormous size"; it was in fact the famous roc or *rukḥ*, as to which see Col. Yule's note (p. 408).

Page 133, ch. xxx. "*This emperour Prestre John*," etc.—There is no need to discuss here the various theories as to the actual potentate or potentates round whom gathered the fables that made up the legend of Prester John. All that is known on the subject is summarised in Col. Yule's admirable article in the *Encycl. Britannica* (9th ed., xix. p. 714), partly based on the labours of D'Avezac, Oppert, and Zarncke, and embodying the gist of his own notes to M. Polo (i. p. 229, ii. p. 529). As he well says, "the history of Prester John is that of a phantom, taking many forms"; and there is scarcely a part of Asia, from Georgia to the extreme east, which has not been claimed as the seat of his sovereignty, until popular imagination, aided no doubt by the widely extended mediæval application of the term India, finally transferred it to Ethiopia or Abyssinia. Taking his text only, as it were, from Odoric, Mandeville borrows most of his account from the widely circulated apocryphal letter purporting to be addressed by Prester John himself to the Greek Emperor Manuel about A.D. 1165, in which he is made to vaunt his power and magnificence in the most extravagant terms of oriental hyperbole. Odoric's sober tale is (p. 146), that fifty days west of Cathay he came to Prester John's country, and found not a hundredth part of what was said of him to be true, that his chief city Tozan (*al.* Chosan, Cosan) was inferior even to Vicenza, but that he ruled over many other cities and by formal treaty always wedded the Great Kaan's daughter. This country Col. Yule identifies with M. Polo's Tenduc (i. pp. 236, 275), situated almost due west from Peking, beyond the Great Wall and north of the great bend of the Hwang-ho. "Tozan" he takes to be Tathung; but, so far as form goes, it might equally well stand for Thsiau-thsiun, further west, in Tangut, and more in accord with Odoric's estimate of distance. In any case Odoric's Prester John appears to have been no other than the Khan of the Keraites, among whom Nestorian Christianity of a kind was prevalent (*cf.* Howorth, *Hist. of*

the Mongols, pt. i. ch. x., p. 534 *sqq.*). Mandeville's indications of locality are much more vague. His "Pentoxoire," to begin with, is an island. This, however, is nothing, as he says the same even of Cathay and Tibet. The term itself, which Col. Yule ingeniously suggests is for Tendek-shahr, is a curious one. It is not in the Latin or Italian texts of Odoric, but it does appear in the French version made by Jehan Le Long of Ypres in 1351. This is printed by L. de Backer (above, note to p. 125, l. 14) but the passage about Prester John, with much else that is properly Odoric's, is transferred (p. 141) to what the editor calls the original French text of Hayton. Strange to say, he does not remark upon this fact, and we are left in doubt whether the transposition is his own or that of the manuscript. "Nyse," as Prester John's capital, occurs in no text of Odoric; nor did Mand. get it, as he did Susa below (p. 136), from the Letter. I suspect it is simply the Indian Nysa, derived perhaps from Isidore (*Etym.*, xv. 1.6; *cf.* Pliny, vi. 79) or from one of the Alexandrine romances. In making "Pentoxoire" to be "mykill ferrer" than Cathay, and that too by sea, he means to locate it, I suppose, at the very extremity of north-eastern Asia, where in fact the India of Prester John is marked in Sanudo's map; yet, to judge from the Letter, Susa, its second royal residence, is the Biblical Shushan, the ancient capital of the Achæmenian Kings and the seat of a Nestorian bishopric (*cf.* Oppert, *Der Presb. Johannes*, 1864, p. 43). The whole account indeed is a tissue of inconsistencies, and the comparison drawn between Prester John's land and Cathay rests on no other foundation than the author's own fancy.

Page 133, l. 13. "*grete roches of . . . Adamaunt*," etc.: the legend of the Loadstone Mountain over again (above, note to p. 82, l. 2, where this passage ought to have been referred to), with the addition of a personal reminiscence, as in other cases where a more than ordinarily improbable story seemed to require clinching.

Page 133, l. 22. "*a citee that men callez Hermes*": Hormuz, already mentioned (p. 81, l. 17); but whereas the notice there was from Odoric, that here, the absurd etymology included, is from Hayton (ch. 6, p. 422). The following sentences, down to "if þam list" (p. 134, l. 5), are almost literally translated from the same source, "larkes," however, being for sparrows. "Colbach" (Fr. text), etc., represents "Combaech," the "Cambaet" of M. Polo (ii. p. 388) and "Kinbaia" of Ibn Batuta (*Cathay*, p. 413), *i.e.* Cambay, or Kambāyat, as the native call it, in Guzerat. Under the name "Cambeth" it is coupled by Sanudo with "Mahabar" as one of the two chief ports of India (i. i. 1, p. 22). For the interpolated sentences "In þat land . . . three taas," see below, note to p. 135, l. 10.

Page 134, l. 8. "*This ilk reall kyng*," etc.—With the exception of the marriage alliance between Pr. John and the Great Kaan, which slightly exaggerates Odoric (see above), this and the following paragraphs, down to "precious stanes" (p. 135, l. 1), are taken from Prester John's Letter (ed. Zarncke, pp. 84, 88), with a few trivial variations. The "Grauelly See" is really the same perhaps as the Sea of Sand mentioned by Od. (p. 52) as being a day's journey only from "Iest" (Yezd?); but he says nothing of the marvellous fish. As to these, it will be noted that the audacious statement "I John Maundeuell ete of þam" is put into his mouth by the English translator of E. In the Letter the "grete riuier" does not flow from Paradise, nor are its stones "precious"; and, while it flows, no one can *cross*—"nec, quamdiu fluit, aliquis eum transire potest; aliis quatuor diebus patet transitus." The

whole story no doubt originated in a mythical account of the shifting sands of the desert.

Page 135, l. 2. "*And byzond that riuer,*" etc.—This story of the ephemeral trees is grafted by Mand. upon the Prester John legend from the older legend of Alexander. It is in the Greek *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, ii. 36 (ed. Müller, p. 88), and in the abridged Latin *Hist. de Preliis* (ed. 1486, sig. e. 4); and it is also given by J. de Vitry (p. 1100). The trees, as the legend has it, grew in a river to which Alexander came on his march, and they exuded tears. He ordered them to be cut down and the tears to be collected in sponges; but those who tried to execute his commands were scourged by unseen demons, and a voice was heard warning them to desist, or the army would be struck dumb. From the same fertile source probably comes the notice of the horned men, who "gruntils as swyne," etc. (cf. the *Hist. de Preliis*, sig. e. 3).

Page 135, l. 10. "*And thare er fewles also spekand,*" etc.: cf. Pliny (x. 117), Solinus (52, § 43), Isidore (*Etym.*, xii. 7. 24), and V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xvi. 135). But Mandeville's words agree most closely with J. de Vitry (p. 1105) or Brun. Latini (i. 5. 170, p. 219). All these writers speak of India as the only country producing parrots. The term "papejai" or popinjay is in Hayton (papagai) and Brun. Lat. (papegaut), the others using the Greek "psittacus," which Mand. takes to be native Indian.

Page 135, l. 14. "*This ilke grete kyng,*" etc.: from here down to "withouten mesure" (p. 137, l. 3) again from the Letter (ed. Zarncke, pp. 90-98). The "three crosses" should (cf. Fr. text and C.) be thirteen. They were borne each in its own waggon, reminding us therefore of the Italian *carroccio*. The second "vessell, full of gold," etc. (l. 24), is in the original simply "aliud vas argenteum plenum auro," Mand. adding the dazzling show of jewels on his own account. His description of the palace, etc., is worked up in a somewhat similar fashion, and may be compared with the account above (p. 106) of the magnificence of the Great Kaan. It is curious that he says nothing of the magic mirror (speculum) raised high aloft before the palace, and reflecting all that went on throughout the kingdom (p. 92), just such a marvel, one would have thought, as he would love to dilate upon. He may, however, have misunderstood the passage, as his description of the "grecez," or steps, up to the throne, seems founded upon what is said in the Letter of the steps leading up to this mirror. The Letter also shows that "xii vessell" (p. 136, l. 13) ought to be "a vessel" ("vn" being misread "xii"), as in the Fr. text and C. What is said of "pe citee of Nise" (l. 17) is again an interpolation, and the comparison between its climate and that of "Suse" is probably suggested by the similar passage (p. 118) about the residences of the Great Kaan. The Letter mentions 62 "duces" and 365 "comites," and among the prelates it specifies the patriarch of St. Thomas, the "protopapaten Sarmagantinum," and the "archiprotopapaten de Susis," (see n. to p. 85, l. 1). The first two appear to be the Nestorian Patriarch of Baghdad and the Metropolitan of Samarkand; Susa also according to Oppert (p. 43) was a Nestorian see, but I do not find one under that name in the list Col. Yule gives from Assemani (*Cathay*, pp. ccxlv, 179).

Page 137, l. 6. "*Besyde the ile of Pentoxore,*" etc.—This romantic version of the history of the "Old Man of the Mountain," the chief of the Ismailites or Assassins, is from Od. (p. 153), excepting only the name "Catolonabes," the source of which has eluded me. Od. begins thus:—"After I had left the lands of Prester John

and was travelling toward the west, I came to a certain country which is called Millestorte (*al.* Melescorte, etc.), a fair and very fertile region," etc. This Millescorte (as it should no doubt be read) appears to be the Malascorti of the Catalan Map, *i.e.* Malasgird or Melazkerd, north of Lake Van, in Armenia (*Cathay*, p. ccxliii; cf. St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 105). After his fashion, Mand. absurdly turns it into the island of "Mulstorak." A closely analogous account is in M. Polo (i. pp. 145-155), whose editor refers also to several others, including one in Chinese by the courier Ch'ang Te in 1259 (cf. Bretschneider, i. p. 135). Polo calls the country Mulehet, and the same, or an almost identical, form appears in the Armenian writers, in Benj. of Tudela (p. 106), and in Rubruk (p. 347), while Ch'ang Te applies the term Mu-la-hi to the inhabitants. Col. Yule explains Mulehet as the Arab. *Mulhid*, pl. *Mulāhidah*, atheists or heretics, the appellation emanating of course from the orthodox, or Sunnite, Mahometans. The Ismailites were in fact a schismatic offshoot from the heterodox Shiyas, or adherents of Ali, and they got the name from their support of the cause of the deposed seventh Imām Ismail, to whose second advent on earth they looked forward. In or about 1090 Hassan Sabah, a distinguished Persian Ismailite, made himself master of Alamūt and other strong mountain-fortresses in the Elbruz and Kuhistan, just south of the Caspian, somewhat further east therefore than where Od. places the seat of his "Senex a monte." While he modified to some extent the mystical tenets of the sect, this Hassan formed his followers into a still more rigid and occult organisation, the chief characteristics of which were the absolute devotion of the subordinate members to the chief and a regular system of removing enemies by poison or the dagger. The dominion thus established lasted until 1256, when Alamūt was taken and the Persian Ismaelites were nearly exterminated by the Tartar Hulagu, shortly before he turned his arms against their hereditary enemy the Caliph of Baghdad. There was, however, another branch of the sect in Syria, north of Lebanon, which lasted some time longer, and indeed is said to exist still among the Druses. These were the Assassins with whom the Crusaders came into contact, and whose chief they designated the "Old Man of the Mountain." This title, however, which is a translation of *Shaikh-ul-Jibal*, is said to have more properly belonged to the head of the Persian branch, whose territory was known as *Balad-ul-Jibal* (cf. M. Polo, i. p. 148, note). With regard to the alternative name Assassins, or *Hashishin*, applied to the sect, it was derived from the drug ("potacio," Od.; "maner of drinke," Mand.) *Hashish*, with which novices were wont to be intoxicated; and it was their practice of murder as a political engine that introduced the word into Europe in its modern meaning. A list of some of the "many lodes" (p. 138, l. 6) who were thus assassinated, including more than one Caliph, Raymond, Count of Tripoli, and Conrad of Montserrat, is given by Col. Yule (M. P., i. p. 151). The end of the story in Mand. differs from Od., omitting all mention of the Tartars, to whom the other rightly attributes the Old Man's fall:—"And when the Tartars saw this, they came to the city wherein the Old Man dwelt, and besieged it, and quitted it not until they took it and the Old Man also. Him they bound in chains, and caused to suffer a miserable death."

Page 138, ch. xxxi. "*Of the deuiles hede in the Valeye Perilous,*" etc.—This remarkable passage appears to be worked up, with some skill and imagination, from Odoric's ch. 49 (p. 156), which, for easier comparison, I quote entire (tr. Yule):—"Another great and

terrible thing I saw. For, as I went through a certain valley which lieth by the River of Delights, I saw therein many dead corpses lying. And I heard also therein sundry kinds of music, but chiefly nakers [*i.e.* drums], which were marvellously played upon. And so great was the noise thereof that very great fear came upon me. Now, this valley is seven or eight miles long ["four miles" for *lieues*," Mand.]; and if any unbeliever enter therein, he quit-teth it never again, but perisheth incontinently. Yet I hesitated not to go in that I might see once for all what the matter was. And when I had gone in I saw there, as I have said, such numbers of corpses as no one without seeing it could deem credible. And at one side of the valley, in the very rock, I beheld as it were the face of a man very great and terrible, so very terrible indeed that for my exceeding great fear my spirit seemed to die in me. Wherefore I made the sign of the cross, and began continually to repeat *Verbum caro factum*, but I dared not at all to come nigh that face, but kept at seven or eight paces from it. And so I came at length to the other end of the valley, and there I ascended a hill of sand and looked around me. But nothing could I descry, only I still heard those nakers to play which were played so marvellously. And when I got to the top of that hill I found there a great quantity of silver heaped up as it had been fishes' scales, and some of this I put into my bosom. But as I cared nought for it, and was at the same time in fear lest it should be a snare to hinder my escape, I cast it all down again to the ground. And so by God's grace I came forth scathless. Then all the Saracens, when they heard of this, showed me great worship, saying that I was a baptised and holy man. But those who had perished in that valley they said belonged to the devil." Space forbids me to quote also Col. Yule's most interesting note on this description, which, as he justly observes, though coloured by excitement and superstitious terror, seems to be based upon some actual experience. Suffice it to say he suggests that the valley meant may be the Reg-Rawán, forty miles north of Kábul, in the Hindu Kúsh, crossed perhaps by Odoric, on his way from Tibet, and that the "Flumen Deliciarum" or, as the Ital. text has it, the "Fiume di *Piaceri*," may in this case represent the *Panchshir*, which the Reg-Rawán adjoins. Odoric, it may be noted, does not, like Mandeville, fix the site anywhere near the country of the Assassins; for the chapter, though it follows the other (ch. 47) almost immediately, deals with a detached episode of his travels. As for Mandeville, if his "Milstorak" is in Armenia and "Phison," as I suppose it is, the Ganges (*cf.* p. 150, l. 15), the limits he gives us within which to identify the Valley are far wider than his words were meant to imply. What he says of the "two freres meneours" (*i.e.* Friars Minor, or Franciscans) is exceedingly curious. It evidently points at Odoric, and seems intended to meet a possible charge of plagiarism from him by insinuating a hint that they had travelled together. Col. Yule, whom nothing escapes, calls attention to expressions in Bunyan's account of the Valley of the Shadow of Death which suggest the possibility of his having read this passage of Odoric in Hakluyt's version—or, what was perhaps more likely, Mandeville's recension of it.

Page 140, l. 11. "*Beyond that valay*," etc.—Tales of giants are common enough, and it would not be easy, were it even worth while, to determine the precise authorities which Mand. here employed. Among others, however, he had probably read Isidore (*Etyim.*, ix. 2. 131) and V. de Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, iv. 15), who quotes the *Ep. Alex. de Situ India* (p. 41). The Ichthyophagi there

described are indeed only nine feet high; but it would be too much to expect him to be content with so moderate a stature, and the *Epist. Alex. ad Olympiadem* keeps him well in countenance by speaking of giants 24 cubits high! (Berger de Xivrey, p. 354). There is much in the whole description to remind us both of the Homeric Polyphemus and of the monstrous giant of Sindbad's Third Voyage (*Arab. Nights*, ed. Lane, iii. p. 92). The "schepe als mykill as oxen," etc. (l. 19), look more like the shaggy *Yak* (*cf.* M. Polo, i. p. 266) than any genuine breed of sheep. Polo, however, elsewhere (i. p. 99) talks of fat-tailed sheep in Kerman as big as asses. Where Mand. found them described I cannot say; if he is to be credited, he speaks as an eyewitness.

Page 140, l. 22. "*Thare es another faire ile*," etc.—The nearest analogue I can find to this strange and unseemly story in sources ordinarily used by Mand. is in V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 88), "*Augylæ vero solos colunt infernos, fœminas suas primis noctibus nuptiarum adulteriis cogunt patere, mox ad perpetuam pudicitiam legibus stringunt severissimis.*" This comes from Solinus (31, § 4), who by an obvious error ascribes to the Augylæ what Herodotus (iv. 172) says of the Nasamones of N. Africa:—"Πρώτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς, νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην." There is much that bears on the subject in Sir J. Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation* (3rd. ed., 1875, p. 116), M'Lennan's *Studies in Anc. History* (1876, p. 425), and Wake's *Development of Marriage and Kinship* (1889, p. 35). No custom, however, exactly parallel with that in the text is adduced, though Mr. Wake mentions, after Rémusat, a somewhat similar one as obtaining in Cambodia, the ceremony being regarded as a religious obligation anterior to marriage and performed by a priest at the instance of the parents. According to Prof. A. De Gubernatis (*Storia Comparata degli Usi Nuziali*, etc., 1869, p. 197), there is a still more remarkable coincidence in the Rîg Veda (Bk. x., Hymn 85):—"È da notarsi come nell' antica credenza vedica si supponeva che un demonio si nascondesse nella vergine, il quale ne venisse via col sangue." As M'Lennan (p. 442) remarks upon this, "Where such a view prevailed, it is easily conceivable how for a time the post of husband should be ceded, and how far the exercise of the *jus primæ noctis* should really be of the nature of a friendly or neighbourly act"—or even, it may be added, one to be regularly paid for. Mand. was quite capable of evolving his whole account out of the passage from V. de Beauvais quoted above; but the fact that he applies a special title to the so-called "Foles despaired" suggests that he really had access to some source which I have failed to trace.

Page 141, l. 10. "*wikked wymmen and fell*": evidently the Bithyæ of Scythia, for whom see V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 93)—"*hasque in oculis pupillas geminas habere, et perimere visu, si forte iratæ aspexerint*" (*cf.* Pliny, vii. 17; Solinus, i. § 101). But our author, besides relegating them to an island in the Ocean, misread "geminas" into "gemmas," and so makes them to have jewels in their eyes, instead of double pupils. For the equally fabulous basilisc see Pliny, xxix. 66, J. de Vitry, p. 1104.

Page 141, l. 13. "*wymmen makez mykill sorowe*," etc.—The whole of this paragraph, with very slight variations, is from V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 89), immediately following the passage about the Augylæ (see above). V. de Beauv. quotes Solinus (10, § 1), and the customs are described as those of the Thracians (*cf.* Herod., v. 4). But the statement as to the burning of the dead

child (a confusion with suttee), and the explanation why the people weep at a birth, etc., are added by Mand. himself. In the account of the election of the king, the reading of C. "þat he haue no children" (n. 5; cf. Fr. text) is the correct one; but Mand. omits to say, like his authority, that, if he has any offspring subsequent to his election, he is promptly deposed. The description (which closely follows Vincent's Latin text) of the king's treatment when guilty of a crime is very curious, and might serve for a definition of modern boycotting. Almost exactly the same account is given by Pliny (vi. 89; cf. Solinus, 53, § 14) of the customs of the island of Taprobane (see below, n. to p. 148, l. 15).

Page 142, l. 4. "*Beyond this ile es another ile,*" etc.—Our author here fairly outdoes himself. He evidently derives the whole passage down to "hir þat es þe moder" (l. 10) from V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 91), who quotes it from Julius Celsus, meaning Cæsar's *Comm. de Bello Gallico*, v. 12, 14. But the people whose customs Cæsar so describes were none other than the *Britons*, who are mentioned by name. Did Mand. fail to recognise them, or did he deliberately impose upon his readers by transferring the island to the Indian seas?

Page 142, l. 13. "*In that cuntree,*" etc.—From here to the end of the chapter is a medley of more or less romantic natural history, from various sources. The description of the crocodile appears to be from V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xvii. 106, 107), who quotes from Pliny, Solinus, Isidore, and Physiologus.

Page 142, l. 17. "*of thaim thai gader bombe,*" etc.: an interesting notice of the cotton shrub, for which cf. J. de Vitry (p. 1099), "Sunt ibi præterea arbusta quædam, quæ seminantur, ex quibus colligunt bombacem, quæ (*sic*) Francigenæ cotonem seu coton appellant, et est quasi medium inter lanam et sericum, ex quo subtilia vestimenta contexuntur." The same writer soon after (p. 1100) mentions other trees, among the Seres (cf. note to p. 132, l. 16), as bearing "folia tanquam lanam, ex quibus vestes subtiles contexuntur." This may perhaps be a misapprehension of the nature of silk. The tree (the juniper, as he calls it), "þe whilk es so hard and so strang," etc. (l. 18), is also noticed by J. de Vitry (p. 1100; cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, xvii. 7.35, and V. de Beauv., *Spec. Nat.*, xii. 71), as well as the cedar and ebony which will not rot (l. 20), and the coco-nuts as big as men's heads (cf. n. to p. 131, l. 1).

Page 142, l. 21. "*orafles,*"—The description agrees fairly with that of the "camelopardus" in V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xix. 9), but the terms here used are peculiar. "Orafle" indeed appears in Joinville's *St. Louis* (ed. De Wailly, 1874, § 457), and is quoted by Littré, with "giraffe," under "girafe" (Arab. *zurafet*), as if it were a form of the latter. "Gyrfauntz" or "gerfaucz," (Fr. text) is of course meant to represent the same word (the "jiraffan" of Boldensele, p. 40); but precisely the same term is used in common parlance for the gyrfalcon (cf. Brun. Lat., p. 203).

Page 142, l. 24. "*In that cuntree also er many cameliouns,*" etc.—The notice of the chamæleon (with the exception of the exaggerated comparison of its size with that of the roe or wild-goat) follows V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xix. 6), who quotes Solinus (40, § 21, sqq.; cf. Pliny, viii. 120-122); while the rest of the paragraph appears to be mostly concocted out of the *Ep. Alex.* *de Situ Indiæ* (ed. 1706, pp. 131-133). Thus, among the foes encountered by the king, as he informs Aristotle, are enumerated the various kinds of serpents, the monster swine, the white lions, which were as big as bulls (above, n. to p. 98, l. 4), and, above all, the

strange beast, bigger than an elephant, with three horns on its front and a black head shaped like that of a horse. This, as he tells us, the Indians (*sic*) were wont to call "odonta vel dentem tyrannum." The description and the name ("διὰ τὸν λεγόμενον ὀδοντοτύραννον") come from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (ed. Müller, pp. 105, 123), and are repeated by Julius Valerius (*ibid.*) and the *Hist. de Preliis* (sig. d. 4), the name, however, in the last work appearing by some confusion as "Onocentaurus." V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, iv. 54) quotes the *Ep. Alex.* The beast figures of course in the later Alexandrine romances, under more or less corrupted forms of the same name. Thus in *Kyng Alisaunder* (Weber, i. p. 223):—

"Thor comen there dasshyng bestes ferlich;
Man ne saugh neuere none swich.
Hy ben yhote *deuterans*;
More hy ben than olyfaunz,
Blake heueded after a palfray,
Ac in the foreheuede, par ma fay,
Hy haue thre hornes sharp and longe,
And as a stede hy ben stronge."

In the *Wars of Alexander* (p. 220) the name is "adanttrocay," the editor suggesting that it really ought to be "ὀδοντοκερατῖας," i.e. "with horns like teeth." The terms employed in our Engl. version of Mand. are no doubt merely bad corruptions of that in the *Ep. Alex.*, however strangely disguised. "Louherans" may pair off with "deuterans" (or "denterans") above; and "Toutez" ("Douces" or "Dontes," S.), as appears from the various readings of the Fr. text, is only "Odenthos" in a still more mangled form. The translator in fact, as is evident from other passages, had more than one MS. before him and gives alternative readings. The "oper maner of bestez" (l. 12) are, I suspect, the so-called "Scyritæ" of the *Ep. Alex.* (p. 55; cf. V. de Beauv., *Spec. Hist.*, iv. 58)—"bestias habentes capita leonum et caudas unguibus binis, latas ad sex prope pedum mensuram"—though the description does not wholly tally. In this case, Mandeville's beast owes its "sex fete" merely to his misunderstanding of the original. For the "ratouns mare þan ('als grete as,' C.) hundes" (l. 15), see above, p. 83, where Odoric is quoted; the expression in the *Ep. Alex.* (p. 34), etc., is "mures Indici . . . vulpibus similes." Where he found the "geessez all reed," etc., so described I cannot tell.

Page 144, ch. xxxii. "*Of the godenesse of the folk of the yle of Bragman,*" etc.—Mandeville worked up this account of the Brahmins, with additions and reflexions of his own, from the well known apocryphal correspondence between the Brahman King Dindimus and Alexander the Great. For this purpose he probably made most use of V. de Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, iv. 66-71), though he no doubt availed himself of other authorities, such as the *Hist. de Preliis* (ed. 1486, sign. d. 6) and J. de Vitry (p. 1108). The only detail for which it is not easy to account is the "grete riuier, þe whilk es called Thebe" (l. 12). The nearest approach to this name appears to be the river "Tiberoboam" in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (iii. 13, p. 110) and Jul. Valerius (*ibid.*). The *Hist. de Preliis* (sign. d. 4) and J. de Vitry (*l.c.*) may have furnished also the information about the "Oxydraces seu Gymnosophistæ." The historical Oxydracæ were a great tribe of the Panjāb, on the banks of the Hydaspes, who vigorously opposed the advance of Alexander; but Mand. has contrived to transfer the above names (as in the case of the "yle of Bragman") to two imaginary islands, mangling the term "Gymnosophistæ" in the process almost beyond recognition.

His concluding sentences, "And if all it be so," etc. (p. 146, l. 8), which exhibit a praiseworthy liberality of sentiment, are probably original.

Page 147, l. 1. "*another ile that es called Pytan.*"—The "folk" here referred to are evidently the Astomi of Pliny (vii. 25), dwelling about the head of the Ganges—"nullum illis cibum nullumque potum, radicum tantum florumque varios odores et silvestrium malorum, quæ secum portant longiore itinere ne desit olfactus." Then follows an account of the Trispithami and Pygmæi, which Mand. seems to have partly mixed up with that of the Astomi. The latter are noticed also, after Pliny, by Solinus (52, § 30), St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, xvi. 8), V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 93), Hon. d'Autun (*Imago Mundi*, i. 12), etc.; but I nowhere find any mention of Mandeville's island of "Pitan," and I can only hazard the conjecture that he evolved it out of the term "Trispithami."

Page 147, l. 6. "*Thare nere es another ile,*" etc.—He means the land (not island) of the Ichthyophagi, the account of whom, as he gives it, comes apparently from the *Ep. Alex.* (p. 41), perhaps through the medium of V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, iv. 55):—"mulieres virosque pilosos in modum ferarum toto corpore vidimus. . . . Hi assueti fluminibus magis quam terris erant, crudo pisce et aquarum haustu vivebant." The translator of E. is alone responsible for the "feypers." The *Ep. Alex.* speaks also (p. 39; cf. V. B., l.c.) of the "amnis Buemar" (cf. Fr. text) in the furthest forests of India, and of the elephants white and red and of other colours (p. 40). In giving, however, the width of the river as 2½ leagues (Fr. text) Mand. seems to have misinterpreted the words immediately preceding about the extent of Alexander's camp upon its banks.

Page 147, l. 9. "*Bot men that dwellez nere the riuer talde us,*" etc.—There is a cool effrontery in this statement, for without doubt he simply got his information as to the famous oracular Trees of the Sun and Moon from the *Ep. Alex.* (p. 45, sqq.; cf. V. de Beauv., *Spec. Hist.*, iv. 56) or some similar source. The story, as Alexander is made to tell it in his letter to Aristotle as above, runs briefly thus. When in further India, two old men met him, who, in answer to his inquiry after marvels, replied that ten days' journey thence was a marvel indeed, past all belief. "Thou wilt see, o king," they said, "whoever thou art, two trees speaking both in the Indian tongue and in Greek, the one, a male tree, that of the Sun, the other, a female tree, that of the Moon; and from these trees thou mayest learn what good or ill shall betide thee." So, with the old men for guides and a picked force of troops, he journeyed on through deserts infested by serpents and wild beasts till they came to the spot; and there, in front of the oracle, they found a man ten feet high, of sable hue, with teeth like a dog's, clothed in skins and having pearls and rings hanging from his ears. To him they told their errand, and he bade them, if pure and undefiled, to put off their garments and shoes and enter within the holy place. This was a grove enclosed by a wall, and everywhere flowed from the branches fragrant balm, on which the priests of the oracle were wont to feed, living thereon for three hundred years. In the midst of the grove rose the two sacred trees, a hundred feet in height, like cypresses in foliage, of the kind the Indians called "Bebriones." And the priest told them that, luxuriantly as they grew, no rain ever fell upon them, nor was ever any beast there, or bird, or snake, and that, when the sun or the moon was eclipsed, the two trees wept copious tears. And when Alexander would have sacrificed, the priest forbade him either to burn incense or slay victim,

but enjoined him to kiss the trunks only and pray the Sun and Moon for a truthful response. Then, as the sun went down, he bade them all look upwards, and each one to ponder in his heart what he would ask, but to speak never a word. And Alexander thought within him, "Shall I return home to my mother and sisters in triumph when I have conquered the world?" and a whisper came, in Indian language, "Lord of the whole world thou wilt be, but to thine own land thou wilt not return alive." And again, at the first rising of the moon, he asked, but in thought alone, where he should die; and the Tree answered in Greek that, when May came round, he would die in Babylon by a hand he suspected not. And when they heard this, he and his companions wept and retired. On the morrow, however, rousing the priest at dawn, once more he assayed the oracle to learn the traitor's name against whom he should guard. But the Tree of the Sun refused thus to baulk the decrees of fate and bade him depart, revealing only that his death should be by poison, not by the sword, and that his mother Olympias should perish shamefully and be exposed unburied to the birds and beasts. In many respects the legend is a fine one, with a certain pathos and beauty of its own. It is at least as old as the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (iii. 17, p. 124), which is said to date from about A.D. 200; and, as might be expected, it forms a favourite episode in the Alexandrine cycle generally. M. Polo mixes it up with another famous legend, viz. that of the "Dry Tree," a circumstance which gives occasion for one of Col. Yule's most interesting and comprehensive notes (i. p. 132, sqq.).

Page 147, l. 21. "*why this emperour es called Prestre John.*"—This explanation of the title of Prester John (the origin of which is still a matter of doubt), I have not succeeded in finding elsewhere, and, as likely as not, it is Mandeville's own. The "gude Cristen men" to whom he alludes are of course the sect of Nestorians.

Page 148, l. 15. "*ane ile . . . Taprobane.*"—Except of course the mention of Prester John and "gude Cristen men," this description of "Taprobane," i.e. Ceylon, is abridged from Pliny (vi. 79-89), who is followed by Solinus (53, §§ 1-20), Isidore (*Etym.*, xiv. 6.12), and V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 79). Even the sentences contrasting ancient and modern ships, in which the latter at first sight seem to mean those of Mandeville's own time, are almost literally translated from Pliny (cap. 81):—"quondam credita xx. dierum navigatione a Prasiana gente distare, mox (quia papyraceis navibus armamentisque Nili peteretur) ad nostrarum navium cursus vii. dierum intervallo taxata. Mare interest vadosum, senis non amplius altitudinis passibus," etc. Taprobane is given by Cosmas Indicopleustes as the Greek name of Ceylon, representing the Pali *Tambapanni*, Sansc. *Tamraparni*, "the name of a city founded near Putlam by Wijaya, the first human king and colonist" (*Cathay*, p. clxxvi, n. 4). In the 15th cent. Nicolò Conti identifies it with Sumatra (Major, *India in the 15th cent.*, ii. p. 8); while the Catalan Map of 1375 places it in the extreme south-east, perhaps, as Col. Yule suggests, making it a jumble of Corea and Japan (*Cathay*, p. ccxxv.). As I have before remarked (n. to p. 141, l. 13), Pliny ascribes to the people of Taprobane the customs with respect to the choice of a king, etc., which Mand. localizes in an island unnamed. Under the name of "Silha" Ceylon has already been described, after Odoric, on p. 98.

Page 149, l. 1. "*twa iles . . . Oriell and . . . Arget.*"—These are the semi-mythical Chryse and Argyre of Pliny (vi. 80), located in the Indian Ocean "extra ostium Indi," and so called from the

abundance of gold and silver in them, which led many to believe that their soil was wholly composed of the precious metals. By his corruption of the names (for which perhaps the copyists are more to blame than himself) Mand. has effectually concealed their etymology. Pliny's account is reproduced by Solinus (52, § 17), Isidore (*Etym.*, xiv. 6.11), and V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Hist.*, i. 79), any of whom Mand. may have used as his authority. The mention of the islands of gold and silver evidently suggested to him the introduction here of the well known fable of the monster ants guarding mines of gold which we owe in the first instance to Herodotus (iii. 102-105), and which Mand. alone, I believe, has thought fit to connect with Taprobane. He appears to have derived the story from V. de Beauv. (*Spec. Nat.*, xx. 134). The latter quotes both Pliny (xi. 111) and Solinus (30, § 23); but for his account (which Mand. closely follows) of the employment of mares with foals as "anoþer wyle for to get þis gold with" he refers to Physiologus. Gerv. of Tilbury (iii. 73) mentions the use of *camels* and their young, but the mode of procedure is somewhat different. The device of the mares and their foals is that by which the Tartars according to M. Polo (ii. p. 484) find their way out of the Land of Darkness:—"They enter the region riding mares that have foals, and these foals they leave behind. After taking all the plunder that they can get they find their way back by help of the mares, which are all eager to get back to their foals, and find the way much better than their riders could do." As the editor remarks, the story is probably one of great antiquity, for it occurs in the legends of Ughuz, mythical patriarch of the Turks and Tartars, as well as in the legends of Alexander (*Ps.-Call.*, ii. 34).

Page 149, l. 20. "*Beyond thir ilez,*" etc.—Preceding this paragraph in E. (f. 125) is the interpolation referred to in the footnote. I know of no other copy of Mandeville in which it occurs, nor do I remember having met with the story elsewhere. "Tile" is of course "Thule," as the citation from Virgil (*Georg.* i. 30) would show, if there were any doubt about it. The passage is as follows:—"Beþond þir ilez toward þe este es ȝit anoþer ile, þat es called Tile; and it es þe ferrest ile of þe werld inhabited with men. Of þis ile spekez the poete and saise, *Tibi seruiet ultima Tile*, 'To þe,' he saise, 'sall serue Tile, þe ferrest ile of the werld.' At þe ȝonder syde of þis ile toward þe est rynnez a grete water, beþond þe whilk es noȝt bot waste land and wildernes. In þat wildernes es na thing dwelland bot dragouns and oþer wilde bestez, cruell and fell. Oute of þis ilke wildernes þare was sum tyme wont for to com ilke a ȝere owere þe grete water in to þis forsaid ile a grete multitude of cruell bestez, þe whilk did mykill harme are þai went agayne. Fore þai wald sum ȝere wiry 1^m men and wymmen and sum tyme ma. And þir bestez ware schapen on þis wise. Behind þai ware schapen lyke horsez, and all þe forþermare party was lyke vnto lyouns. And þir bestez ware so cruell and so swift of fote þat þer myȝt na man flee fra þam, ne agaynstand þam. Bot þe comyng of þir bestez in to þis ile was restreyned by a myracle of sayn Thomas of Caunterbiry, so þat sen þat tyme hiderward þer come nane of þase bestez on þis syde þat water. And þis myracle will I tell ȝow after þat I hafe herd and sene writen in diuerse bukes. Þare was on a tyme a Cristen kyng of þat ile, as þer es ȝit. So it fell þat þis kyng was greeffe seke and was lyke as he schuld hafe died within þe thridd day. And it hapned þat þe ercebischope of þe land was þare with þe kyng þat same tyme, and he enioyned all men þat þai schuld fast þa three days and pray deuotely vnto Godd þat he wald [grant] þam þat

grace þat þaire kyng myght liffe and hafe his hele ay till his son and his ayre ware of elde, þe whilk þat tyme was bot a ȝung childe and noȝt hable ne sufficeaunt for to gouern þe rewme. Þai fasted and þai prayd, bot þe kyng mendid noȝt, bot his sekeness encressed ay mare and mare till all men wend he had bene euen at þe dying. And, as he lay in transing and nowþer myght speke ne fully vnderstand what oþer men said aboute him, sayn Thomas of Caunterbiry appered vntill him. And he held furth his hand to þe kyng as he was dyand and blissed him with þe takne of þe Crosse, and bad þat he schuld noȝt drede him. And þan allsone þe kyng began to gader his spiritz agayne and answerd to sayne Thomas, 'Lord,' quod he, 'now þat I see þis glorious takne of lyf with whilk þou hase blissed me, I hafe na drede. Bot I beseke þe þat þou will tell me what þou ert, þat þus has comforthed me in my nede.' 'I was,' quod he, 'sum tyme arcebischope of þe citee of Caunterbiry in Bretayne þe mare, wham þe kyng of þat land, ouercommen with wikked counsaile, gert wrangwisely do to deed. And now þou seez me here, in þe same fourme and þe same stature þat I was in þe werld liffand, for to bring þe hele and for þe mynde of me schuld be had in þi rewme to þe wirschipe and louyng of oure Saueour. And also þase cruell bestez þat ware wont ilke a ȝere for to come owere þe riuer in to þi land and deuoured þi men schall neuer fra þis tyme forward comme on þis syde þe water. And þat all þis þat I hete þe es soth, I giffe þe þis takne þat, what tyme þat þou gers make a kirk in þi rewme in mynde of me, allsone as þe first stane es layd in þe grund þeroff þou schall be all hale.' And, when he had said þir wordez, he vanysch away, and þe kyng reuertid oute of transsing and talde þam all his vision; and þai ware wonder ioyfull and fayne. And þanne þe king commaundid þam þat in all þe haste þai myght þai schuld begynne to bigg a kirk in þe wirschepe of sayne Thomas. And arely on þe morue þai hyred mazsouns and beganne to bigg þis kirk. And, allsone as þe ercebischope had layd þe first stane, þe kyng rase oute of his bedd als hale as euer he was and went and helped þam for to wirk with his awen handes. And afterward he sent vnto Caunterbiry of þe grettest lordes of his rewme with riche giftes and noble of gold and precious stanes to wirschepe with and enourne þe schryne of þis haly martir. And þase lordes talde þat þai ware twa ȝere and mare are þai myght wynne til Caunterbiry fra þaire awen cuntree, what for þe lang way and what for þe empediment þat þai had by cause of waters and wikked wedirs. Here may ȝe see how glorious þis martir es in heuen, whas vertuz Godd wald publishsch and schew in þe ferrest end of þe werld."

Page 149, l. 21. "*a myrk land.*"—The so-called Land of Darkness, the idea of which was no doubt partly based on reports of the nature of an Arctic winter, was generally placed in the far north. Mandeville, however, with his usual tendency to look in that direction, makes it lie "euen east," seeming also in a measure to mix up the two theories of a flat and a spherical earth. What he says (p. 150, l. 2) of the origin of "þe hillez and þe valays" may be compared with V. de Beauv., *Spec. Nat.*, vi. 20. The same theory of denudation, as modern geologists would term it, appears also in B. de Glanville (xiv. 2), who refers it to Aristotle:—"And so cause of monteynes and of valeyes ben nought elles but meuyng of waters, that dygge and were the neshe partyes of the erthe, and the harde partyes that may not be dygged ben made montaines" (tr. Trevisa).

Page 150, l. 4. "*Off Paradys can I noȝt speke properly, for I hafe*

nozt bene thare.—This admission is to the author's credit, for it must have cost him something to make it. His account of "Paradys terrestre," that it lies so high as to touch the sphere of the moon, that Noah's flood did not reach it, etc., comes close to that of Pet. Comestor (Gen. 13, col. 1067; cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, xiv. 3. 2, and V. de Beauv., *Spec. Hist.*, i. 63); but his wall "all mosse begrowen" takes the place of a wall of fire. Pet. Comestor also describes (Gen. 14) the four rivers of Paradise in much the same terms; but he does not, any more than our French text or C., mention either the "hilles of Orcobares" in India (l. 16) or the "moute of Parchoatra" in Armenia (p. 151, l. 2). These names, however, whatever their origin, are introduced in the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius of Autun (i. 10), and they are copied from him, with his account of the Four Rivers generally, by Gerv. of Tilbury (ii. 3; cf. J. de Vitry, p. 1098). For the concluding paragraph our author draws perhaps more on his own imagination; but the noise made by the rivers is noticed by others. Marignolli, for example, who places Paradise in Ceylon, says that it could be heard for a distance of forty miles (*Cathay*, p. 346); and in his note to this passage Col. Yule quotes a statement from a 15th cent. MS. at Genoa, "that the Four Rivers flow down from Paradise with such a noise that the people who inhabit round about those parts are born deaf!"

Page 152, l. 11. "*ane ile that men callez Casson,*" etc.—With this passage Mand. again returns to Odoric (p. 147):—"Travelling thence (*i.e.* southwards from Prester John's land or Tenduc, above, n. to p. 133, ch. xxx.) for many days I came unto a certain province which is called Kansan (*al.* Casan, Cassan), and that is the second best province in the world, and the best populated. For where it is most narrow it hath a width of fifty days' journey, and its length is more than sixty. And everywhere it has such a population that when you go forth from the gate of one city you already see the gate of another. And it hath also great store of victuals, but above all of chestnuts . . . And this province is one of the twelve divisions of the empire of the Great Khan." This Kansan, the Kenjanfu or Quenzanfu of M. Polo (ii. p. 18), represents, as Col. Yule shows, Singan-fu, "or, as it was called in the days of its greatest fame, Changgan," the term being also applied to the extensive and populous province of which it was the capital. Mandeville, after his fashion, makes an island of it, and endows it with a king of its own.

Page 152, l. 19. "*another ile that men callez Ryboth or Gyboth.*"—The double name here in our English version suggests either that the translator found a difficulty in deciphering his original or, as we have already had occasion to believe, used more than a single text, and gives a choice of readings. The so-called island is none other than Odoric's "great kingdom called Tibet (*al.* Tibot), which is on the confines of India Proper, and is subject to the Great Khan," the account he gives of it (p. 148) being closely followed. The "principall citee" must mean the capital Lhasa; and the "Lobassi" ("Lo Abassi, id est Papa in lingua sua," Od.) is the Grand Lama. On the meaning of this title Col. Yule has a learned note, the conclusion at which he arrives being that it represents the name *Bakshi*, applied by Persian and Arabic writers to members of the Buddhistic religious orders, and supposed to be derived from Sanscr. *bhikshu*, a mendicant. In the form Bacsit it is used for the Lamas by M. Polo (i. p. 292), and Ricold of Montecroce also speaks of "Baxitæ sc. quidam pontifices ydolorum" (p. 117). But, as Col. Yule ingeniously suggests, the precise

form given to the name by Odoric may have been due to some mental confusion with "the name of the *Abassi* Khaliffs, the Popes of the Saracens." The description of the Tibetan treatment of a dead parent is almost exactly as in Od. (p. 150), except that Mand. introduces the "grete plater of siluer," etc., and rather elaborates the conclusion, cf. "And so he takes his father's head, and straightway cooks it and eats it; and of the skull he maketh a goblet, from which he and all of the family always drink devoutly to the memory of the deceased father." The custom is alluded to both by Carpini (p. 658) and Rubruk (p. 289), and precisely the same was anciently attributed by Herodotus and others to the Essedones (cf. V. de Beauv., *Spec. Hist.*, i. 87, who quotes Solinus). For practices among the Tibetans which may account for such charges of cannibalism see Col. Yule's notes to the passage in Odoric and to M. Polo, i. p. 292.

Page 153, l. 21. "*Fra this land for to comme hiderward,*" etc.—The story which follows is from Od. (p. 152), where it comes in, as an unconnected episode, between the chapter on Tibet and that on the Old Man of the Mountain (above, p. 137). But, in place of the introductory sentence foisted in by Mandeville, the other begins, "When I was still in the province of Manzi (above, n. to p. 101, l. 1), I passed by the foot of the palace wall of a certain burgess whose manner of life is thus," etc. His revenue Od gives as "xxx. tuman of tagars of rice. And each tuman is ten thousand, and each tagar (Turk. and Pers. *taghâr*, a large sack) is the amount of a heavy ass-load." It is only Mand. who specifically assigns the inordinate length of the man's nails as the reason of his being fed like a child (but cf. Fr. text) or, as Od. has it, "as if he were a pet sparrow." Od. says nothing whatever of this Chinese fashion, or of the still better known one of cramping the women's feet, until he has finished his account of the rich man of Manzi, palace and all; he then adds, "Moreover 'tis the mark of gentility in that country to have the nails long," etc. The moral reflexions about the "swyne fedd in styne," etc., are also our author's own; and the same is probably the case with regard to the remarks following concerning the faith of the heathen, the Greek *καλόν* and *κακόν*, etc.

Page 155, l. 14. "*Thare er many other cuntreez,*" etc.—The character of this peroration will have to be discussed in the Introduction, and I will only observe here that the penultimate paragraph is absent from all the Museum copies of the French text, while the English version in MS. C. places it before, and not after, the paragraph "And I, Iohn Mawndeull," etc. The text of this MS. is so differently worded that I give it entire:—"There ben manye oþer dyuerse contrees and manye oþer merueyles bezonde þat I haue not seen; wherfore of hem I cannot speke properly, to telle þou the manere of hem. And also in the contrees where I haue ben ben manye mo dyuersitees of many mo wondirfull thinges þanne I make mencion of, for it were to longe thing to deuyse þou the manere. And þerfore þat þat I haue deuysed þou of certeyn contrees þat I haue spoken of before I beseche þoure worthi and excellent noblesse þat it [is, MS.] suffice to þou at this tyme. For ȝif þat I deuysed þou alle þat is bezonde the see, another man peraunter þat wolde peynen him and trauaylle his body for to go in to þo marches for to encerche þo contrees myghten ben blamed be my wordes in rehercyng manye straunge thinges. For he myghten not seye no thing of newe, in the whiche the hereres myghten hauen ouþer solace or desport or lust or lykyng in the herynge. For men seyn alle weys þat newe thinges and newe

tydynges ben plesant to here. Wherfore I wole holde me stille, withouten ony more rehercyng of dyuersiteez or of meruaylles þat ben bezonde, to þat entent and ende þat whoso wil gon in to þo contrees, he schalle fynde y nowe to speke of, þat I haue not touched of in no wyse.

“And ȝee schulle vndirstonde, ȝif it lyke ȝou, þat at myn hom comynge, I cam to Rome and schewed my lif to oure holy fadir the Pope and was assoylled of alle þat lay in my conscience of many a dyuerse greuouse poynt, as men mosten nedes þat ben in company, dwellyng among so many a dyuerse folk of dyuerse secte and of beleefe, as I haue ben. And amonges alle, I schewed hym this tretys, þat I had made after informacioun of men þat knewen of thinges þat I had not seen my self, and also of merueyles and customes þat I hadde seen my self, as fer as God wolde ȝeue me grace; and besoughte his holy fadirhode þat my boke myghte ben examyned and corrected be avys of his wyse and discreet conseil. And oure holy fader, of his special grace, remytted my boke to ben examyned and preued be the avys of his seyde conseil. Be the whiche my boke was preued for trewe; in so moche þat þei schewed me a boke þat my boke was examyned by, þat comprehended fulle moche more, be an hundred part; be the whiche the *Mappa Mundi* was made after. And so my boke (alle be it þat many men ne list not to ȝeue credence to no þing but to þat þat þei seen with hire eye, ne be the auctour ne the persone neuer so trewe) is affermed and preued be oure holy fader in maner and forme as I haue seyde.

“And I John Maundeville, knyghte, aboueseyd, alle þough I be vnworthi, þat departed from oure contrees and passed the see the ȝeer of grace a mill ccc. and xxii., þat haue passed many londes and

many yles and contrees, and cerched manye fulle strange places, and haue ben in many a fulle gode honourable companye, and at many a faire dede of armes (alle be it þat I dide none my self, for myn vnable insuffisance)—and now I am comen hom, mawgree my self, to reste for gowtes artetykes þat me distreynen, þat diffynen the ende of my labour, aȝenst my wille, God knoweth. And þus takynge solace in my wrecched reste, recordynge the tyme passed, I haue fulfilled þeise thinges and putte hem wryten in this boke, as it wolde come in to my mynde, the ȝeer of grace a mill ccc. and lvi., in the xxxiiii. ȝeer þat I departede from oure contrees. Wherfore I preye to alle the rederes and hereres of this boke, ȝif it plesse hem, þat þei wolde preyen to God for me; and I schalle preye for hem. And alle þo þat seyn for me a *Pater noster*, with an *Aue Maria*, þat God forȝeue me my synnes, I make hem parteneres and graunte hem part of alle the gode pilgrimages and of alle the gode dedes that I haue don, ȝif ony ben to his plesance, and noght only of þo, but of alle þat euere I schalle do vnto my lyfes ende. And I beseche Almyghty God, fro whom alle godenesse and grace cometh fro, þat he vouchesaf of his excellent mercy and habundant grace to fullefylle hire soules with inspiracion of the Holy Gost in makynge defence of alle hire gostly enemyes here in erthe, to hire saluacion bothe of body and soule; to worschipe and thankynge of him þat is þree and on, withouten begynnynge and withouten endynge, þat is withouten qualitee good, withouten quantytee gret, þat in alle places is present and alle thinges conteynynge, the whiche þat no goodnesse may amende ne non euelle empeyre, þat in perfyte Trynytee lyueth and regneth God, be alle worldes and be alle tymes. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

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